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ANCIENT HISTORY

BY

CHARLES ROLLIN.

VOL. 2.



ENTRANCE TO POMPEII FROM HERCULANEUM

CINCINNATI.

GEO. CONCLIN, PUBLISHER.

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THE
ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE
EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLO-
NIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS, GRECIANS,
AND MACEDONIANS;

INCLUDING A HISTORY
OF THE
ARTS AND SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENTS.

BY CHARLES ROLLIN,
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AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

WITH A
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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

BOOK XVI.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

SECT. I. Troubles which followed the death of Alexander. The partition of the provinces among the generals. Aridaeus elected king. Perdiccas appointed his guardian, and regent of the empire, 11.

SECT. II. The revolt of the Greeks in Upper Asia. The impressions occasioned by the news of Alexander's death at Athens. The expedition of Antipater into Greece. He is first defeated, and afterwards victorious. Makes himself master of Athens, and leaves a garrison there. The flight and death of Demosthenes, 13.

SECT. III. Procession at the funeral of Alexander. His body is conveyed to Alexandria. Eumenes is put into possession of Cappadocia by Perdiccas. Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, form a confederacy against each of them. The death of Craterus. The unfortunate expedition of Perdiccas into Egypt. He is slain there, 17.

SECT. IV. The regency is transferred to Antipater. Eumenes besieged by Antigonus in Nora. Jerusalem besieged and taken by Ptolemy. Demades put to death by Cassander. Antipater on his death-bed nominates Polyperchon for his successor in the regency. The latter recalls Olympias. Antigonus becomes very powerful, 20.

SECT. V. The Athenians condemn Phocion to die. Cassander makes himself master of Athens, where he establishes Demetrius Phalerius in the government of that republic. His prudent administration. Eumenes quits Nora. Various expeditions of Antigonus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals against him. Olympias causes Aridaeus to be slain, and is murdered in her turn by the orders of Cassander. The war between him and Polyperchon. The re-establishment of Thebes. Eumenes is betrayed by his own troops, delivered up to Antigonus, and put to death, 22.

SECT. VI. Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, form a confederacy against Antigonus. He deprives Ptolemy of Syria and Phenicia, and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, begins to distinguish himself in Asia Minor. He loses a first battle and gains a second. Seleucus takes Babylon. A treaty of peace between the princes is immediately broken. Cassander causes the young king Alexander and his mother Roxana, to be put to death. Hercules, another son of Alexander the Great, is likewise slain, with his mother Barsina, by Polyperchon. Antigonus causes Cleopatra, the sister of the same Alexander, to be put to death. The revolt of Ophellias in Libya, 31.

SECT. VII. Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, besieges and takes Athens, and establishes a democracy in that city. Demetrius Phalerius, who commanded there, retires to Thebes. He is condemned to suffer death, and his statues are thrown down. He retires into Egypt. The excessive honours paid by the Athenians to Antigonus and his son Demetrius. This latter obtains a great naval victory over Ptolemy, takes Salamina, and makes himself master of all the island of Cyprus. Antigonus and Demetrius assume the title of kings after this victory, and their example is followed by the other princes. Antigonus forms an enterprise against Egypt, which proves unsuccessful, 36.

SECT. VIII. Demetrius forms the siege of Rhodes, which he raises a year after, by concluding a treaty much to the honour of the city. Helipolis, a famous machine. The Colossus of Rhodes. Protogenes, a celebrated painter, spared during the siege, 40.

SECT. IX. The expedition of Seleucus into India. Demetrius compels Cassander to raise the siege of Athens. The excessive honours paid him in that city. A league between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius. The battle of Ipsus, a city of Phrygia, wherein Antigonus is slain, and Demetrius put to flight, 45.

BOOK XVII.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. The four victorious princes divide the empire of Alexander the Great into as many kingdoms. Seleucus

builds several cities. Athens shuts her gates against Demetrius. He reconciles himself with Seleucus, and afterwards with Ptolemy. The death of Cassander. The first exploits of Pyrrhus. Athens taken by Demetrius. He loses almost at the same time, all he possessed, 47.

SECT. II. Dispute between the two sons of Cassander for the crown of Macedonia: Demetrius being invited to the assistance of Alexander, finds means to destroy him, and is proclaimed king by the Macedonians. He makes great preparations for the conquest of Asia. A powerful confederacy is formed against him. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus deprive him of Macedonia, and divide it between themselves. Pyrrhus is soon obliged to quit those territories. Sad end of Demetrius, who dies in prison, 50.

SECT. III. Ptolemy Soter resigns his kingdom to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus. The tower of Pharos built. The image of Serapis conveyed to Alexandria. The celebrated library founded in that city, with an academy of learned men. Demetrius Phalerius presides over both. Death of Ptolemy Soter, 53.

SECT. IV. The magnificent solemnity at the inauguration of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, 55.

SECT. V. The first transactions of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The death of Demetrius Phalereus. Seleucus resigns his queen and part of his empire to his son Antiochus. The war between Seleucus and Lysimachus; the latter of whom is slain in a battle. Seleucus is assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred a multitude of obligations. The two sons of Arsinoe are murdered by their uncle Ceraunus, who also banishes that princess. Ceraunus is soon punished for those crimes by the irruption of the Gauls, by whom he is slain in a battle. The attempt of that people against the temple of Delphos. Antiochus establishes himself in Macedonia, 58.

SECT. VI. Ptolemy Philadelphus causes the books of the Holy Scripture, preserved by the Jews with the utmost care, to be translated into the Greek language as an ornament to his library. This is called the version of the Septuagint, 63.

SECT. VII. The various expeditions of Pyrrhus: first, into Italy; where he fights two battles with the Romans. The character and conduct of Cineas: secondly, into Sicily; and then into Italy again. His third engagement with the Romans wherein he is defeated. His expedition into Macedonia; of which he makes himself master for some time, after having overthrown Antigonus. His expedition into Peloponnesus. He forms the siege of Sparta, but without success. Is slain at that of Argos. The deputation from Philadelphus to the Romans, and from the Romans to Philadelphus, 64.

SECT. VIII. Athens besieged and taken by Antigonus. The just punishment inflicted on Sotades, a satiric poet. The revolt of Magas from Philadelphus. The death of Philæteus, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus. The death of Antiochus Soter. He is succeeded by his son Antiochus, surnamed Theos. The wise measures taken by Ptolemy for the improvement of commerce. An accommodation effected between Magas and Philadelphus. The death of the former. The war between Antiochus and Ptolemy. The revolt of the East against Antiochus. Peace restored between the two kings. The death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 74.

SECT. IX. Character and qualities of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 79.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. Antiochus Theos is persecuted by his queen Laodice, who causes Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king. She also destroys Berenice and her son. Ptolemy Euergetes avenges their death, by that of Laodice, and seizes part of Asia. Antiochus Hierax, and Seleucus his brother, unite against Ptolemy. The death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. He is succeeded by his son Demetrius. The war between the two brothers, Antiochus and Seleucus. The death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus succeeds him. The establishment of the Parthian empire by Arsaces. Antiochus is slain by robbers. Seleucus is taken prisoner by the Parthians. Credit of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, with Ptolemy. The death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus seizes the throne of that prince. The death of Seleucus, 79, 80.

SECT. II. The establishment of the republic of the

Achæans. Aratus delivers Sicyon from tyranny. The character of that young Grecian. He is enabled by the liberalities of Ptolemy Euergetes, to check a sedition ready to break out in Sicyon. Takes Corinth from Antigonus, king of Macedonia. Prevails on the cities of Megara, Træzene, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis, to accede to the Achæan league; but is not successful with respect to Argos, 81.

SECT. III. Agis king of Sparta, attempts to reform the state, and endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus, in which he partly succeeds; but finds an entire change in Sparta at his return from a campaign in which he had joined Aratus against the Ætolians. He is at last condemned to die, and executed accordingly, 89.

SECT. IV. Cleomenes ascends the throne of Sparta, and engages in a war against the Achæans, over whom he obtains several advantages. He reforms the government of Sparta, and re-establishes the ancient discipline. Acquires new advantages over Aratus and the Achæans. Aratus applies for succour to Antigonus, king of Macedonia, by whose aid the Achæans obtain repeated victories, and take several places from the enemy, 94.

SECT. V. The celebrated battle of Silasia, wherein Antigonus defeats Cleomenes, who retires to Egypt. Antigonus makes himself master of Sparta, and treats that city with great humanity. The death of that prince, who is succeeded by Philip, the son of Demetrius. The death of Ptolemy Euergetes, to whose throne Ptolemy Philopator succeeds. A great earthquake at Rhodes. The noble generosity of those princes and cities who contributed to the reparation of the losses which the Rhodians had sustained by that calamity. The fate of the famous Colossus, 99.

BOOK XVIII.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

SECT. I. Ptolemy Philopator reigns in Egypt. The short reign of Seleucus Ceraunus. He is succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed the Great. Achæus's fidelity to him. Hermias, his chief minister, first removes Epigenes, the ablest of all his generals, and afterwards puts him to death, 102.

SECT. II. The Ætolians declare against the Achæans. Battle of Caplyæ lost by Aratus. The Achæans have recourse to Philip, who undertakes their defence. Troubles break out in Lacedæmonia. The unhappy death of Cleomenes in Egypt. Two kings are elected in Lacedæmonia. That republic joins with the Ætolians, 110.

SECT. III. Various expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans. Apelles, his prime minister, abuses his confidence in an extraordinary manner. Philip makes an inroad into Ætolia. Thermæ taken without opposition. Excesses of Philip's soldiers in that city. Prudent retreat of that prince. Tumults in the camp. Punishment of those who had occasioned them. Inroad of Philip into Lacedæmonia. The conspirators form new cabals. Punishment inflicted on them. A peace is proposed between Philip and the Achæans on the one side and the Ætolians on the other, which is at last concluded, 112.

SECT. IV. Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal. The Romans gain a considerable victory over him at Apollonia. He changes his conduct. His breach of faith and irregularities. He causes Aratus to be poisoned. The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans. Attalus king of Pergamus, and the Lacedæmonians, accede to it. Machanidas usurps a tyrannical power at Sparta. Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius the Roman prætor, in one of which Philopemen signalizes himself, 119.

SECT. V. Education and great qualities of Philopæmen, 123.

SECT. VI. Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius. A digression of Polybius upon signals made by fire, 125.

SECT. VII. Philopemen gains a famous victory near Mantinea over Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta. The high esteem in which that general is held. Nabis succeeds Machanidas; some instances of his avarice and cruelty. A general peace concluded between Philip and the Romans, in which the allies on both sides are included, 129.

SECT. VIII. The glorious expeditions of Antiochus into Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, and as far as India. At his return to Antioch, he receives advice of Ptolemy Philopator's death, 131.

BOOK XIX.

SEQUEL OF THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. Ptolemy Epiphanes succeeds Philopator his father in the kingdom of Egypt. Antiochus and Philip enter into an alliance to invade his dominions. The Romans become guardians of the young king. Antiochus subdues Palestine and Cæle-syria. The war of Philip against the Athenians, Attalus, and the Rhodians. He besieges Aby-

dos. The unhappy fate of that city. The Romans declare war against Philip. Sulpitius the consul is sent into Macedonia, 133.

SECT. II. Expeditions of the consul Sulpitius in Macedonia. The Ætolians wait for the event, in order to declare themselves. Philip loses a battle. Villius succeeds Sulpitius. No considerable transaction happens during his government. Flamininus succeeds him. Antiochus recovers Cæle-syria, of which he had been dispossessed by Aristomenes, the prime minister of Egypt. Various expeditions of the consul into Phocis. The Achæans, after long debates, declare for the Romans, 136.

SECT. III. Flamininus is continued in the command as proconsul. He has a fruitless interview with Philip about concluding a peace. The Ætolians, and Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declare for the Romans. Sickness and death of Attalus. Flamininus defeats Philip in a battle near Scotussa and Cynoscephale in Thessaly. A peace concluded with Philip, which puts an end to the Macedonian war. The extraordinary joy of the Greeks at the Isthmian games, when proclamation is made that they are restored to their ancient liberty by the Romans, 142.

SECT. IV. Complaints being made, and suspicions arising concerning Antiochus, the Romans send an embassy to him, which has no other effect than to dispose both parties for an open rupture. A conspiracy is formed by Scopas the Ætolian against Ptolemy. He and his accomplices are put to death. Hannibal retires to Antiochus. War of Flamininus against Nabis, whom he besieges in Sparta. He obliges him to sue for peace, and grants it to him. He enters Rome in triumph, 143.

SECT. V. Universal preparations for the war between Antiochus and the Romans. Mutual embassies and interviews on both sides, which come to nothing. The Romans send troops against Nabis, who had infringed the treaty. Philopæmen gains a victory over him. The Ætolians implore the assistance of Antiochus. Nabis is killed. Antiochus goes at last to Greece, 152.

SECT. VI. Antiochus endeavours to bring over the Achæans to his interest, but in vain. He possesses himself of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The Romans proclaim war against him, and send Manius Acilius, the consul, into Greece. Antiochus makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsel. He is defeated near Thermopylæ. The Ætolians submit to the Romans, 157.

SECT. VII. Polyxenides, admiral of Antiochus's fleet, is defeated by Livius. L. Scipio, the new consul, is appointed to carry on the war against Antiochus. Scipio Africanus, his brother, serves under him. The Rhodians defeat Hannibal in a sea fight. The consul marches against Antiochus and crosses into Asia. He gains a signal victory over him near Magnesia. The king obtains a peace, and gives up, by treaty, all Asia on this side of mount Taurus. Dispute between Eumenes and the Rhodians, in presence of the Roman senate, relating to the Grecian cities of Asia, 160, 161.—Reflections on the conduct of the Romans with regard to the Grecian states, and the kings both of Europe and Asia, 168.

SECT. VIII. Fulvius the consul subdues the Ætolians. The Spartans are cruelly treated by their exiles. Manlius, the other consul, conquers the Asiatic Gauls. Antiochus, in order to pay the tribute due to the Romans, plunders a temple in Elymais. That monarch is killed. Explication of Daniel's prophecy concerning Antiochus, 170.

SECT. IX. Seleucus Philopator succeeds to the throne of Antiochus his father. The first occurrences of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes in Egypt. Various embassies sent to the Achæans and Romans. Complaints made against Philip. Commissioners are sent from Rome to enquire into those complaints; and at the same time to take cognizance of the ill treatment of Sparta by the Achæans. Sequel of that affair, 175.

SECT. X. Philopæmen besieges Messene. He is taken prisoner, and put to death by the Messenians. Messene surrendered to the Achæans. The splendid funeral procession of Philopæmen, whose ashes are carried to Megalopolis. Sequel of the affair relating to the Spartan exiles. The death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who is succeeded by Philometor his son, 179.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. Complaints made at Rome against Philip. Demetrius his son, who was in that city, is sent back to his father, accompanied by some ambassadors. A secret conspiracy of Perseus against his brother Demetrius with regard to the succession of the throne. He accuses him before Philip. Speeches of both those princes. Philip, upon a new impeachment, causes Demetrius to be put to death; but afterwards discovers his innocence and Perseus's guilt. Whilst Philip is meditating to punish the latter, he dies, and Perseus succeeds him, 183.

SECT. II. The death of Seleucus Philopator, whose reign was short and obscure. He is succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes. Causes of the war which afterward broke out between the kings of Egypt and Syria. Antiochus gains a victory over Ptolemy. The con-

quoror possesses himself of Egypt, and takes the king prisoner. A report prevailing of a general revolt, he goes into Palestine; besieges and takes Jerusalem, where he exercises the most horrid cruelties. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometor, who was Antiochus's prisoner, raise to the throne his younger brother Ptolemy Euergetes, surnamed also Physcon. Antiochus renews the war with Egypt. The two brothers are reconciled. He marches towards Alexandria, in order to lay siege to it. Popilius, one of the Roman ambassadors, obliges him to quit Egypt, and not to molest the two brothers, 191.

SECT. III. Antiochus, enraged at what had happened to him in Egypt, wreaks his vengeance on the Jews. He endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God in Jerusalem. He exercises the most horrid cruelties in that city. The generous resistance made by Mattathias, who in his expiring moments, exhorts his sons to fight in defence of the law of God. Judas Maccabæus gains several victories over the generals and armies of Antiochus. That prince, who had marched into Persia, in order to amass treasures there, attempts to plunder a rich temple in Elymais, but is shamefully repulsed. Hearing that his armies had been defeated in Judea, he sets out on a sudden to extirpate all the Jews. In his march he is struck by the hand of Heaven, and dies in the greatest torments, after having reigned eleven years, 196.

SECT. IV. Prophecies of Daniel relating to Antiochus Epiphanes, 202.

BOOK XX.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS CONTINUED.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. I. Perseus prepares secretly for a war against the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achæans in vain. His secret measures not unknown at Rome. Eumenes arrives there, and informs the senate of them. Perseus attempts to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, and afterwards by poison. The Romans break with Perseus. Different opinions and dispositions of the kings and states, in regard to the Macedonian war. After several embassies on both sides, the war is declared in form, 205.

SECT. II. The consul Licinius and king Perseus take the field. They both encamp near the river Peneus, at some distance from each other. Engagement of the cavalry, in which Perseus has considerably the advantage, and makes an ill use of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on both sides go into winter quarters, 210.

SECT. III. The senate pass a wise decree to put a stop to the avarice of the generals and magistrates, who oppressed the allies. The consul Marcius, after sustaining great fatigue, enters Macedonia. Perseus takes the alarm, and leaves the passes open: he resumes courage afterwards. Insolent embassy of the Rhodians to Rome, 214.

SECT. IV. Paulus Æmilius chosen consul. He sets out for Macedonia with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who commanded the fleet. Perseus solicits aid on all sides. His avarice is the cause of his losing considerable allies. The prætor Anicius's victories in Mylia. Paulus Æmilius's celebrated victory over Perseus near the city of Pydna. Perseus taken with all his children. The command of Paulus Æmilius in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the senate granting liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians. Paulus Æmilius, during the winter-quarters, visits the most celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis he gives a great feast. He marches for Rome. On his way he suffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of Perseus. Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius have also the honour of a triumph decreed them, 219.

ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. Attalus comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans upon their success in Macedonia. The deputies of the Rhodians present themselves before the senate and endeavour to appease their wrath. After long and warm solicitations, they succeed in being admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity exercised against the Ætolians. All of them, in general, who had favoured Perseus, are cited to Rome, to answer for their conduct. A thousand Achæans carried thither; Polybius one of the number. The senate banishes them into several towns of Italy. After seventeen years of banishment, they are sent back into their own country; when only three hundred of them remained, 223.

SECT. II. Mean flattery of Prusias, king of Bithynia, in the senate. Eumenes becoming suspected by the Romans, is not suffered to enter Rome. Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia, dies, and is succeeded by a son of the same name, Death of Eumenes. Attalus, his brother, succeeds him, as guardian to his son, then very young. War between Attalus and Prusias. The latter having formed the design of

putting his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him. Embassy of three celebrated Athenian philosophers to Rome. Another from the people of Marseilles. Digression upon the city of Marseilles, 233.

SECT. III. Andronicus, who gave himself out for the son of Perseus, makes himself master of Macedonia, and causes himself to be proclaimed king. The prætor Juventius attacks him, and is killed in the battle with part of his army. Metellus, who succeeds him, retrieves that loss. The usurper is overthrown, taken, and sent to Rome. A second and third usurper are also defeated, 237.

SECT. IV. Troubles in Achaia, which declares war against the Lacedæmonians. Metellus sends deputies to Corinth to appease these troubles; they are ill used and insulted. Thebes and Chalcis join the Achæans. Metellus, after having ineffectually exhorted them to peace, gives them battle, and defeats them. The consul Mummius succeeds him, and after having gained a battle takes Corinth, sets it on fire, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and death of Polybius. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius, 238.

SECT. V. Reflection upon the causes of the grandeur, declension, and ruin of Greece, 241.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I. A chronological abridgment of the history of the kings of Egypt and Syria, who are mentioned in the third article, 243, 244.

SECT. II. Antiochus Eupator, at the age of nine years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes, in the kingdom of Syria. Demetrius, who had been long a hostage at Rome, demands in vain permission to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabæus against the generals of the king of Syria, and the king himself in person. Long differences between the two brothers, the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, terminated at length by a happy peace, 246.

SECT. III. Octavius, ambassador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there. Demetrius escapes from Rome, puts Eupator to death, ascends the throne of Syria, and assumes the surname of Soter. He makes war against the Jews. Repeated victories of Judas Maccabæus; death of that great man. Demetrius is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himself to drunkenness and debauchery. Alexander Bala forms a conspiracy against him. Demetrius is killed in a battle. Alexander espouses the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. Temple built by the Jews in Egypt. Demetrius, son of the first of that name, sets up his claim to the throne of Syria. Alexander is destroyed. Ptolemy Philometor dies at the same time, 248.

SECT. IV. Physcon espouses Cleopatra, and ascends the throne of Egypt. Demetrius in Syria abandons himself to all manner of excesses. Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon, causes Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, to be proclaimed king of Syria; then kills him, and takes his place. He seizes Jonathan by treachery, and puts him to death. Demetrius undertakes an expedition against the Parthians, who take him prisoner. Cleopatra his wife espouses Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius, and places him upon the throne of Syria. Physcon's excessive follies and enormities. Attalus Philometor succeeds Attalus his uncle, whom he causes to be regretted by his vices. He dies himself, after having reigned five years, and by his will leaves the Roman people heirs to his dominions. Aristonicus seizes them. He is overthrown, led in triumph, and put to death, 251, 252.

SECT. V. Antiochus Sidetes besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. That city surrenders by capitulation. He makes war against the Parthians, and perishes in it. Phraates, king of the Parthians, defeated in his turn by the Scythians. Physcon commits more horrid cruelties in Egypt. A general revolt obliges him to quit it. Cleopatra, his first wife, is replaced upon the throne. She implores aid of Demetrius, and is soon reduced to leave Egypt. Physcon returns thither, and re-ascends the throne. By his means Zebina dethrones Demetrius, who is soon after killed. The kingdom is divided between Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, and Zebina. The latter is defeated and killed. Antiochus Grypus ascends the throne of Syria. The famous Mithridates begins to reign in Pontus. Physcon's death, 257.

SECT. VI. Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds Physcon. War between Grypus and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, for the kingdom of Syria. Hyrcanus fortifies himself in Judea. His death. Aristobulus succeeds him, and assumes the title of king. He is succeeded by Alexander Jannæus. Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places Alexander his youngest brother, on the throne in his stead. War between that princess and her sons. Death of Grypus. Ptolemy Apion leaves the kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans. Continuation of the wars in Syria and Egypt. The Syrians choose Tigranes king. Lathyrus is re-established upon the throne of Egypt. He dies. Alexander his nephew succeeds him. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, makes the Roman people his heirs, 261.

SECT. VII. Selene, sister of Lathyrus, conceives hopes

of the crown of Egypt; she sends two of her sons to Rome for that purpose. The eldest, called Antiochus, on his return passes through Sicily. Verres, prætor of that island, takes from him a golden candelabrum, designed for the Capitol. Antiochus, surnamed Asiaticus, after having reigned four years over part of Syria, is dispossessed of part of his dominions by Pompey, who reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. Troubles in Judæa and Egypt. The Alexandrians expel Alexander their king and set Ptolemy Auletes on the throne in his stead. Alexander, at his death, makes the Roman people his heirs. In consequence, some years after, they order Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, to be deposed, confiscate his property, and seize that island. The celebrated Cato is charged with this commission, 266.

BOOK XXI.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS CONTINUED.

ARTICLE I.

Abridgment of the history of the Jews from Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, who first assumed the title of king, to the reign of Herod the Great, the Idumæan, 270.

SECT. I. Reign of Aristobulus the first, which lasted two years, 270.

SECT. II. Reign of Alexander Jannæus, which continued twenty-seven years, 271.

SECT. III. Reign of Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannæus, which continued nine years. Hyrcanus, her eldest son, is high-priest during that time, 272.

SECT. IV. Reign of Aristobulus II, which continued six years, 273.

SECT. V. Reign of Hyrcanus II. which continued twenty-four years, 274.

SECT. VI. Reign of Antigonus, of only two years' duration, 275.

ART. II. Abridgment of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus, which is related at large, 276.

ART. III. Abridgment of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire, 286.

BOOK XXII.

THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. I. Hiero the second chosen captain-general by the Syracusans, and soon after appointed king. He makes an alliance with the Romans in the beginning of the first Punic war, 290.

SECT. II. Hiero's pacific reign. He particularly favours agriculture. He applies the abilities of Archimedes his relation to the service of the public, and causes him to make an infinite number of machines for the defence of a besieged place. He dies very old, and much regretted by the people, 292.

ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. Hieronymus, grandson of Hiero, succeeds him, and causes him to be much regretted by his vices and cruelty. He is killed in a conspiracy. Barbarous murder of the princesses. Hippocrates and Epicydes possess themselves of the government of Syracuse, and declare for the Carthaginians, as Hieronymus had done, 296.

SECT. II. The consul Marcellus besieges Syracuse. The considerable losses of men and ships, occasioned by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Death of Archimedes, killed by a soldier, who did not know him, 300.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I. Tomb of Archimedes discovered by Cicero, 304.

SECT. II. Summary of the history of Syracuse, 304.

SECT. III. Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, 305.

BOOK XXIII.

THE HISTORY OF PONTUS.

SECT. I. Mithridates, at twelve years of age, ascends the throne of Pontus. He seizes Cappadocia and Bithynia, having first expelled their kings. The Romans re-establish

them. He causes all the Romans and Italians in Asia Minor to be put to death in one day. First war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himself master of Asia Minor and Greece, and had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He besieges and retakes Athens. He gains three great battles against the generals of Mithridates. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Aristotle. Sylla causes it to be carried to Rome, 308.

SECT. II. Second war against Mithridates, under Murena, of only three years' duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus the consul sent against him. He obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a complete victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the sisters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes, his son-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Asia, 315.

SECT. III. Lucullus causes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that prince. He loses a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint forces of Tigranes and Mithridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus, 319.

SECT. IV. Mithridates, taking advantage of the discord which had arisen in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. Pompey is chosen to succeed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in several battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes his son-in-law, for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own son. Pompey marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes to him and surrenders himself. Weary of pursuing Mithridates to no purpose, he returns into Syria, makes himself master of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucide. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, who kills himself. That prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jerusalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph, 324.

BOOK XXIV.

THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

SECT. I. Ptolemæus Auletes having been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander, is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people, by the influence of Cæsar and Pompey, which he purchases at a very great price. In consequence, he loads his subjects with taxes. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and, by money, obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sybil's; notwithstanding which, Gabinus sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra, and her brother, very young, succeed him, 330.

SECT. II. Pothinus and Achillas, ministers of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia, retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose, sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king having been drowned in flying, after a sea fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He sets Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome, 333.

SECT. III. Cleopatra causes her younger brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of Julius Cæsar having made way for the triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar, called also Octavius, Cleopatra declares herself for the triumvirs. She goes to Antony at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendancy over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra, and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battle of Actium. Cleopatra flies, and draws Antony after her. Cæsar's victory is complete. He advances some time after to Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire, 337.

Conclusion of the Ancient History, 345.

THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES
OF THE ANCIENTS.

OF AGRICULTURE.

ART. I. Antiquities of Agriculture—Its utility—The esteem it was in amongst the ancients—How important it is to place it in honour, and how dangerous to neglect the application to it, 351.

ART. II. Of Tillage—Countries famous amongst the ancients for abounding with corn, 353.

ART. III. SECT. I.—Cultivation of the Vine—Wines celebrated in Greece and Italy, 354.

SECT. II. Produce of the Vines in Italy in Columella's time, 356.—1. The charges necessary for seven acres of Vines, ib.—2. Produce of seven acres of Vines, ib.

ART. IV. Of the breeding of Cattle, 357.

ART. V. Innocency and pleasures of a Rural Life, and of Agriculture, 358.

OF COMMERCE.

ART. I. Excellency and advantages of Commerce, 360.

ART. II. Antiquity of Commerce—Countries and cities most famed for it, 360.

ART. III. The end and materials of Commerce, 362.

SECT. I. Mines of Iron, 363.

SECT. II. Mines of Copper or Brass, 363.

SECT. III. Mines of Gold, 364.—1. Gold found in Rivers, ib.—1. Gold found in the bowels of the Earth, ib.—3. Gold found in the Mountains, ib.—Electrum, 365.

SECT. IV. Silver Mines, 366.

SECT. V. Product of Gold and Silver Mines, one of the principal sources of the riches of the ancients, 367.

SECT. VI. Of Coins and Medals, 367.

SECT. VII. Of Pearls, 368.

SECT. VIII. Purple, 369.

SECT. IX. Of Silken Stuffs, 370.—Conclusion, 371.

OF THE LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES.

Introduction, 372.

OF ARCHITECTURE.

ART. I. Of Architecture in general, 373.

SECT. I. Rise, progress, and perfection of Architecture, 373.

SECT. II. Of the three orders of Architecture of the Greeks, and the two others which have been added to them, 374.—1. Doric Order, ib.—2. Ionic Order, ib.—3. Corinthian Order, ib.—4. Tuscan Order, 375.—5. Composite Order, ib.—Gothic Architecture, ib.

SECT. III. Explanation of the terms of art, relating to the five orders of Architecture, 375.

ART. II. Of the Architects and Buildings most celebrated by the ancients, 376.—1. Temple of Ephesus, ib.—2. Buildings erected at Athens, especially under Pericles, 377.—3. The Mausoleum, 378.—4. City and Light-house of Alexandria, ib.—5. The four principal temples of Greece, 379.—6. Celebrated Buildings at Rome, ib.

OF SCULPTURE.

SECT. I. Of the different species of Sculpture, 381.—*Materials of Sculpture*, Note, 382.—*Engraving among the ancients*, Note, 383.

SECT. II. Sculptors most celebrated among the ancients, 383.—Phidias, ib.—Polyclitus, 385.—Myron, ib.—Lysippus, ib.—Praxiteles, 386.—Scopas, 387.—*Sculpture among the Romans*, Note, 388.

OF PAINTING.

ART. I. Of Painting in general, 389.

SECT. I. Origin of Painting, 389.

SECT. II. Of the different parts of Painting—Of the Just in Painting, 389.—Of the True in Painting, 390.

SECT. III. Different species of Painting, 391.

ART. II. Brief history of the most famous Painters of Greece, 393.—Phidias and Panenus, ib.—Polygnotus, ib.—*Mycon*, Note, ib.—Apollodorus, ib.—Zeuxis, 394.—Parthianus, ib.—Pamphilus, 395.—*Eupompos*, Note, ib.—Timanthes, ib.—Apelles, 396.—Aristides, 398.—Protogenes, ib.—Pausias, 399.—*Painting and Painters at Rome*, Note, ib.

OF MUSIC.

ART. I. Of Music properly so called, 401.

SECT. I. Origin and wonderful effects of Music, 401.

SECT. II. Inventors and improvers of Music, and musical instruments, 403.—Amphion, ib.—Orpheus, ib.—Hyagnis, ib.—Olympius, ib.—Demodocus, Pheimus, 404.—Terpander, ib.—Phrynis, ib.—Timotheus, ib.—Archilochus, 405.—Aristoxenus, ib.

SECT. III. The ancient Music simple, grave, and manly—When and how corrupted, 405.

VOL. II.—2

SECT. IV. Different kinds and measures of the ancient Music—Manner of writing the notes to songs, 406.

SECT. V. Whether the modern should be preferred to the ancient Music, 407.

ART. II. Of the parts of Music peculiar to the ancients, 408.

SECT. I. Speaking upon the stage, or theatrical declamation composed and set to notes, 408.

SECT. II. Gesture of the stage composed and set to Music, 409.

SECT. III. Pronunciation and gesture divided upon the stage between two actors, 409.

SECT. IV. Art of the Pantomimes, 410.

OF THE ART MILITARY.

CHAP. I.

ART. I. Undertaking and declaration of War, 412.

SECT. I. Undertaking of War, 412.

SECT. II. Declaration of War, 413.

ART. II. Choice of the general and officers—Raising of troops, 413.

SECT. I. Choice of the generals and officers, 413.

SECT. II. Raising of troops, 416.

ART. III. Preparations for War, 419.

SECT. I. Of provisions, 419.

SECT. II. Pay of the soldiers, 421.

SECT. III. Ancient arms, 423.

ART. IV. SECT. I. Preliminary cares of the general, 425.

SECT. II. Departure and march of the troops, 426.—

March of the army, ib.

SECT. III. Construction and fortification of the camp, 427.

SECT. IV. Disposition of the Roman camp according to Polybius, 428.

SECT. V. Employments and exercises of the Roman soldiers and officers in their camp, 429.

ART. V. Of Battles, 430.

SECT. I. The success of battles principally depends upon the generals or commanders-in-chief, 430.

SECT. II. Care to consult the gods, and harangue the troops before a battle, 431.

SECT. III. Manner of embattling armies, and of engaging, 432.

SECT. IV. Punishments—Rewards—Trophies—Triumphs, 434.

SECT. V. Establishment of the Royal Hospital of Invalids at Paris, 433.

CHAP. II.

OF SIEGES.

ART. I. Of ancient Fortification, 439.

ART. II. Of the Machines of war, 440.

SECT. I. The Tortoise, 440.

SECT. II. Catapulta—Balista, 440.

SECT. III. The Ram, 440.

SECT. IV. Moving Towers, 441.

ART. II. Attack and defence of places, 441.

SECT. I. Lines of Circumvallation and Countervallation, 441.

SECT. II. Approaches of the Camp to the body of the place, 441.

SECT. III. Means used in repairing Breaches, 442.

SECT. IV. Attack and defence of places by Machines, 443.

CHAP. III.

Of the Navies of the ancients, 444.

OF GRAMMARIANS AND PHILOGERS.

Introduction, 447

CHAP. I.

OF GRAMMARIANS, 447.

ART. I. Grecian Grammarians, 449.—Plato, ib.—Epicurus, ib.—Philetas, ib.—Hecataeus, ib.—Lynceus, ib.—Zenodotus, ib.—Callimachus, ib.—Aristophanes, ib.—Aristarchus, ib.—Crates, 450.—Tyrannion, ib.—Dionysius the Thracian, ib.—Julius Pollux, 451.—Hesychius, ib.—Suidas, John and Isaac Tzetzes, Eustathius, ib.

ART. II. Latin Grammarians, 451.—Aurelius Opilius, ib.—Marcus Antonius Gnippon, ib.—Attejus, ib.—Verrius Flaccus, ib.—Cajus Julius Hyginus, ib.—Marcus Pomponius Marcellus, ib.—Remmius Palaemon, ib.—Short reflections upon the Progress and Alteration of Languages, ib.

CHAP. II.

OF PHILOGERS, 453.—Eratosthenes, ib.—Varro, ib.—Asconius Pedianus, ib.—Pliny the Elder, 454.—Lucian, 455.—Aulus Gellius, 456.—Athenaeus, 457.—Julius Pollux, ib.—Solinus, ib.—Philostatus, ib.—Macrobios, ib.—Donatus, ib.—Servius, 453.—Stobaeus, ib.

OF POLITE LEARNING, OR THE BELLES
LETTRES.

Introduction, 458.

CHAP. I.

OF THE POETS, 459.

ART. I. Of the Greek Poets, 459.

SECT. I. Of the Greek Poets who excelled in Epic Poetry, 460.

SECT. II. Of the Tragic Poets, 462.

SECT. III. Of the Comic Poets, 462.

SECT. IV. Of the Iambic Poets, 462.

SECT. V. Of the Lyric Poets, 462.

SECT. VI. Of the Elegiac Poets, 464.

SECT. VII. Of the Epigrammatical Poets, 465.

ART. II. Of the Latin Poets, 465.

SECT. I. First Age of Latin Poetry, 465.

SECT. II. Second Age of Latin Poetry, 470.

SECT. III. Third Age of Latin Poetry, 478.

CHAP. II.

OF HISTORIANS, 484.

ART. I. Of the Greek Historians, 484.

ART. II. Of the Latin Historians, 495.

CHAP. III.

OF ORATORS, 504.

ART. I. Of the Greek Orators, 506.

SECT. I. Age in which Eloquence flourished most at Athens, 506.

SECT. II. Change of Eloquence amongst the Greeks, 509.

ART. II. Of the Latin Orators, 510.

SECT. I. First Age of the Roman Orators, 510.

SECT. II. Second Age of the Roman Orators, 511.

SECT. III. Third Age of the Roman Orators, 512.

SECT. IV. Fourth Age of the Roman Orators, 514.

CHAP. IV.

OF RHETORICIANS, 526.

SECT. I. Of the Greek Rhetoricians, 526.

SECT. II. Of the Latin Rhetoricians, 533.

CHAP. V.

OF SOPHISTS, 540.

OF THE SUPERIOR SCIENCES.

OF PHILOSOPHY, 544.

PART II.

History of the Philosophers, 545.

CHAP. I.

History of the Philosophers of the Ionic Sect, to their division into various branches, 545.

CHAP. II.

Division of the Ionic Philosophy into different sects, 574.

ART. I. Of the Cyrenaic Sect, 547.

ART. II. Of the Megarean Sect, 543.

ART. III. Of the Elian and Eretrian Sects, 543.

ART. IV. Of the three Sects of Academics, 543.

SECT. I. Of the Ancient Academy, 543.

SECT. II. Of the Middle Academy, 551.

SECT. III. Of the New Academy, 552.

ART. V. Of the Peripatetics, 553.

ART. VI. Of the Sect of the Cynics, 554.

ART. VII. Of the Stoics, 556.

CHAP. III.

History of the Philosophers of the Italic Sect, 558.

ART. I. Pythagoras, 558.

ART. II. Division of the Italic Sect into four Sects, 562.

SECT. I. Sect of Heraclitus, 562.

SECT. II. Sect of Democritus, 562.

SECT. III. Sceptic or Pyrrhonic Sect, 563.

SECT. IV. Epicurean Sect, 564.—General reflections upon the several Sects of Philosophers, 564.

PART II.

History of Philosophy, 565.

CHAP. I.

Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers upon Logic, 565.

CHAP. II.

Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers concerning the Ethics, or Morality, 567.

ART. I. Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers upon the Supreme Good, or Happiness of Man, 568.

SECT. I. Opinions of Epicurus concerning the Supreme Good, 569.

SECT. II. Opinions of the Stoics concerning the Supreme Good, 571.

SECT. III. Opinions of the Peripatetics concerning the Supreme Good, 573.

ART. II. Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers upon the Virtues and Duties of Life, 573.

ART. III. Of Jurisprudence, or the Knowledge of the Civil Law, 576.

CHAP. III.

Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers concerning the Metaphysics and Physics, 579.

ART. I. Of the Existence and Attributes of the Divinity, 579.

SECT. I. Of the Existence of the Divinity, 579.

SECT. II. Of the Nature of the Divinity, 581.

SECT. III. Whether the Divinity presides over the Government of the World? Whether Mankind be his peculiar care? 583.

ART. II. Of the Formation of the World, 584.

SECT. I. System of the Stoics concerning the Formation of the World, 584.

SECT. II. System of the Epicureans concerning the Formation of the World, 584.

SECT. III. Plato's fine thought of the Formation of the World, 585.

ART. III. Of the Nature of the Soul, 586.

ART. IV. Of the Effects of Nature, 587.

CHAP. IV.

SECT. I. OF PHYSIC, 589.

SECT. II. OF BOTANY, 593.

SECT. III. OF CHEMISTRY, 594.

SECT. IV. OF ANATOMY, 595.

OF THE MATHEMATICS.

CHAP. I.

OF GEOMETRY, 595.—OF ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA; 598.—OF THE MECHANICS, 598.—OF STATICS, 599.

CHAP. II.

OF ASTRONOMY, 599.—Reflections upon Astronomy, 602.

OF GEOGRAPHY.

OF NAVIGATION, 606.—CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE WORK, 607.

The Chronological Table, 609.

Geographical Table, 623.

Index, 632.

Index to the History of the Arts and Sciences, 640.

THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

BOOK XVI.

For the Author's Introduction to this Division of the Work, see Preface, page 37.

SECTION I.—TROUBLES WHICH FOLLOWED THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER. THE PARTITION OF THE PROVINCES AMONG THE GENERALS. ARIDÆUS ELECTED KING. PERDICCAS APPOINTED HIS GUARDIAN, AND REGENT OF THE EMPIRE.

IN relating the death of Alexander the Great, I mentioned the many troubles and commotions that arose in the army on the first news of that event. All the troops in general, soldiers as well as officers, had their thoughts entirely taken up at first with the loss of a prince whom they loved as a father, and revered almost as a god, and abandoned themselves without reserve to grief and tears. A mournful silence reigned at first throughout the camp; but this was soon succeeded by dismal sighs and cries, which spoke the true language of the heart, and in which that vain ostentation of sorrow, which is too often paid to custom and decorum on such occasions,¹ had no share.

When the first impressions of grief had given place to reflection, they began to consider, with the utmost consternation, the state in which the death of Alexander had left them. They found themselves at an infinite distance from their native country, and amidst a people lately subdued, so little accustomed to their new yoke, that they were hardly acquainted with their present masters, and had not as yet had sufficient time to forget their ancient laws, and that form of government under which they had always lived. What measures could be taken to keep a country of such vast extent in subjection? how could it be possible to suppress those seditions and revolts which would naturally break out on all sides in that decisive moment? what expedients could be formed to restrain those troops within the limits of their duty, who had so long been habituated to complaints and murmurs, and were commanded by chiefs, whose several views and pretensions were so different?

The only remedy for these various calamities seemed to consist in a speedy nomination of a successor to Alexander; and the troops, as well as the officers, and the whole Macedonian state, seemed at first to be very desirous of this expedient, and, indeed, their common interest and security, with the preservation of their new conquests, amidst the barbarous nations that surrounded them, made it necessary for them to consider this election as their first and most important care, and to turn their thoughts to the choice of a person qualified to fill so arduous a station, and sustain the weight of it in such a manner as to be capable of

maintaining general order and tranquillity. But it had already been written,² "that the kingdom of Alexander should be divided and rent asunder after his death," and that it should not be transmitted in the usual manner "to his posterity." No efforts of human wisdom could establish a sole successor to that prince. In vain did they deliberate, consult and decide;³ nothing could be executed contrary to the preordained event, or, at least, nothing short of it could possibly subsist. A superior and invisible Power had already disposed of the kingdom, and divided it by an inevitable decree, as will be evident in the sequel. The circumstances of this partition had been denounced near three centuries before this time; the portions of it had already been assigned to different possessors, and nothing could frustrate that division, which was only to be deferred for a few years. Till the arrival of that period, men indeed might raise commotions, and concert a variety of movements; but all their efforts would only tend to the accomplishment of what had been ordained by the sovereign Master of kingdoms, and of what had been foretold by his prophet.

Alexander had a son by Barsina, and had conferred the name of Hercules upon him. Roxana, another of his wives, was advanced in her pregnancy when that prince died. He had likewise a natural brother, called Aridæus; but he would not upon his death-bed dispose of his dominions in favour of any heir; for which reason this vast empire, which no longer had a master to sway it, became a source of competition and wars, as Alexander had plainly foreseen, when he declared that his friends would celebrate his funeral with bloody battles.

The division was augmented by the equality among the generals of the army, none of whom was so superior to his colleagues, either by birth or merit, as to induce them to offer him the empire, and submit to his authority. The cavalry were desirous that Aridæus should succeed Alexander. His understanding had been impaired ever since he had been afflicted in his infancy with a violent indisposition, occasioned, as was pretended, by some particular drink which had been given him by Olympias, and which had disordered his senses. This ambitious princess being apprehensive that the engaging qualities she discovered in Aridæus, would be so many obstacles to the greatness of her son Alexander, thought it expedient to have recourse to the criminal precaution already mentioned. The infantry had declared against this prince, and were headed by Ptolemy, and other chiefs of great reputation, who began each to think of their own particular establishment. For a sudden revolution had taken place in the minds of these officers, and caused them to contemn the rank of private persons,

¹ Passim silentia et gemitus; nihil compositum in ostentationem—altius mœrebant. Tacit.

² Dan. xi. 4.

³ Non erit—non stabit—non fiet. Isai

and all dependency and subordination, with a view of aspiring to sovereign power, which had never employed their thoughts till then, and to which they never thought themselves qualified to pretend before this conjuncture of affairs.

These disputes,¹ which engaged the minds of all parties, delayed the interment of Alexander for the space of seven days; and, if we may credit some authors, the body continued uncorrupted all that time. It was afterwards delivered to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who embalmed it after their manner; and Arideus, a different person from him I have already mentioned, was charged with the care of conveying it to Alexandria.

After a variety of troubles and agitations had intervened, the principal officers assembled at a conference; where it was unanimously concluded, that Arideus should be king, or rather, that he should be invested with the shadow of royalty. The infirmity of mind, which ought to have excluded him from the throne, was the very motive of their advancing him to it, and united all suffrages in his favour. It favoured the hopes and pretensions of all the chiefs, and covered their designs. It was also agreed in this assembly, that if Roxana, who was then in the sixth or eighth month of her pregnancy, should have a son, he should be associated with Arideus in the throne. Perdicas, to whom Alexander on his death-bed had left his ring, had the person of the prince consigned to his care as a guardian, and was constituted regent of the kingdom.

The same assembly, whatever respect they might bear to the memory of Alexander, thought fit to annul some of his regulations, which would have been destructive to the state, and have exhausted his treasury. He had given orders for six temples to be erected in particular cities which he had named, and had fixed the expenses of each of these structures at 500 talents, which amount to 500,000 crowns. He had likewise ordered a pyramid to be raised over the tomb of his father Philip, which was to be finished with a grandeur and magnificence equal to that in Egypt, esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world. He had likewise planned other expenses of the like kind, which were prudently revoked by the assembly.

Within a short time after these proceedings,² Roxana was delivered of a son who was named Alexander, and acknowledged king, jointly with Arideus. But neither of these princes possessed any thing more than the name of royalty, as all authority was entirely lodged in the great lords and generals, who had divided the provinces among themselves.

In Europe; Thrace and the adjacent regions were consigned to Lysimachus; and Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece, were allotted to Antipater and Craterus.

In Africa; Egypt and the other conquests of Alexander in Libya and Cyrenaica, were assigned to Ptolemy the son of Lagos, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. The month of Thoth in the autumn is the epocha from whence the years of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt begin to be computed; though Ptolemy did not assume the title of king, in conjunction with the other successors of Alexander, till about seventeen years after this event.

In the Lesser Asia; Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia, were given to Antigonus; Caria, to Cassander; Lydia, to Menander; the lesser Phrygia, to Leonatus; Armenia, to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to Eumenes. These two provinces had never been completely subjected by the Macedonians, and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, continued to govern them as formerly; Alexander having advanced with so much rapidity to his other conquests, as left him no inclination to amuse himself with the entire reduction of that province, contented himself with a slight submission.

Syria and Phœnicia fell to Laomedon; one of the two Medias to Atropates, and the other to Perdicas. Persia was assigned to Peucestes; Babilonia to Archon; Mesopotamia, to Arcesias; Parthia and Hyr-

cania, to Phrataphernes; Bactriana and Sogdiana, to Philip; the other regions were divided among generals whose names are now but little known.

Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a post of great importance; and Cassander, the son of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards.

The Upper Asia, which extends almost to India, and even India also, were left in the possession of those who had been appointed governors of those countries by Alexander.

The same disposition generally prevailed in all the provinces I have already mentioned; and it is in this sense that most interpreters explain that passage in the Maccabees,³ which declares, that Alexander, having assembled the great men of his court who had been brought up with him, divided his kingdom among them in his lifetime. And indeed it was very probable, that this prince, when he saw his death approaching, and had no inclination to nominate a sole successor himself, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the government he had formerly assigned them; which is sufficient to authorize the declaration of the Maccabees, "That he divided his kingdom amongst them whilst he was living."

This partition was only the work of a man, and its duration was but short. That Being, who reigns alone, and is the only King of ages, had decreed a different distribution. He had assigned to each his portion, and marked out its boundaries and extent, and his disposition alone was to subsist.

The partition concluded upon in the assembly was the source of various divisions and wars, as will be evident in the series of this history, each of these governors claiming the exercise of an independent and sovereign power in his particular province. They however paid that veneration to the memory of Alexander,⁴ as not to assume the title of king, till all the race of that monarch, who had been placed upon the throne, were extinct.

Among the governors of the provinces I have mentioned, some distinguished themselves more than others by their reputation, merit and cabals; and formed different parties, to which the others adhered, agreeably to their particular views, either of interest or ambition. For it is not to be imagined that the resolutions, which are formed in conjunctures of this nature, are much influenced by a devotion to the public good.

Eumenes must,⁵ however, be excepted; for he undoubtedly was the most virtuous man among all the governors, and had no superior in true bravery. He was always firm in the interest of the two kings, from a principle of true probity. He was a native of Cardia, a city of Thrace, and his birth was but obscure. Philip, who had observed excellent qualities in him in his youth, kept him near his own person in the quality of secretary, and reposed great confidence in him. He was equally esteemed by Alexander, who treated him with extraordinary marks of his favour. Barsina, the first lady for whom this prince had entertained a passion in Asia, and by whom he had a son named Hercules, had a sister of the same name with her own, and the king gave her in marriage to Eumenes.⁶ We shall see by the event that this prudent favourite conducted himself in such a manner as justly entitled him to the favour of those two princes, even after their death; and all his sentiments and actions will make it evident that a man may be a plebeian by birth, and yet very noble by disposition.

I have already intimated,⁷ that Sysigambis, who had patiently supported the death of her father, husband, and son, could not survive the loss of Alexander.⁸ The death of this princess was soon followed by that of the two grand-daughters, Statira, the wife of Alexander, and Drypetis, the relict of Hephestion. Roxana, who was apprehensive lest Statira should be pregnant by Alexander as well as herself, and that the birth of a prince would frustrate the measures which

¹ Quint. Curt. l. x. Justin. l. xiii. Diod. l. xviii.

² Diod. l. xviii. p. 587, 588. Justin. l. xiii. c. 4. Quint. Curt. l. x. c. 10.

³ 1 Maccab. i. 6, 7.

⁴ Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

⁵ Plut. in Eumen. p. 583. Corn. Nep. in Eumen. c. 1.

⁶ Arrian assigns him another wife, l. vii. p. 278.

⁷ Quint. Curt. l. x. c. 5.

⁸ Plut. in Alex.

had been taken to secure the succession to the son she hoped to have, prevailed upon the two sisters to visit her, and secretly destroyed them in concert with Perdicas, her only confidant in that impious proceeding.

It is now time to enter upon a detail of those actions that were performed by the successors of Alexander. I shall therefore begin with the defection of the Greeks in Upper Asia, and with the war which Antipater had to sustain against Greece; because those transactions are most detached, and in a manner distinct, from the other events.

SECTION II.—THE REVOLT OF THE GREEKS IN UPPER ASIA. THE IMPRESSIONS OCCASIONED BY THE NEWS OF ALEXANDER'S DEATH AT ATHENS. THE EXPEDITION OF ANTIPATER INTO GREECE. HE IS FIRST DEFEATED, AND AFTERWARDS VICTORIOUS. MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF ATHENS, AND LEAVES A GARRISON THERE. THE FLIGHT AND DEATH OF DEMOSTHENES.

THE Greeks,¹ whom Alexander A. M. 3681. had established, in the form of colonies, Ant. J. C. 323. in the provinces of Upper Asia, continued with reluctance in those settlements, because they did not experience that delight and satisfaction with which they had flattered themselves, and had long cherished an ardent desire of returning to their own country. They had not however dared to discover their uneasiness whilst Alexander was living, but the moment they received intelligence of his death, they openly declared their intentions. They armed 20,000 foot, all warlike and experienced soldiers, with 3000 horse; and having placed Philo at their head, they prepared for their departure, without taking counsel, or receiving orders from any but themselves, as if they had been subject to no authority, and no longer acknowledged any superior.

Perdicas, who foresaw the consequences of such an enterprise, at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops, as well as their officers, breathed nothing but independence, sent Python to oppose them.

The merit of this officer was acknowledged by all; and he willingly charged himself with this commission, in expectation of gaining over those Greeks, and of procuring himself some considerable establishment in Upper Asia by their means. Perdicas, being acquainted with his design, gave a very surprising order to the Macedonians whom he sent with that general, which was to exterminate the revolvers entirely. Python, on his arrival, brought over, by money, 3000 Greeks, who turned their backs in the battle, and were the occasion of his obtaining a complete victory. The vanquished troops surrendered, but made the preservation of their lives and liberties the condition of their submitting to the conqueror. This was exactly agreeable to Python's design, but he was no longer master of its execution. The Macedonians thinking it incumbent on them to accomplish the orders of Perdicas, inhumanly slaughtered all the Greeks, without the least regard to the terms they had granted them. Python being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdicas.

This expedition was soon succeeded by the Grecian war.² The news of Alexander's death being brought to Athens, had excited great rumours, and occasioned a joy that was almost universal. The people, who had long sustained with reluctance the yoke which the Macedonians had imposed on Greece, made liberty the subject of all their discourse: they breathed nothing but war, and abandoned themselves to the extravagant emotions of a senseless and excessive joy. Phocion, who was a person of wisdom and moderation, and doubted the truth of the intelligence they had received, endeavoured to calm the turbulency of their minds, and to check these impetuous sallies, which rendered them incapable of counsel and sedate reflection. As the generality of the orators, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, exclaimed that the news was true, and that Alexander was certainly dead,

Phocion rose up, and expressed himself in this manner: "If he be really dead to-day, he will likewise be so to-morrow and the next day, so that we shall have time enough to deliberate in a calm manner, and with a greater security."

Leosthenes, who was the first that published this account at Athens, was continually haranguing the people with excessive arrogance and vanity. Phocion, who was tired with his speeches, said to him, "Young man, your discourse resembles the cypress, which is tall and spreading, but bears no fruit." He gave great offence, by opposing the inclinations of the people in so strenuous a manner, and Hyperides rising up, asked him this question: "When would you advise the Athenians to make war?"—"As soon," replied Phocion, "as I see the young men firmly resolved to observe a strict discipline; the rich disposed to contribute, according to their abilities, to the expense of a war; and when the orators no longer rob the public."

All the remonstrances of Phocion were ineffectual: a war was resolved upon, and a deputation agreed to be sent to all the states of Greece, to engage their accession to the league. This is the war in which all the Greeks, except the Thebans, united to maintain the liberty of their country, under the conduct of Leosthenes, against Antipater; and it was called the Lamian war, from the name of a city where the latter was defeated in the first battle.

Demosthenes,³ who was then in exile at Megara, but who amidst his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the interest of his country and the defence of the common liberty, joined himself with the Athenian ambassadors sent into Peloponnesus, and having seconded their remonstrances in a wonderful manner by the force of his eloquence, he engaged Sicyon, Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponnesus, to accede to the league.

The Athenians, struck with admiration at a zeal so noble and generous, immediately passed a decree to recall him from banishment. A galley with three ranks of oars was despatched to him at Egina; and, when he entered the port of Piræus, all the magistrates and priests advanced out of the city, and all the citizens crowded to meet that illustrious exile, and received him with the utmost demonstrations of affection and joy, blended at the same time with an air of sorrow and repentance, for the injury they had done him. Demosthenes was sensibly affected with the extraordinary honours that were rendered him; and whilst he returned as it were in triumph to his country, amidst the acclamations of the people, he lifted up his hands towards heaven to thank the gods for so illustrious a protection, and congratulated himself on beholding a day more glorious to him, than that had proved to Alcibiades, on which he returned from his exile. For his fellow-citizens received him from the pure effect of desire and good will; whereas the reception of Alcibiades was not entirely voluntary, some compulsion being put upon their inclinations.

The generality of those who were far advanced in years,⁴ were extremely apprehensive of the event of a war, which had been undertaken with too much precipitation, and without examining into the consequences with all the attention and sedateness that an enterprise of so much importance required. They were sensible also, that there was no necessity for declaring themselves so openly against the Macedonians, whose veteran troops were very formidable; and the example of Thebes, which was destroyed by the same temerity of conduct, added to their consternation. But the orators, who derived their advantages from the distraction of the public affairs, and to whom, according to the observation of Philip, war was peace, and peace war, would not allow the people time to deliberate maturely on the affairs proposed to their consideration, but drew them into their sentiments by a fallacious eloquence, which presented them with nothing but scenes of future conquest and triumphs.

Demosthenes and Phocion, who wanted neither zeal nor prudence, were of different sentiments on this

¹ Plut. in Demosth. p. 858. Justin. l. xiii. c. 5.

² Diocl. l. xviii. p. 594—599.

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³ Diocl. l. xviii. p. 591, 592. ⁴ Plut. in Phoc. p. 751, 752.

occasion, which was no extraordinary circumstance with respect to them. It is not my province to determine which of them had reason on his side: but, in such a perplexing conjuncture as this, there is nothing surprising in a contrariety of opinions, though the result of good intentions on both sides. Phocion's scheme was, perhaps, the most prudent, and that of Demosthenes the most glorious.

Be that as it may, a considerable army was raised, and a very numerous fleet fitted out. All the citizens who were under the age of forty, and capable of bearing arms, were drawn out. Of the ten tribes that composed the republic, three were left for the defence of Attica, the rest marched out with the other allies under the command of Leosthenes.

Antipater was far from being indolent during these transactions in Greece, of which he had been apprized, and he had sent to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to urge them to come to his assistance; but before the arrival of the expected succours, he marched at the head of only 13,000 Macedonians and 600 horse; the frequent recruits which he had sent Alexander, having left him no more troops in all the country.

It is surprising that Antipater should attempt to give battle to the united forces of all Greece with such a handful of men; but he undoubtedly imagined, that the Greeks were no longer actuated by their ancient zeal and ardour for liberty, and that they ceased to consider it as such an inestimable advantage, as ought to inspire them with a resolution to venture their lives and fortunes for its preservation. He flattered himself that they had begun to familiarize themselves with subjection: and indeed this was the disposition of the Greeks at that time; in whom appeared no longer the descendants of those who had so gallantly sustained all the efforts of the East, and fought against a million of men for the preservation of their freedom.

Antipater advanced towards Thessaly, and was followed by his fleet, which cruised along the sea-coasts. It consisted of 110 *triremes*, or galleys of three benches of oars. The Thessalians declared at first in his favour; but having afterwards changed their sentiments, they joined the Athenians, and supplied them with a strong body of horse.

As the army of the Athenians and their allies was much more numerous than that of the Macedonians, Antipater could not support the charge, and was defeated in the first battle. As he durst not hazard a second, and was in no condition to make a safe retreat into Macedonia, he shut himself up in Lamia, a small city in Thessaly, in order to wait for succours that were to be transmitted to him from Asia, and he fortified himself in that place, which was soon besieged by the Athenians.

The assault was carried on with great bravery against the town, and the resistance was equally vigorous. Leosthenes, after several attempts, despairing to carry it by force, changed the siege into a blockade, in order to conquer the place by famine. He surrounded it with a wall of circumvallation, and a very deep ditch, and by these means cut off all supplies of provision. The city soon became sensible of the growing scarcity, and the besieged began to be seriously disposed to surrender; when Leosthenes, in a sally they made upon him, received a considerable wound, which rendered it necessary for him to be carried to his tent. Upon which the command of the army was consigned to Antiphillus, who was equally esteemed by the troops for his valour and ability.

Leonatus,¹ in the mean time, was marching to the assistance of the Ant. J. C. 322. Macedonians besieged in Lamia; and was commissioned, as well as

Antigonus, by an agreement made between the generals, to establish Eumenes in Cappadocia by force of arms; but they took other measures, in consequence of some private views. Leonatus, who reposed an entire confidence in Eumenes, declared to him at parting, that the engagement to assist Antipater was a mere pretext, and that his real intention was to advance into Greece, in order to make himself master

of Macedonia. He, at the same time, showed him letters from Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, who invited him to come to Pella, and promised to espouse him. Leonatus being arrived within a little distance of Lamia, marched directly against the enemy, with 20,000 foot and 2500 horse. Prosperity had introduced disorder into the Grecian army; several parties of soldiers drew off, and retired into their own country on various pretexts, which greatly diminished the number of the troops, who were now reduced to 22,000 foot. The cavalry amounted to 3500, two thousand of whom were Thessalians; and as they constituted the main strength of the army, so all hopes of success were founded in them; and accordingly, when the battle was fought, this body of horse had the greatest share in the victory that was obtained. They were commanded by Menon. Leonatus, covered with wounds, lost his life in the field of battle, and was conveyed into the camp by his troops. The Macedonian phalanx greatly dreaded the shock of the cavalry, and had therefore retreated to eminences, whither the Thessalians could not pursue them. The Greeks having carried off their dead, erected a trophy, and retired.

The whole conversation at Athens turned upon the glorious exploits of Leosthenes,² who survived his honours but a short time. A universal joy spread through the city; festivals were celebrated, and sacrifices offered without intermission, to testify their gratitude to the gods for all the advantages they had obtained. The enemies of Phocion, thinking to mortify him in the most sensible manner, and reduce him to an incapacity of justifying his constant opposition to that war, asked him, if he would not have rejoiced to have performed so many glorious actions? "Undoubtedly I would," replied Phocion; "but I would not at the same time have neglected to offer the advice I gave."³ He did not think that a judgment ought to be formed of any particular counsel from mere success, but rather from the nature and solidity of the counsel itself; and he did not retract his sentiments, because those of an opposite nature had been successful, which only proved the latter more fortunate, but not more judicious. And as these agreeable advices came thick upon each other, Phocion, who was apprehensive of the sequel, cried out, "When shall we cease to conquer?"

Antipater was obliged to surrender by capitulation, but history has not transmitted to us the conditions of the treaty. The event only makes it evident, that Leosthenes compelled him to surrender at discretion, and he himself died a few days after of the wounds he had received at the siege. Antipater having quitted Lamia the day after the battle, for he seems to have been favourably treated, joined the remains of the army of Leonatus, and took upon him the command of those troops. He was extremely cautious of hazarding a second battle, and kept with his troops, like a judicious and experienced general, on eminences inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Antiphillus, the general of the Greeks, remained with his troops in Thessaly, and contented himself with observing the motions of Antipater.

Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, obtained, much about the same time, two victories near the islands of Echinades, over Eetion the admiral of the Athenian navy.

Craterus,⁴ who had long been expected, arrived at last in Thessaly, and halted at the river Peneus. He resigned the command to Antipater, and was contented to serve under him. The troops he had brought thither amounted, in conjunction with those of Leonatus, to above 40,000 foot, 3000 archers or slingers, and 5000 horse. The army of the allies was much inferior in number, and consisted of no more than 25,000 foot and 3500 horse. Military discipline had been much neglected among them, after the victories they had obtained. A considerable battle was fought

² Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

³ Non damnavit quod rectè viderat, quia, quod alioq̃ malè consulerat, bene cesserat: felicius hoc existimans, illud etiam sapientius. *Val. Max. lib. iii. cap. 8.*

⁴ Diod. l. xviii. p. 599–602.

¹ Plut. in Eumen. p. 584.

near Cranon, in which the Greeks were defeated; they, however, lost but few troops, and even that disadvantage was occasioned by the licentious conduct of the soldiers, and the small authority of the chiefs, who were incapable of enforcing obedience to their commands.

Antiphilus and Menon, the two generals of the Grecian army, assembled a council the next day, to deliberate, whether they should wait the return of those troops who had retired into their own country, or propose terms of accommodation to the enemy. The council declared in favour of the latter; upon which deputies were immediately despatched to the enemy's camp in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied, that he would enter into a separate treaty with each of the cities, persuading himself that he should facilitate the accomplishment of his designs by this proceeding; and he was not deceived in his opinion. His answer broke off the negotiation; and the moment he presented himself before the cities of the allies, they disbanded their troops, and surrendered up their liberties in the most pusillanimous manner, each city being solely attentive to its separate advantage.

This circumstance is a sufficient confirmation of what I have formerly observed with relation to the present disposition of the people of Greece. They were no longer animated with the noble zeal of those ancient assertors of liberty, who devoted their whole attention to the good of the public and the glory of the nation; who considered the danger of their neighbours and allies as their own, and marched with the utmost expedition to their assistance upon the first signal of their distress. Whereas now, when a formidable enemy appeared at the gates of Athens, all the republics of Greece had neither activity nor vigour; Peloponnesus continued without motion, and Sparta was as little heard of as if she had never existed; unhappy effects of the mutual jealousy which those people had conceived against each other, and of their disregard to the common liberty, in consequence of a fatal lethargy into which they were sunk amidst the greatest dangers! These are symptoms which prognosticate and prepare the way for approaching decline and ruin.

Antipater improved this desertion to his own advantage, and marched immediately to Athens, which saw herself abandoned by all her allies, and consequently in no condition to defend herself against a powerful and victorious enemy. Before he entered the city, Demosthenes, and all those of his party, who may be considered as the last true Greeks, and the defenders of expiring liberty, retired from that place; and the people, in order to transfer from themselves to those great men the reproach resulting from their declaration of war against Antipater, and likewise to obtain his good graces, condemned them to die by a decree which Demades prepared. The reader has not forgot, that these are the same people who had lately recalled Demosthenes by a decree so much for his honour, and had received him in triumph.

The same Demades procured a second decree for sending ambassadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, and that they should be invested with full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. Phocion himself was at their head; and the conqueror declared, that he expected the Athenians should entirely submit the terms to his regulation, in the manner as he himself had acted, when he was besieged in the city of Lamia, and had conformed to the capitulation imposed upon him by Leosthenes their general.

Phocion returned to acquaint the Athenians with this answer, and they were compelled to acquiesce in the conditions, however rigid they might appear. He then came back to Thebes with the rest of the ambassadors, with whom Xenocrates had been associated, in hopes that the appearance alone of so celebrated a philosopher would inspire Antipater with respect, and induce him to pay homage to his virtue. But surely they must have been little acquainted with the heart of man, and particularly with the violent

and inhuman disposition of Antipater, to be capable of flattering themselves, that an enemy, with whom they had been engaged in an open war, would renounce his advantage through any inducement of respect for the virtue of a single man, or in consequence of a harangue uttered by a philosopher who had declared against him. Antipater would not even condescend to cast his eyes upon him; and when he was preparing to enter upon the conference, for he was commissioned to be the speaker on this occasion, he interrupted him in a very abrupt manner; and perceiving that he continued his discourse, commanded him to be silent. But he did not treat Phocion in the same manner; for after he had attended to his discourse, he replied, "That he was disposed to contract a friendship and alliance with the Athenians on the following conditions: They should deliver up Demosthenes and Hyperides to him; the government should be restored to its ancient plan, by which all employments in the state were to be conferred upon the rich; that they should receive a garrison in the port of Munychia; that they should defray all the expenses of the war, and also pay a large sum, the amount of which should be settled." Thus according to Diodorus, none but those whose yearly income exceeded 2000 drachmas were to be admitted into any share of the government for the future, or to have any right to vote. Antipater intended to make himself absolute master of Athens by this regulation, being very sensible that the rich men, who enjoyed public employments, and had large revenues, would become his dependants much more effectually than a poor and despicable populace, who had nothing to lose, and who would be only guided by their own caprice.

All the ambassadors but Xenocrates were well contented with these conditions, which they thought were very moderate, considering their present situation; but that philosopher judged otherwise. "They are very moderate for slaves," said he, "but extremely severe for freemen."

The Athenians therefore were compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garrison, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and one of Phocion's particular friends. The troops took possession of the place during the festival of the Great Mysteries, and the very day on which it was usual to carry the god Iacchus in procession from the city to Eleusis. This was a melancholy conjuncture for the Athenians, and affected them with the most sensible affliction. "Alas!" said they, when they compared the past times with those they then saw, "the gods amidst our greatest adversities, would formerly manifest themselves in our favour during this sacred ceremonial, by mystic visions and audible voices to the great astonishment of our enemies, who were terrified by them. But now, when we are even celebrating the same solemnities, they cast an un pitying eye on the greatest calamities that can happen to Greece: they behold the most sacred of all days in the year, and that which is most agreeable to us, polluted and distinguished by the most dreadful of calamities, which will even transmit its name to this sacred season through all succeeding generations."

The garrison, commanded by Menyllus, did not offer the least injury to any of the inhabitants; but there were more than 12,000 of them excluded from employments in the state, by one of the stipulations in the treaty, in consequence of their poverty. Some of these unfortunate persons continued in Athens, and lingered out a wretched life, amidst the contempt and insults they had justly drawn upon themselves; for the generality of them were seditious and mercenary in their dispositions, had neither virtue nor justice, but flattered themselves with a false idea of liberty, which they were incapable of using aright, and had no knowledge of either its bounds, duties or end. The other poor citizens departed from the city, in order to avoid that opprobrious condition, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

Demetrius Pialeireus² was obliged to have recourse to flight, and retired to Nicanor; in whom Cassan-

¹ Plut. in Phoc. p. 753, 754.

² Athen. l. xii. p. 542.

der, the son of Antipater, reposed much confidence, and made him governor of Munychia after the death of his father, as will appear immediately. This Demetrius had been not only the disciple, but the intimate friend of the celebrated Theophrastus; and, under the conduct of so learned a master, had perfected his natural genius for eloquence, and rendered himself expert in philosophy, politics, and history. He was in great esteem at Athens,¹ and began to enter upon the administration of affairs, when Harpalus arrived there, after he had declared against Alexander. He was obliged to quit that city at the time of which we are now speaking, and was soon after condemned there, though absent, under a vain pretext of irreligion.

The whole weight of Antipater's displeasure fell chiefly upon Demosthenes,² Hyperides, and some other Athenians, who had been their adherents; and when he was informed that they had eluded his vengeance by flight, he despatched a body of men with orders to seize them, and placed one Archias at their head, who had formerly played in tragedies. This man having found at Egina the orator Hyperides, Aristonicus, of Marathon, and Himereus the brother of Demetrius Phalereus, who had all three taken sanctuary in the temple of Ajax; he dragged them from their asylum, and sent them to Antipater, who was then at Cleonæ, where he condemned them to die. Some authors have even declared, that he caused the tongue of Hyperides to be cut out.

The same Archias having received intelligence, that Demosthenes, who had retired into the island of Calauria, was become a supplicant in the temple of Neptune, he sailed thither in a small vessel, and landed with some Thracian soldiers: after which he spared no pains to persuade Demosthenes to accompany him to Antipater, assuring him, that he should receive no injury. Demosthenes was too well acquainted with mankind to rely on his promise; and was sensible that those venal souls, who have hired themselves into the service of iniquity, those infamous ministers in the execution of orders equally cruel and unjust, have as little regard to sincerity and truth as their masters. To prevent therefore his falling into the hands of a tyrant, who would have satiated his fury upon him, he swallowed poison, which he always carried about him, and which soon produced its effect. When he found his strength declining, he advanced a few steps, by the aid of some domestics who supported him, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The Athenians, soon after this event, erected a statue of brass to his memory, as a testimonial of their gratitude and esteem, and made a decree, that the eldest branch of his family should be brought up in the Prytaneum, at the public expense, from generation to generation: and at the foot of the statue they engraved this inscription, which was couched in two elegiac verses: "Demosthenes, if thy power had been equal to thy wisdom, the Macedonian Mars would never have triumphed over Greece." What regard is to be entertained for the judgment of a people, who are capable of being hurried into such opposite extremes, and who one day passed sentence of death on a citizen, and loaded him with honours and applause the next?

What I have already said of Demosthenes, on several occasions, makes it unnecessary to enlarge upon his character in this place. He was not only a great orator, but an accomplished statesman. His views were noble and exalted; his zeal for the honour and interest of his country was superior to every temptation; he firmly retained an irreconcilable aversion to all measures which had any resemblance to tyranny; and his love for liberty was such as may be imagined in a republican, as implacable an enemy to all servitude and dependency as ever lived. A wonderful sagacity of mind enabled him to penetrate into future events, and presented them to his view with as much perspicuity, though remote, as if they had been actually present. He seemed as much acquainted with all the designs of Philip, as if he had been admitted

into a participation of his councils; and if the Athenians had followed his advice, that prince would not have attained that height of power which proved destructive to Greece, as Demosthenes had frequently foretold.

He was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of Philip,³ and was very far from praising him, like the generality of orators. Two colleagues, with whom he had been associated in an embassy to that great prince, were continually praising the king of Macedonia at their return, and saying, that he was a very eloquent and handsome prince, and a most extraordinary drinker. "What strange commendations are these!" replied Demosthenes. "The first is the accomplishment of a rhetorician; the second of a woman; and the third of a sponge; but none of them the qualification of a king."

With relation to eloquence, nothing can be added to what Quintilian has observed, in the parallel he has drawn between Demosthenes and Cicero. After having shown that the great and essential qualities of an orator are common to them both, he marks out the particular difference observable between them with respect to style and elocution. "The one,"⁴ says he, "is more precise, the other more luxuriant. The one crowds all his forces into a smaller compass when he attacks his adversary, the other chooses a larger field for the assault. The one always endeavours in a manner to transfix him with the vivacity of his style, the other frequently overwhelms him with the weight of his discourse. Nothing can be retrenched from the one, and nothing can be added to the other. In Demosthenes we discover more labour and study, in Cicero more nature and genius."

I have elsewhere observed another mark of difference between these two great orators,⁵ which I beg leave to insert in this place. That which characterizes Demosthenes more than any other circumstance, and in which he has never been imitated, is such an absolute oblivion of himself, and so scrupulous and constant a solicitude to suppress all ostentation of wit; in a word, such a perpetual care to confine the attention of the auditor to the cause, and not to the orator, that he never suffers any one turn of thought or expression to escape him, which has no other view than merely to please and shine. This reserve and moderation in so fine a genius as Demosthenes, and in matters so susceptible of grace and elegance, adds perfection to his merit, and renders him superior to all praises.

Cicero was sensible of all the estimation due to the eloquence of Demosthenes, and experienced all its force and beauty. But as he was persuaded, that an orator, when he is engaged in any points that are not strictly essential, ought to form his style by the taste of his audience: and did not believe that the genius of his times was consistent with such a rigid exactness; he therefore judged it necessary to accommodate himself in some measure to the ears and delicacy of his auditors, who required more grace and elegance in an oration. For which reason, though he never lost sight of any important point in the cause he pleaded, he yet paid some attention to what might captivate and please the ear. He even thought that this was conducive to promote the interest of his client; and he was not mistaken, as to please is one of the most certain means of persuading: but at the same time he laboured for his own reputation, and never forgot himself.

The death of Demosthenes and Hyperides, caused the Athenians to regret the reign of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generosity, and clemency, which those two princes retained, even amidst the emotions of their displeasure; and how inclinable they had always been to pardon offences, and treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the mask of a

¹ Plut. in Demosth. p. 853.

² In eloquendo est aliqua diversitas. Densior ille, hic copiosior. Ille concludit astrictius, hic latius pugnat. Ille acumine semper, hic frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi potest, huic nihil adijci. Curæ plus in illo, in hoc naturæ. Quintil. l. x. c. i.

³ In the discourse on the eloquence of the bar.

⁴ Diog. Laert. in Demetr. ⁵ Plut. in Demosth. p. 859, 860.

private man, in a shabby cloak, with all the appearance of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title to authority, discovered himself to be a rigid and imperious master.

Antipater was, however, prevailed upon by the prayers of Phocion, to recall several persons from banishment, notwithstanding all the severity of his disposition; and there is reason to believe, that Demetrius was one of this number. At least, it is certain that he had a considerable share in the administration of the republic from that time. As for those whose recall to Athens Phocion was unable to obtain, he procured for them more commodious situations, that were not so remote as their former settlements; and took his measures so effectually, that they were not banished, according to the first sentence, beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Ténarus; nor lived sequestered from the pleasures of Greece, but obtained a settlement in Peloponnesus. Who can help admiring, on the one hand, the amiable and generous disposition of Phocion, who employed his credit with Antipater, in order to procure for the unfortunate some alleviation of their calamities; and, on the other hand, a kind of humanity in a prince, who was not very desirous of distinguishing himself by that quality, but was sensible, however, that it would be extremely rigid in him, to add new mortifications to the inconveniences of banishment.

Antipater in other respects exercised his government with great justice and moderation over those who continued in Athens; he bestowed the principal posts and employments on such persons as he imagined were the most virtuous and honest men; and contented himself with removing from all authority, such as he thought were most likely to excite troubles. He was sensible, that this people could neither support a state of absolute servitude, nor of entire liberty; for which reason he thought it necessary to take from the one, whatever was too rigid; and from the other, all that was excessive and licentious.

The conqueror after so glorious a campaign, set out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus, and the solemnity was performed with all imaginable grandeur. Phila was one of the most accomplished princesses of her age, and her beauty was the least part of her merit. The lustre of her charms was heightened by the sweetness and modesty that beamed upon her countenance, and by an air of complacency, and a natural disposition to oblige, which won the hearts of all who beheld her. These engaging qualities were rendered still more amiable by the brightness of a superior genius, and a prudence uncommon in her sex, which made her capable of the greatest affairs. It is even said, that young as she then was, her father Antipater, who was one of the most able politicians of his age, never engaged in any affair of importance without consulting her. This princess never made use of the influence she had over her two husbands (for after the death of Craterus she espoused Demetrius the son of Antigonus,) but to procure some favour for the officers, their daughters, or sisters. If they were poor, she furnished them with portions for their marriage: and if they were so unhappy as to be calumniated, she herself was very active in their justification. So generous a liberality gave her an absolute power among the troops. All cabals were dissolved by her presence, and all revolts gave way and were appeased by her engaging conduct.

SECTION III.—PROCESSION AT THE FUNERAL OF ALEXANDER. HIS BODY IS CONVEYED TO ALEXANDRIA. EUMENES IS PUT INTO POSSESSION OF CAP-PADOCIA, BY PERDICCAS. PTOLEMY, CRATERUS, ANTIPATER, AND ANTIGONUS, FORM A CONFEDERACY AGAINST EACH OF THEM. THE DEATH OF CRATERUS. UNFORTUNATE EXPEDITION OF PERDICCAS INTO EGYPT. HE IS SLAIN THERE.

MUCH about this time¹ the funeral obsequies of Alexander were performed.² Aridæus having been deputed by all the governors and

grandees of the kingdom to take upon himself the care of that solemnity, had employed two years in preparing every thing that could possibly render it the most pompous and splendid funeral that had ever been seen. When all things were ready for the celebration of this mournful but superb ceremonial, orders were given for the procession to begin. This was preceded by a great number of pioneers and other workmen, whose office was to make all the ways practicable through which the procession was to pass.

As soon as these were levelled, that magnificent chariot, the invention and design of which raised as much admiration as the immense riches that glittered all over it, set out from Babylon. The body of the chariot rested upon two axletrees, that were inserted into four wheels, made after the Persian manner; the naves and spokes of which were covered with gold, and the felloes plated over with iron. The extremities of the axletrees were made of gold, representing the muzzles of lions biting a dart. The chariot had four poles, to each of which were harnessed four sets of mules, each set consisting of four of those animals; so that this chariot was drawn by sixty-four mules. The strongest of those creatures, and the largest, were chosen on this occasion. They were adorned with crowns of gold, and collars enriched with precious stones and golden bells.

On this chariot was erected a pavilion of entire gold, twelve feet wide and eighteen in length, supported by columns of the Ionic order, embellished with the leaves of acanthus. The inside was adorned with jewels, disposed in the forms of shells. The circumference was beautified with a fringe of golden network: the threads that composed the texture were an inch in thickness, and to those were fastened large bells, whose sound was heard to a great distance.

The external decorations consisted of four groups in basso relievo.

The first represented Alexander seated in a military chariot, with a splendid sceptre in his hand, and surrounded on one side with a troop of Macedonians in arms; and on the other, with an equal number of Persians armed in their own manner. These were preceded by the king's equerries.

In the second were seen elephants completely harnessed, with a band of Indians seated on the forepart of their bodies; and on their hinder another band of Macedonians, armed as in the day of battle.

The third exhibited to the view several squadrons of horse arranged in military array.

The fourth represented ships preparing for a battle. At the entrance into the pavilion were golden lions, that seemed to guard the passage.

The four corners were adorned with statues of massy gold, representing victories, with trophies of arms in their hands.

Under the pavilion was placed a throne of gold of a square form, adorned with the heads of animals,³ whose necks were encompassed with circlets of gold a foot and a half in breadth; to these were hung crowns, that glittered with the liveliest colours, such as were carried in procession at the celebration of sacred solemnities.

At the foot of the throne was placed the coffin of Alexander, formed of beaten gold, and half filled with aromatic spices and perfumes, as well to exhale an agreeable odour, as for the preservation of the corpse. A pall of purple, brocaded with gold, covered the coffin.

Between this and the throne, the arms of that monarch were disposed in the manner he wore them when living.

The outside of the pavilion was likewise covered with purple, flowered with gold. The top ended in a very large crown of the same metal, which seemed to be a composition of olive-branches. The beams of the sun which darted on this diadem, in conjunction with the motion of the chariot, caused it to emit a kind of rays like those of lightning.

clear and intelligible manner than I have done: but that was not possible for me to effect, though I had recourse to persons of greater capacity than myself.

³ The Greek word *κεφαλαια* imports a kind of hair, from whose chin a beard hangs down like that of goats.

¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 608—610.

² I could have wished it had been in my power to have explained several passages of this description in a more

It may easily be imagined, that in so long a procession, the motion of a chariot, laden like this, would be liable to great inconveniences. In order, therefore, that the pavilion, with all its appendages, might, when the chariot moved in any uneven ways, constantly continue in the same situation, notwithstanding the inequality of the ground, and the shocks that would frequently be unavoidable, a cylinder was raised from the middle of each axletree, to support the pavilion; by which expedient the whole machine was preserved steady.

The chariot was followed by the royal guards, all in arms and magnificently arrayed.

The multitude of spectators in this solemnity is hardly credible; but they were drawn together as well by their veneration for the memory of Alexander, as by the magnificence of this funeral pomp, which had never been equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, that the place where Alexander should be interred would be rendered the most happy and flourishing part of the whole earth. The governors contested with each other for the disposal of a body that was to be attended with such a glorious prerogative. The affection Perdiccas entertained for his country, made him desirous that the corpse should be conveyed to *Ægæ* in Macedonia, where the remains of its kings were usually deposited. Other places were likewise proposed, but the preference was given to Egypt. Ptolemy, who had such extraordinary and recent obligations to the king of Macedonia, was determined to signalize his gratitude on this occasion. He accordingly set out, with a numerous guard of his best troops, in order to meet the procession, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the funeral, he prevented them from interring the corpse in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, as they had proposed. It was therefore deposited first in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to Alexandria. Ptolemy raised a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were usually paid to demigods and heroes by Pagan antiquity.

Freinsheuius,¹ in his supplement to Livy, relates, after Leo,² the African, that the tomb of Alexander the Great was still to be seen in his time, and that it was revered by the Mahomedans as the monument not only of an illustrious king, but of a great prophet.

In the partition of the several governments of Alexander's empire,³ Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which bordered on the Pontic Sea, were allotted to Eumenes; and it was expressly stipulated by the treaty, that Leonatus and Antigonus should march with a great body of troops to establish Eumenes in the government of those dominions, and dispossess king Ariarathes of the sovereignty. This general resolution of sending troops and experienced commanders into the several provinces of the empire, was formed with great judgment; and the intention of it was, that all those conquered territories should continue under the dominion of the Macedonians, and that the inhabitants, being no longer governed by their own sovereigns, should have no future inclination to recover their former liberty, nor be in a condition to set each other the example of throwing off the new yoke of the Greeks.

But neither Leonatus nor Antigonus were very solicitous to execute this article of the treaty; and, as they were entirely attentive to their own particular interest and aggrandizement, they took other measures. Eumenes seeing himself thus abandoned by those who ought to have established him in his government, set out with all his equipage, which consisted of 300 horse and 200 of his domestics well armed; with all his riches, which amounted to about 5000 talents of gold; and retired to Perdiccas, who gave him a favourable reception. As he was much esteemed by that commander, he was admitted into a participation of all his councils. Eumenes was indeed

a man of great firmness and resolution, and the most able of all the captains of Alexander.

Within a short time after this event, he was conducted into Cappadocia by a great army which Perdiccas thought fit to command in person. Ariarathes had made the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence, and had raised 30,000 foot and a great body of horse; but he was defeated and taken prisoner by Perdiccas, who destroyed his whole family, and invested Eumenes with the government of his dominions. He intended, by this instance of severity, to intimidate the people, and extinguish all seditions; a mode of conduct very judicious, and absolutely necessary in the conjunction of a new government, when the state is in a general ferment, and all things are usually disposed for commotions. Perdiccas, after this transaction, advanced with his troops to chastise Isaura and Laranda, cities of Pisidia, which had massacred their governors, and revolted from the Macedonians. The last of these cities was destroyed in a very surprising manner; for the inhabitants finding themselves in no condition to defend it, and despairing of any quarter from the conqueror, shut themselves up in their houses, with their wives, children, and parents, and all their gold and silver; set fire to their several habitations, and, after they had fought with the fury of lions, threw themselves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder; and the soldiers, after they had extinguished the fire, found a very great booty, for the place was filled with riches.

Perdiccas,⁴ after this expedition, marched into Cilicia, where he passed the winter. During his residence in that country, he formed a resolution to divorce Nicaea, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had espoused at a time when he thought that marriage subservient to his interest. But when the regency of the empire had given him a superior credit, and caused him to conceive more exalted hopes, his thoughts took a different turn, and he was desirous of espousing Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great. She had been married to Alexander king of Epirus; and, having lost her husband in the wars of Italy, she had continued in a state of widowhood, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Perdiccas despatched Eumenes thither, to make proposals of marriage to that princess, and endeavour to render him agreeable to her. This alliance with a lady who was the sister of Alexander by the same father and mother, and exceedingly beloved by the Macedonians, opened him a way to the empire through the favour of that people, which he might naturally expect from his marriage with Cleopatra.

Antigonus penetrated into his design, and evidently foresaw that his own destruction was to be the foundation of the intended success. He, therefore, passed into Greece with the greatest expedition, in order to find Antipater and Craterus, who were then engaged in a war with the *Ætolians*, and disclosed to them the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon this intelligence they immediately came to an accommodation with the *Ætolians*, and advanced towards the Hellespont, to observe the motions of the new enemy; and in order to strengthen their own party, they engaged Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, in their interest.

Craterus, one of the greatest of Alexander's captains, had the largest share of the affection and esteem of the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had ordered him to conduct into Macedonia the 10,000 veteran troops he intended to send thither, on account of their age, wounds, or other infirmities, which rendered them incapable of the service. The king had likewise conferred upon him at the same time the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom he recalled to Babylon. Greece, Macedonia, and Epirus, having been consigned to Craterus and Antipater after the death of Alexander, they governed them in concert, and Craterus always conducted himself like a good and faithful associate; especially in the operations of this war, in which they were unavoidably engaged by the discovery of the designs Perdiccas was forming.

¹ Lib. cxxiii.

² This author lived in the fifteenth century.

³ Plut. in Eumen. p. 534. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.

⁴ Diod. p. 606—609.

Perdiccas sent Eumenes back to his provinces not only to regulate the state of affairs in that country, but more particularly to keep a watchful eye on the motions of Neoptolemus his next neighbour, who was governor of Armenia; and whose conduct was suspected by Perdiccas, not without sufficient reason, as will be evident in the sequel.

This Neoptolemus was a man remarkable for his stupid pride,¹ and the insupportable arrogance he had contracted, from the vain hopes with which he fed his imagination. Eumenes endeavoured to retain him in his duty by reason and gentle measures; and when he saw that the troops of the Macedonian phalanx, who were commanded by Neoptolemus, were grown very insolent and audacious, he made it his care to assemble a body of horse strong enough to oppose their designs, and keep them within the bounds of respect and obedience. With this view he granted all sorts of immunities and exemptions from imposts, to those of the inhabitants who were in a condition to appear on horseback. He likewise purchased a great number of horses, and bestowed them on those of his court in whom he confided the most; and inflamed their courage by the honours and rewards he conferred upon them. He disciplined and habituated them to labour and fatigue by reviews, exercises, and continual movements. Every body was surprised to see him assemble, in so short a time, a body of 6000 horse, capable of good service in the field.

Perdiccas, having caused all his A. M. 3633. troops to file off the next spring to Ant. J. C. 321. wards Cappadocia, held a council with his friends on the operations of the intended war. The subject of their deliberations was, whether they should march first into Macedonia against Antipater and Craterus, or into Egypt against Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the last; and it was concluded, at the same time, that Eumenes, with part of the army, should guard the Asiatic provinces against Antipater and Craterus; and, in order to engage him more effectually to espouse the common cause, Perdiccas added the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, to his government. He likewise declared him generalissimo of all the troops in Cappadocia and Armenia, and ordered all the governors to obey him. Perdiccas after this advanced towards Egypt through Damascus and Palestine. He also took the two minor kings with him in this expedition, in order to cover his designs with the royal authority.

Eumenes spared no pains to have a good army on foot,² in order to oppose Antipater and Craterus, who had already passed the Hellespont, and were marching against him. They left nothing unattempted to disengage him from the party he had espoused, and promised him the addition of new provinces to those he already possessed; but he was too steady to be shaken by those offers,³ in breach of his engagements to Perdiccas. They succeeded better with Alcetas and Neoptolemus; for they engaged the former, though the brother of Perdiccas, to observe a neutrality, and the other declared in their favour. Eumenes attacked and defeated the latter at a narrow pass, and even took all his baggage. This victory was owing to his cavalry, whom he had formed with so much care. Neoptolemus escaped with 300 horse, and joined Antipater and Craterus; but the rest of his troops went over to Eumenes.

Antipater entered Cilicia with an intention to advance into Egypt, in order to assist Ptolemy, if his affairs should require his aid; and he detached Craterus and Neoptolemus with the rest of his army against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. A great battle was fought there, the success of which is entirely to be ascribed to the wise and vigilant precaution of Eumenes, which Plutarch justly considers as the masterpiece of a great commander. The reputation of Craterus was very great, and the gene-

rality of the Macedonians were desirous of having him for their leader after the death of Alexander, remembering that his affection for them, and his desire to support their interest, had caused him to incur the displeasure of that prince. Neoptolemus had flattered him, that as soon as he should appear in the field, all the Macedonians of the opposite party would list themselves under his banners: and Eumenes himself was very apprehensive of that event. But in order to avoid this misfortune, which would have occasioned his inevitable ruin, he caused the avenues and narrow passes to be so carefully guarded, that his army were entirely ignorant of the enemy against whom he was leading them, as he had caused a report to be spread, that it was only Neoptolemus, who was preparing to attack him a second time. In the dispositions he made for the battle, he was careful not to oppose any Macedonian against Craterus; and issued an order, with very severe penalties, that no herald from the enemy should be received on any account whatever.

The first charge was very violent; the lances were soon shivered on both sides, and the two armies attacked sword in hand. Craterus did not behave unworthy of his master Alexander on this last day of his life, for he killed several of the enemy with his own hand, and frequently bore down all who opposed him; till, at last, a Thracian wounded him in the side, when he fell from his horse. All the enemy's cavalry rode over him without knowing who he was, and did not discover him till he was breathing his last.

As to the other wing, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, who personally hated each other, having met in the battle, and their horses charging with a violent shock, they seized each other; and their horses springing from under them, they both fell on the earth, where they struggled like two implacable wrestlers, and fought for a considerable time with the utmost fury and rage, till at last Neoptolemus received a mortal wound, and immediately expired.

Eumenes then remounted his horse, and pushed on to his left wing, where he believed the enemy's troops still continued unbroken. There, when he was informed that Craterus was killed, he spurred his horse to the place where he lay, and found him expiring. When he beheld this melancholy spectacle, he could not refuse his tears to the death of an ancient friend whom he had always esteemed; and he caused the last honours to be paid him with all possible magnificence. He likewise ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children. Eumenes gained this second victory ten days after the first.

In the mean time Perdiccas had advanced into Egypt,⁴ and began the war with Ptolemy, though with very different success. Ptolemy, from the time he was constituted governor of that country, had conducted himself with so much justice and humanity, that he entirely gained the hearts of all the Egyptians. An infinite number of people, charmed with the lenity of so wise an administration, came thither from Greece and other parts to enter into his service. This additional advantage rendered him extremely powerful; and even the army of Perdiccas had so much esteem for Ptolemy, that they marched with reluctance against him, and great numbers of them deserted daily to his troops. All these circumstances were fatal to the views of Perdiccas, and he lost his life in that country. Having unfortunately taken a resolution to make his army pass an arm of the Nile, which formed an island near Memphis, in passing he lost 2000 men, half of whom were drowned, and the remainder devoured by crocodiles. The Macedonians were exasperated to such a degree of fury, when they saw themselves exposed to such unnecessary dangers, that they mutinied against him; in consequence of which he was abandoned by 100 of his principal officers, of whom Pithon was the most considerable, and was assassinated in his tent with most of his intimate friends.

¹ Plut. in Eumen. p. 585.

² Plut. in Eumen. p. 585—587. Diad. l. xviii. p. 610—613.

³ Quem (Perdiccam) etsi infirmum videbat, quoddam omnibus resistere cogebatur, amicum non deseruit, neque salutis quam fidei fuit cupidiur. *Cor. Nep. in Eum. c. iii.*

⁴ Diad. l. xviii. p. 613—616. Plut. in Eumen. p. 587. *Cor. Nep. c. v.*

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes: and had this account come two days sooner, it would certainly have prevented the mutiny, and consequently the revolution that soon succeeded it, which proved so favourable to Ptolemy and Antipater, and all their adherents.

SECTION IV.—THE REGENCY IS TRANSFERRED TO ANTIPATER. EUMENES BESIEGED BY ANTIGONUS IN NORA. JERUSALEM BESIEGED AND TAKEN BY PTOLEMY. DEMADES PUT TO DEATH BY CASSANDER. ANTIPATER ON HIS DEATH-BED NOMINATES POLYSPERCHON FOR HIS SUCCESSOR TO THE REGENCY. THE LATTER RECALLS OLYMPIAS. ANTIGONUS BECOMES VERY POWERFUL.

PTOLEMY passed the Nile the day after the death of Perdiccas,¹ and entered the Macedonian camp; where he justified his own conduct so effectually, that all the troops declared in his favour. When the death of Craterus was known, he so ably took advantage of their affliction and resentment, that he induced them to pass a decree, whereby Eumenes, and fifty other persons of the same party, were declared enemies to the Macedonian state, and this decree authorized Antipater and Antigonus to carry on a war against them. Although this prince perceived the troops had a general inclination to offer him the regency, which was become vacant by the death of Perdiccas, he had the precaution to decline that office, because he was very sensible that the royal pupils had a title without a reality; that they would never be capable of sustaining the weight of that vast empire, nor be in a condition to reunite, under their authority, so many governments accustomed to independency; that there was an inevitable tendency to dismember the whole, as well from the inclinations and interest of the officers, as the situation of affairs; that all his acquisitions in the interim would redound to the advantage of his pupils; that while he appeared to possess the first rank, he should in reality enjoy nothing fixed and solid, or that could any way be considered as his own property; that, upon the expiration of the regency, he should be left without any government or real establishment, and that he should neither be master of an army to support him, nor of any retreat for his preservation: whereas all his colleagues would enjoy the richest provinces in perfect tranquillity, and he be the only one who had not derived any advantages from the common conquests. These considerations induced him to prefer the post he already enjoyed, to the new title that was offered him, as the former was less hazardous, and rendered him less obnoxious to envy: he therefore caused the choice to fall on Pithon and Aridaeus.

The first of these persons had commanded with distinction in all the wars of Alexander, and had embraced the party of Perdiccas, till he was a witness of his imprudent conduct in passing the Nile, which induced him to quit his service, and go over to Ptolemy.

With respect to Aridaeus, history has taken no notice of him before the death of Alexander, when the funeral solemnities of that prince were committed to his care; and we have already seen in what manner he acquitted himself of that melancholy but honourable commission, after he had employed two years in the preparations for it.

The honour of this guardianship did not long continue with them. Eurydice, the consort of king Aridaeus, whom we shall distinguish for the future by the name of Philip, being fond of interfering in all affairs, and being supported in her pretensions by the Macedonians; the two regents were so dissatisfied with their employment, that they voluntarily resigned it, after they had conducted the army back to Triparadisus in Syria; and it was then conferred upon Antipater.

As soon as he was invested with his authority, he made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, in which he excluded all those who had espoused the interest of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and re-esta-

blished every person of the other party, who had been dispossessed. In this new division of the empire, Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, as we have already intimated, had the government of Babylon, and became afterwards the most powerful of all the successors of Alexander. Pithon had the government of Media; but Atropates, who at that time enjoyed the government of that province, supported himself in one part of the country, and assumed the regal dignity, without acknowledging the authority of the Macedonians; and this tract of Media was afterwards called Media Atropatena. Antipater, after this regulation of affairs, sent Antigonus against Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia; but left his son Cassander behind him, in quality of general of the cavalry, with orders to be near the person of Antigonus, that he might the better be informed of his designs.

Jaddus,² the high-priest of the Jews, died this year, and was succeeded by his son Onias, whose pontificate continued for the space of twenty-one years. I make this remark, because the history of the Jews will, in the sequel of this work, be very much intermixed with that of Alexander's successors.

Antigonus appeared early in the field against Eumenes;³ and a battle was fought at Ocreynium in Cappadocia, wherein Eumenes was defeated, and lost 8000 men by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal officers of his cavalry; who was corrupted by Antigonus, and marched over to the enemy in the midst of the battle. The traitor was soon punished for his perfidy,⁴ for Eumenes took him, and caused him to be hanged upon the spot.

A conjuncture which happened soon after this defeat,⁵ would have enabled Eumenes to seize the baggage of Antigonus and all his riches, with a great number of prisoners; and his little troop already cast an eager eye on so considerable a booty. But whether his apprehensions that so rich a prey would enervate the courage of his soldiers, who were then constrained to wander from place to place; or whether his regard for Antigonus, with whom he had formerly contracted a particular friendship, prevented him from improving this opportunity; it is certain, that he sent privately a letter to that commander, to inform him of the danger that threatened him; and when he afterwards made a feint to attack the baggage, it was all removed to a place of better security.

Eumenes, after his overthrow, was obliged, for his preservation, to employ most of his time in changing the place of his retreat; and he was highly admired for the tranquillity and steadiness of mind he discovered in the wandering life to which he was reduced; for, as Plutarch observes, adversity alone can place greatness of soul in its full light, and render the real merit of men conspicuous; whereas prosperity frequently casts a veil of false grandeur over real meannesses and imperfections. Eumenes, having at last disbanded most of his remaining troops, shut himself up with 500 men, who were determined to share his fate, in the castle of Nora, a place of extraordinary strength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he sustained a siege of twelve months.

He was soon sensible that nothing incommoded his garrison so much as the small space they possessed, being shut up in little close houses, and on a tract of ground whose whole circuit did not exceed 200 fathoms; where they could neither walk nor perform the least exercise, and where their horses, having scarce any room for motion, became sluggish and incapable of service. To remedy this inconvenience, he had recourse to the following expedient. He converted the largest house in the place, the extent of which did not exceed twenty-one feet, into a kind of hall for exercise. This he consigned to the men, and ordered them to walk in it very gently at first; they were afterwards to quicken their pace by degrees

² Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8.

³ Diod. l. xviii. p. 619, 621.

⁴ Plut. in Eumen. p. 568—590.

⁵ Cor. Nep. in Eum. c. 5.

¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 616—619.

A. M. 3683.

Ant. J. C. 321.

A. M. 3684.

Ant. J. C. 320.

and at last were to exert the most vigorous motions. The horses he suspended, one after another, in strong slings, which were disposed under their breasts, and from thence inserted into rings fastened to the roof of the stable; after which he caused them to be raised into the air by the aid of pulleys, in such a manner, that only their hinder feet rested on the ground, whilst the hoofs of their fore feet could hardly touch it. In this condition the grooms lashed them severely with their whips, which made the horses bound to such a degree, and struggle so violently to set their fore feet on the ground, that their bodies were all covered with sweat and foam. After this exercise, which was finely calculated to strengthen and keep them in wind, and likewise to render their limbs supple and pliant; their barley was given to them very clean, and winnowed from all the chaff, that they might eat it the sooner, and with less difficulty. The abilities of a good general extend to every thing about him, and are seen in the minutest particulars.

The siege, or more properly the blockade of Nora, did not prevent Ant. J. C. 319. Antigonus from undertaking a new expedition into Pisidia, against Alcetas and Attalus; the last of whom was taken prisoner in a battle, and the other slain by treachery in the place to which he had retired.

During these transactions in Asia, Ptolemy,¹ seeing of what importance Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea were, as well for covering Egypt, as for making proper dispositions from that quarter for the invasion of Cyprus, which he had then in view, determined to make himself master of those provinces, which were governed by Laomedon. With this intention he sent Nicanor into Syria with a body of land forces, while he himself set out with a fleet to attack the coasts. Nicanor defeated Laomedon, and took him prisoner; in consequence of which he soon conquered the inland country. Ptolemy had the same advantages on the coasts, by which means he became absolute master of those provinces. The princes in alliance with him were alarmed at the rapidity of these conquests; but Antipater was at too great a distance, being then in Macedonia; and Antigonus was too much employed against Eumenes, to oppose these great accessions to the power of Ptolemy, who gave them no little jealousy.

After the defeat of Laomedon,² the Jews were the only people who made any resistance. They were duly sensible of the obligation they were under by the oath they had taken to their governor, and were determined to continue faithful to him. Ptolemy advanced into Judea, and formed the siege of Jerusalem. The city was so strong by its advantageous situation, in conjunction with the works of art, that it would have sustained a long siege, had it not been for the religious fear the Jews entertained of violating the law, if they should defend themselves on the sabbath. Ptolemy was not long unacquainted with this particular; and in order to improve the great advantage it gave him, he chose that day for the general assault; and as no individual among the Jews would presume to defend himself, the city was taken without any difficulty.

Ptolemy at first treated Jerusalem and Judea with great severity, for he carried above 100,000 of the inhabitants captives into Egypt; but when he afterwards considered the steadiness with which they had persisted in the fidelity they had sworn to their governors, on this and a variety of other occasions, he was convinced that this quality rendered them more worthy of his confidence; and he accordingly chose 30,000 of the most distinguished among them, who were most capable of serving him, and appointed them to guard the most important places in his dominions.

Much about this time Antipater fell sick in Macedonia.³ The Athenians were greatly dissatisfied with the garrison he had left in their city, and had frequently pressed Phocion to go to the court of that

prince, and solicit him to recall those troops; but he always declined that commission, either through a despair of not succeeding, or else because he was conscious that the fear of this garrison was the best expedient for keeping them within the bounds of their duty. Demades, who was not so difficult to be prevailed upon, undertook the commission with pleasure, and immediately set out with his son for Macedonia. But his arrival in that country could not have happened at a more fatal conjuncture for himself. Antipater, as I have already intimated, was seized with a severe illness; and his son Cassander, who was absolute master of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, pressing him to come as soon as possible, and make himself master of Greece and Macedonia, "which," as he expressed himself, "were held together only by a thread, and even an old and rotten thread," ridiculing Antipater by those expressions. As soon as Cassander saw them appear at court, he caused them both to be arrested, and he himself seizing the son first, stabbed him before the face of his father, and at so little distance from him, that he was covered with his blood. After which he reproached him with his perfidy and ingratitude, and when he had loaded him with insults, he killed him also with his own hands, on the dead body of his son. It is impossible not to detest so barbarous a proceeding; but we are not much disposed to pity such a wretch as Demades, who had dictated the decree by which Demosthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die.

The indisposition of Antipater proved fatal to him, and his last attention was employed in filling up the two great stations which he enjoyed. His son Cassander was very desirous of them, and expected to have them conferred upon him; notwithstanding which, Antipater bestowed the regency of the kingdom, and the government of Macedonia, on Polysperchon, the oldest of all the surviving captains of Alexander, and thought it sufficient to associate Cassander with him in those employments.

I am at a loss to determine, whether any instance of human conduct was ever greater, or more to be admired, than this which I have now related in few words; nothing certainly is more uncommon, and history affords us few instances of the same nature. It was necessary to appoint a governor over Macedonia, and a regent of the empire. Antipater, who knew the importance of those stations, was persuaded that his own glory and reputation, and what was still more prevalent with him, the interest of the state, and the preservation of the Macedonian monarchy, required him to nominate a man of authority, and one respected for his age, experience, and past services. He had a son, who was not void of merit; how rare and difficult therefore, but, at the same time, how amiable and glorious, was it to select, on such an occasion, no man but the most deserving, and best qualified to serve the public effectually; to stifle the voice of nature, turn a deaf ear to all her remonstrances, and not suffer the judgment to be seduced by the impressions of paternal affection; in a word, to continue so much master of one's discernment, as to render justice to the merit of a stranger, and openly prefer it to that of a son, and sacrifice all the interest of one's own family to the public welfare! History has transmitted to us an expression of the Emperor Galba, which will do honour to his memory throughout all ages. "Augustus,"⁴ said he, "chose a successor out of his own family; and I one from the whole empire."

Cassander was extremely enraged at the gross affront, which, as he pretended, had been offered him by this choice, and thought in that respect like the generality of men, who are apt to look upon offices as hereditary, who consider the state as of no consequence in comparison with themselves; never examining what are the duties required by the posts they aspire to, or whether they have competent abilities to discharge them, but considering only whether those

¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 631, 632. ² Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1.
³ Diod. l. xviii. p. 625, 626. Plut. in Phoc. p. 755.

⁴ Augustus in domo successorem quesivit: ego in republica. Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 15.

posts would be conducive to their fortune. Cassander, not being able to digest his father's preferring a stranger before him, endeavoured to form a party against the new regent. He secured to himself all the strong places he could in his government, as well in Greece as in Macedonia, and proposed nothing less than to divest Polysperchon of the whole.

For this purpose he endeavoured to engage Ptolemy and Antigonus on his side; and they readily espoused it with the same views, from the same motives. It was equally their interest to destroy this new regent, as well as the regency itself, which always kept them in apprehensions, and reminded them of their state of dependency. They likewise imagined, that it secretly reproached them for aspiring at sovereignty, while it cherished the rights of the two pupils; and left the governors in a situation of uncertainty, in consequence of which they were perpetually in fear of being divested of their power. Both the one and the other believed it would be easy for them to succeed in their designs, if the Macedonians were once engaged at home in a civil war.

The death of Antipater had rendered Antigonus the most powerful of all the captains of Alexander. His authority was absolute in all the provinces of Asia Minor, with the title of generalissimo, and an army of 70,000 men and thirty elephants, which no power in the empire was, at that time, capable of resisting. It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising, that this superiority should inspire him with the design of engrossing the whole monarchy, and, in order to succeed in that attempt, he began with making a reformation in all the governments of the provinces within his jurisdiction, displacing all those persons whom he suspected, and substituting his creatures in their room. In the conduct of this scheme, he removed Arideus from the government of Lesser Phrygia, and the Hellespont, and Chitus from that of Lydia.

Polysperchon² neglected nothing, on his part, that was necessary to strengthen his interest; and thought it advisable to recall Olympias, who had retired into Epirus under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of sharing his authority with her. This princess despatched a courier to Eumenes, to consult him on the proposals she had received; and he advised her to wait some time, in order to see what turn affairs would take: adding, that if she determined to return to Macedonia, he would recommend it to her in particular, to forget all the injuries she thought she had received: that it would also be her interest to govern with moderation, and to make others sensible of her authority by benefactions, and not by severity. As to all other particulars, he promised an inviolable attachment to herself and the royal family. Olympias did not conform to these judicious counsels in any respect, but set out as soon as possible for Macedonia; where, upon her arrival, she consulted nothing but her passions, and her insatiable desire of dominion and revenge.

Polysperchon, who had many enemies upon his hands, endeavoured to secure Greece, of which he foresaw Cassander would attempt to make himself master. He also took measures with relation to other parts of the empire, as will appear by the sequel.

In order to engage the Greeks in his interest,³ he issued a decree, by which he recalled the exiles, and reinstated all the cities in their ancient privileges. He acquainted the Athenians in particular by letters, that the king had re-established their democracy and ancient form of government, by which the Athenians were admitted without distinction into public offices. This was a strain of policy calculated to ensnare Phocion; for Polysperchon intending to make himself master of Athens, as was evident in a short time, despaired of succeeding in that design, unless he could find some expedient to procure the banishment of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater; and he had, therefore, no doubt

that he would be immediately banished, as soon as those, who had been excluded from the government, should be reinstated in their ancient rights.

SECTION V.—THE ATHENIANS CONDEMN PHOCION TO DIE. CASSANDER MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF ATHENS, WHERE HE ESTABLISHES DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THAT REPUBLIC. HIS PRUDENT ADMINISTRATION. EUMENES QUITS NORA. VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF ANTIGONUS, SELEUCUS, PTOLEMY, AND OTHER GENERALS AGAINST HIM. OLYMPIAS CAUSES ARIDEUS TO BE SLAIN, AND IS MURDERED IN HER TURN BY THE ORDERS OF CASSANDER. THE WAR BETWEEN HIM AND POLYSPERCHON. THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THEBES. EUMENES IS BETRAYED BY HIS OWN TROOPS, DELIVERED UP TO ANTIGONUS, AND PUT TO DEATH.

CASSANDER,⁴ before the death of Antipater was known at Athens, had sent Nicanor thither, to succeed Menyllus in the government of the fortress of Munychia, soon after which he had made himself master of the Piræus. Phocion, who placed too much confidence in the probity and fidelity of Nicanor, had contracted a strict intimacy, and conversed frequently with him, which caused the people to suspect him more than ever.

In this conjuncture, Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, arrived with a great body of troops, under pretext of succouring the city against Nicanor, but in reality to seize it himself, if possible, by taking advantage of the divisions which then reigned within it. A tumultuous assembly was convened, in which Phocion was divested of his employment; while Demetrius Phalereus, with several other citizens, who were apprehensive of the same fate, immediately retired from the city. Phocion, who had the grief to see himself accused of treason, took sanctuary with Polysperchon, who sent him back to be tried by the people. An assembly was immediately convoked, from which neither slaves, foreigners, nor any in famous persons whatever, were excluded, although this proceeding was contrary to all the established rules. Phocion and the other prisoners were presented to the people. Most persons of any merit in the assembly, cast down their eyes to the earth at this spectacle, and covering their heads, wept abundantly. One among them having the courage to move, that the slaves and foreigners might be ordered to withdraw, was immediately opposed by the populace, who cried out that they ought rather to stone those advocates for oligarchy, and enemies of the people. Phocion frequently attempted to plead his own cause, and vindicate his conduct, but was always interrupted. It was customary at Athens, for the person accused to declare, before sentence passed against him, what punishment he ought to suffer. Phocion answered aloud, that he condemned himself to die, but desired the assembly to spare the rest. Upon this, the suffrages were demanded, and they were unanimously sentenced to suffer death, previous to which they were conveyed to the dungeons. Demetrius Phalereus, and some others, though absent, were included in the same condemnation. The companions of Phocion were so affected by the sorrow of their relations and friends, who came to embrace them in the streets, with the melancholy tender of the last farewell, that they proceeded on their way, lamenting their unhappy fate in a flood of tears: but Phocion still retained the same air and countenance as he had formerly shown when he quitted the assembly to take upon him the command of armies, and when the Athenians attended him in crowds to his own house with the voice of praises and acclamations.

One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, advanced up to him, and spat in his face. Phocion only turned to the magistrates, and said, "Will no body hinder this man from acting so unworthily?" When he arrived at the prison, one of his friends having asked him if he had any message to send to his son? "Yes, certainly," replied he, "it is to desire that he would never remember the injustice of

¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 630.

² Ibid. p. 636 & 634. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. vi.

³ Diod. l. xviii. p. 631, 632.

⁴ Diod. l. xviii. p. 633—642.

the Athenians." When he had uttered these words, he took the hemlock, and died.

On that day was also a public procession; and as it passed before the prison, some of the persons who composed it took their crowns from their heads: others turned their eyes to the gates of the prison, and burst into tears; and all who had any remains of humanity and religion, and whose souls were not entirely depraved and blinded by rage or envy, acknowledged it to be an instance of unnatural barbarity, as well as a great impiety, with regard to the city, not to have abstained, on such a solemn day, from the infliction of death on a citizen so universally esteemed, and whose admirable virtues had procured him the appellation of The Good.¹

To punish the greatest virtues as the most flagitious crimes,² and to repay the best of services with the most inhuman treatment, is an offence worthy of condemnation in all places, but especially in Athens, where ingratitude was punishable by the law. The regulations of her sage legislator still subsisted at that time, but they were wrested to the condemnation of her citizens, and only became an evidence, how much that people were degenerated in their manners.

The enemies of Phocion, not satisfied with the punishment they had caused him to suffer, and fancying that something more was still wanting to complete their triumph, obtained an order from the people, that his body should be carried out of the territory of Attica, and that none of the Athenians should furnish fire to honour his funeral pile: these last offences were, therefore, rendered to him in the territories of Megara. A lady of the country, who accidentally assisted at his funeral with her servants, caused a cenotaph, or vacant tomb, to be erected to his memory on the same spot; over which she made the customary libations; and collecting into her robe the bones of that great man, which she had carefully gathered up, she conveyed them into her house by night, and buried them under her hearth, with these expressions: "Dear and sacred hearth, I here confide to thee, and deposit in thy bosom, these precious remains of a worthy man. Preserve them with fidelity, in order to restore them hereafter to the monument of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall become wiser than they are at present."

Though it may possibly be thought, that a variety of irregular, tumultuous, unjust, and cruel sentences, denounced in Athens against virtuous citizens at different times, might have prepared us for this last; it will, however, be always thought surprising, that a whole people, of whom one naturally conceives a noble idea, after such a series of great actions, should be capable of such a strange perversity. But it ought to be remembered, that the dregs of a vile populace, entirely void of honour, probity, and morals, predominated at that time at Athens. And there is sufficient foundation for the sentiments of Plato and Plutarch, who declare, that the people, when they are either destitute of guides, or no longer listen to their admonitions; and when they have thrown off the reins by which they once were checked, and are entirely abandoned to their impetuosity and caprice; ought to be considered as a blind, furious, intractable, and blood-thirsty monster, ready to launch in a moment into the most fatal and opposite extremes, and infinitely more formidable than the most inhuman tyrants. What can be expected from such a tribunal? When people resolve to be guided by nothing but mere passion; to have no regard to decorum, and to run headlong into an open violation of all laws; the best, the justest, and most innocent of mankind, will sink under an implacable and prevailing cabal. This Socrates experienced almost a

hundred years before Phocion perished by the same fate.

This last was one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced, in whose person every kind of merit was united. He had been educated in the school of Plato and Xenocrates, and formed his manners upon the most perfect plan of Pagan virtue, to which his conduct was always conformable.

It would be difficult for any person to carry disinterestedness higher than this extraordinary man; which appeared from the extreme poverty in which he died, after the many great offices he had filled. How many opportunities of acquiring riches has a general always at the head of armies, who acts against rich and opulent enemies; sometimes in countries abounding with all things, and which seem to invite the plunderer! But Phocion would have thought it infamous, had he returned from his campaigns laden with any acquisition, but the glory of his exalted actions, and the grateful benedictions of the people he had spared.

This excellent person, amidst all the severity which rendered him in some measure intractable, when the interests of the republic were concerned, had so much natural softness and humanity, that his enemies themselves always found him disposed to assist them. It might even have been said, that he was a composition of two natures, whose qualities were entirely opposite to each other in appearance. When he acted as a public man, he armed himself with fortitude, and steadiness, and zeal; he could sometimes assume even the air of a rigid indignation, and was inflexible in supporting discipline in its utmost strictness. If, on the other hand, he appeared in a private capacity, his conduct was a perpetual display of mildness and affability, condescension and patience, and was graced with all the virtues that can render the commerce of life agreeable. It was no inconsiderable merit, and especially in a military man, to be capable of uniting two such different characters in such a manner, that as the severity which was necessary for the preservation of good order, was never seen to degenerate into the rigour that creates aversion, so the gentleness and complacency of his disposition never sunk into that softness and indifference which occasions contempt.

He has been greatly applauded for reforming the modern custom of his country, which made war and politics two different professions; and also for restoring the manner of governing which Pericles and Aristides adopted, by uniting each of those talents in himself.

As he was persuaded that eloquence was essential to a statesman, especially in a republican government, he applied himself to the attainment of it with great assiduity and success. His was concise, solid, full of force and sense, always keeping close to the point in question. He thought it beneath a statesman to use a poignant and satiric style, and his only answer to those who employed such language against him, was silence and patience. An orator having once interrupted him with many injurious expressions,³ he suffered him to continue in that strain as long as he pleased, and then resumed his own discourse with as much coolness as if he had heard nothing.

It was highly glorious for Phocion, that he was forty-five times elected general by a people to whose caprice he was so little inclinable to accommodate his conduct; and it is remarkable that these elections always happened when he was absent, without any previous solicitations on his part. His wife was sufficiently sensible how much this redounded to his glory; and one day when an Ionian lady of considerable rank, who lodged in her house, showed her with an air of ostentation and pleasure, her ornaments of gold, with a variety of jewels and bracelets, she answered her with a modest tone, "For my part, I have no ornament but Phocion, who for these twenty years has always been elected general of the Athenians."

His regular and frugal life contributed not a little to the vigorous and healthy old age he enjoyed.

³ Plut. de ger. rep. p. 810.

¹ Ob integritatem vitæ Bonus est appellatus. Cor. Nep.

² Quid obest quin publica dementia sit existimanda, summo consensu maximas virtutes quasi gravissima delicta punire, beneficiarum injuriis rependere? Quod cum ubique, tum præcipuè Athenis intolerabile videri debet, in quâ urbe adversus ingratos actio constituta est—Quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur, qui cum aequissima jura sed iniquissima habebant ingenia, moribus suis, quàm legibus uti maluerint? Val. Max. l. v. c. 3.

When he was in his eightieth year, he commanded the forces, and sustained all the fatigues of war, with the vivacity of a young officer.

One of the great principles in the politics of Phocion was, that peace ought always to be the aim of every wise government, and with this view he was a constant opposer of all wars that were either imprudent or unnecessary. He was even apprehensive of those that were most just and expedient; because he was sensible, that every war weakened and impoverished a state, even amidst a series of the greatest victories, and that whatever the advantage might be at the commencement of it, there was never any certainty of terminating it, without experiencing the most tragical vicissitudes of fortune.

The interest of the public never gave way to him to any domestic views; he constantly refused to solicit, or act in favour of his son-in-law, Charicles, who was summoned before the republic, to account for the sums he had received from Harpalus; and he then addressed himself to him with this admirable expression—"I have made you my son-in-law, but only for what is honest and honourable." It must indeed be acknowledged, that men of this character seem very unaccommodating and insupportable in the common transactions of life: they are always starting difficulties,¹ when any affair is proposed to them; and never perform any good offices with entire ease and grace. They must always deliberate, whether what is requested of them be just or not. Their friends and relations have as little influence over them as utter strangers; and they always oppose, either their conscience, or some particular duties to ancient friendship, affinity, or the interest of their families. To this height of delicacy did Phocion carry the Pagan probity.

One may justly apply to him what Tacitus said of a celebrated Roman, I mean Helvidius Priscus.² Phocion, who had as solid a genius as that person, applied himself at first to philosophy, not to cover his indolence with the pompous title of a sage, but to qualify himself for entering upon the conduct of affairs with more vigour and resolution against all unexpected accidents. He concurred in opinion with those who acknowledge no other good or evil than virtue and vice, and who rank all externals, as fortune, power, nobility, in the class of indifferent things. He was a firm friend, a tender husband, a good senator, a worthy citizen, and discharged all the offices of civil life with equal integrity. He preserved a steadiness of mind in prosperity that resembled stiffness and severity, and despised death as much as riches.

These are part of the great qualities of Phocion, who merited a happier end; and they were placed in their most amiable light by his death. The constancy of mind, the mildness of disposition, and the forgetfulness of wrongs, conspicuous in his conduct on that occasion, are above all his other praises, and infinitely enhance their lustre, especially as we shall see nothing comparable to him from henceforth in the Grecian history.

His infatuated and ungrateful country was not sensible of their unworthy proceeding till some time after his death. The Athenians then erected a statue of brass to his memory, and honourably interred his bones at the public expense. His accusers also suffered a punishment suitable to their desert; but did not his judges themselves deserve to be treated with greater severity? They punished their own crime in others, and thought themselves acquitted by erecting

a brazen statue. They were even ready to relapse into the same injustice against others who were equally innocent, whom they condemned during their lives, and had never the equity to acquit till after their death.

Cassander was careful to take advantage of the disorder that reigned in Athens,³ and entered the Piræus with a fleet of thirty-five vessels, which he had received from Antigonus. The Athenians, when they beheld themselves destitute of all succours, unanimously resolved to send deputies to Cassander, in order to know the conditions on which they might obtain a peace; and it was mutually agreed that the Athenians should continue masters of the city, with its territories, and likewise of the revenues and ships. But it was stipulated that the citadel should remain in the power of Cassander, till he had ended the war with the kings. And as to what related to the affairs of the republic, it was agreed that those whose income amounted to ten mine, or a thousand drachmæ, should have a share in the government, which was a less sum by half than that which was the qualification for public employments, when Antipater made himself master of Athens. In a word, the inhabitants permitted Cassander to choose what citizen he pleased to govern the republic; and Demetrius Phalereus was elected to that dignity about the close of the third year of the 115th Olympiad. The ten years' government, therefore, which Diodorus and Diogenes have assigned Demetrius, is to be computed from the beginning of the following year.

He governed the republic in peace: constantly treated his fellow-citizens with mildness and humanity; and historians acknowledge that the government was never better regulated than under Cassander. This prince seemed inclinable to tyranny; but the Athenians were not sensible of its effects. And though Demetrius, whom he had constituted chief of the republic, was invested with a kind of sovereign power; yet instead of abolishing the democracy, he may rather be said to have re-established it. He acted in such a manner, that the people scarce perceived that he was master. As he united in his person the politician and the man of letters; his soft and persuasive eloquence demonstrated the truth of an expression he frequently used, that discourse had as much power in a government as arms in war. His abilities in political affairs were equally conspicuous;⁴ for he drew forth speculative philosophy from the shade and inactivity of the schools, exhibited her in full light, and knew how to familiarize her precepts with the most tumultuous affairs. It would have been difficult, therefore, to have found a person capable of excelling like him at the same time, in the art of government, and in the study of the sciences.

He acquired, during these ten years of his government, that reputation which has caused him to be considered as one of the greatest men Athens has produced. He augmented the revenues of the republic, and adorned the city with noble structures; he was likewise industrious to diminish luxury, and all expenses calculated only for ostentation. For which reason he disapproved of those that were laid out on theatres,⁵ porticoes, and new temples, and openly censured Pericles, for having bestowed such a prodigious sum of money on the magnificent porticoes of the temple of Pallas, called *Propylææ*.⁶ But in all public feasts which had been consecrated by antiquity, or when the people were inclinable to be expensive in the celebration of any sacred solemnities, he permitted them to use their riches as they pleased.

¹ Hæc prima lex in amicitia sancitur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est, et minimè accipienda, cum in cæteris peccatis tum si quis contra rempublicam se amici causa scissus fateatur. *Cic. de Amicit.* n. 40.

² Ingenium illustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut nomine magnifico seque otium valeret, sed quò firmior adversus fortuita rempublicam capesseret. Doctores sapientie secutus est, qui sola bona quæ honesta, mala tantum quæ turpia, potentiam, nobilitatem, cæteraquæ extra animum, neque bonis neque malis annuerant—Civis, senator, maritus, amicus, cunctis vite officiis æqualibus: opum contemptor, recti pernix, constans adversus metus. *Tacit. Hist.* l. iv. c. 5.

³ Diod. l. xviii. p. 642.

⁴ Mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque, non modo in solem atque pulverem, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque perduxit.—Qui utraque re excelleret ut et doctrinæ studiis, et regendâ civitate princeps esset, quis facile præter hunc inveniri potest? *Cic. l. iii. de Leg.* n. 15.

⁵ Theatra, porticus, nova templa, verecundum reprehendere propter Pompeium; sed doctissimi improbant—ut Phalereus Demetrius qui Periclem, principem Græciæ vituperabat quod tantam pecuniam in præclara illa Propylæa conjecerit. *Cic. l. ii. de Offic.* n. 60.

⁶ Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 818.

The expense was excessive at the death of great persons,¹ and their sepulchres were as sumptuous and magnificent as those of the Romans in the age of Cicero. Demetrius made a law to abolish this abuse, which had passed into a custom, and inflicted penalties on those who disobeyed it. He also ordered the ceremonials of funerals to be performed by night, and none were permitted to place any other ornament on tombs, than a column three cubits high, or a plain tablet, *mensam*; and appointed a particular magistrate to enforce the observation of this law.

He likewise made laws for the regulation of manners,² and commanded young persons to testify respect to their parents at home; and in the city to those whom they met in their way, and to themselves when they were alone.

The poor citizens were likewise the objects of his attention.³ There were at that time in Athens some of the descendants of Aristides, that Athenian general, who, after he had possessed the greatest offices in the state, and governed the affairs of the treasury for a very considerable time, died so poor, that the public was obliged to defray the charges of his funeral. Demetrius took care of those descendants who were poor, and assigned them a daily sum for their subsistence.

Such, says Ælian,⁴ was the government of Demetrius Phalereus, till the spirit of envy, so natural to the Athenians, obliged him to quit the city, in the manner we shall soon relate.

The advantageous testimonials rendered him by ancient authors of the greatest repute, not only with respect to his extraordinary talents and ability in the art of government, but likewise to his virtue, and the wisdom of his conduct, furnish a full refutation of all that has been advanced by Athenæus, on the authority of the historian Duris, with relation to the irregularity of his deportment; and strengthens the conjecture of Mr. Bonamy, who supposes that Duris, or Athenæus, has imputed that to Demetrius Phalereus, which related only to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, to whom Ælian ascribes the very particulars which Athenæus had cited from Duris. The reader may have recourse to the dissertation of Mr. Bonamy,⁵ which has been very useful to me in the course of this work.

During the 115th Olympiad,⁶ Demetrius Phalereus caused the inhabitants of Attica to be numbered, and they amounted to 21,000 citizens,⁷ 10,000 strangers,⁸ and 40,000⁹ domestics.¹⁰

We now return to Polysperchon.¹¹ When he had received intelligence that Cassander had made himself master of Athens, he immediately hastened to besiege him in that city; but as the siege took up a great length of time, he left part of his troops before the place, and advanced with the rest into Peloponnesus, to force the city of Megalopolis to surrender. The inhabitants made a long and vigorous defence, which compelled Polysperchon to employ his attention and forces on those quarters to which he was called by more pressing necessities. He despatched Clitus to the Hellespont, with orders to prevent the enemy's troops from passing out of Asia into Europe. Nicapor set sail, at the same time, from the port of Athens, in order to attack him, but was himself defeated near Byzantium. Antigonus having advanced in a very seasonable juncture, made himself amends for this loss, beat Clitus, and took all his fleet, except the vessel which Clitus was aboard, which escaped with great difficulty.

Antigonus was most embarrassed in his endeavours to reduce Eumenes,¹² whose valour, wisdom, and great ability in the art of war, were more formidable

to him than all the rest, though he had besieged and blocked him up for twelve months in the castle of Nora. He therefore made a second attempt to engage him in his interest, for he had taken measures to that effect before he formed that siege. He accordingly consigned this commission to Jerom of Cardia, his countryman, and a famous historian of that time,¹³ who was authorized by him to make overtures of accommodation to his adversary. Eumenes conducted this negotiation with so much dexterity and address, that he extricated himself from the siege at the very juncture wherein he was reduced to the last extremities, and without entering into any particular engagements with Antigonus. For the latter having inserted in the oath which Eumenes was to swear in consequence of this accommodation, that he would consider all those as his friends and enemies, who should prove such to Antigonus; Eumenes changed that article, and swore that he would regard all those as his friends and enemies, who should be such to Olympias and the kings, as well as to Antigonus. He consented that the Macedonians who assisted at the siege, should determine which of these two forms was best; and as they were guided by their affection for the royal family, they declared, without the least hesitation, for the form drawn up by Eumenes; upon which he swore to it, and the siege was immediately raised.

When Antigonus was informed of the manner in which this affair was concluded, he was so dissatisfied with it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and gave orders for the siege to be instantly renewed. These orders, however, came too late, for as soon as Eumenes saw the enemy's forces were withdrawn from before the place, he quitted it without delay, with the remains of his troops, which amounted to 500 men, and retired to Cappadocia, where he immediately assembled 2000 of his veteran soldiers, and made all the necessary preparations for sustaining the war, which he foresaw would soon be revived against him.

The revolt of Antigonus from the kings having occasioned a great alarm, Polysperchon the regent despatched to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, a commission by which he was constituted captain-general of Asia Minor; orders were likewise sent to Teutames and Antigènes, colonels of the Argyraspides, to join, and serve under him, against Antigonus. The necessary orders were also transmitted to those who had the care of the king's treasures, to pay him 500 talents, for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and likewise to furnish him with all the sums that would be necessary to defray the expenses of the war. All these were accompanied with letters from Olympias to the same purport.

Eumenes was very sensible that the accumulation of all these honours on the head of a foreigner,¹⁴ A. M. 3663. Ant. J. C. 318. would infallibly excite a violent envy against him, and render him odious to the Macedonians: but as he was incapable of acting to any effect without them, and since the good of the service itself made it necessary for him to employ all his efforts to gain them, he began with refusing the sums which were granted him for his own use, declaring that he had no occasion for them, because he was not intent on any particular advantage of his own, nor on any enterprise of that tendency. He was studious to treat every person about him, the officers, and even the soldiers, with an obliging civility, in order to extinguish, as much as possible, or at least to weaken, by an engaging conduct, the jealousy to which his condition, as a foreigner, afforded a plausible pretext, though he endeavoured not to draw it upon himself by any conduct of his own.

But an impediment, still more invincible in appearance, threw him under a restraint, and created him very cruel anxiety. Antigènes and Teutames, who commanded the Argyraspides, thought it dishonourable

¹ Cic. de Leg. l. ii. n. 63—66.

² Diog. Laert.

³ Ælian. l. iii. c. 17.

⁴ Tom. viii. des Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres.

⁵ Plut. in vit. Arist. p. 535.

⁶ Athen. l. vi. p. 272.

⁷ Ἀθηναίων.

⁸ μετελλίων.

⁹ The words in the original are πεντήκοντα, τριακάρημις, forty myriads, which are equal to 400,000, which is an evident mistake; and it undoubtedly ought to be read τίσσιν, four myriads, which amount to 40,000.

¹⁰ οὐκίστας.

¹¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 642—646.

¹² Plut. in Eumen. p. 590.

Vol. II.—4

¹³ He compiled the history of those who divided the dominions of Alexander among themselves, and it likewise comprehended the history of their successors.

¹⁴ Diod. l. xviii. p. 635, 636, & 663. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591—593. Cor. Nep. c. vii.

ble to their nation to submit to a foreigner, and refused to attend him in council. On the other hand, he could not, without derogating from the prerogatives of his post, comply with them in that point, and consent to his own degradation. An ingenious fiction disengaged him from this perplexity; and he had recourse to the aids of religion, or rather superstition, which has always a powerful influence over the minds of men, and seldom fails to take effect. He assured them, "That Alexander, arrayed in his royal robes, had appeared to him in his slumber, and shown him a magnificent tent, in which a throne was erected, and that the monarch declared to him, that while they held their councils in that tent, to deliberate on their affairs, he himself would be always present, seated on that throne; from whence he would issue his orders to his captains, and that he would conduct them in the execution of all their designs and enterprises, provided they would always address themselves to him." This discourse was sufficient, and the minds of all who heard it were wrought upon by the profound respect they entertained for the memory of that prince: in consequence of which they immediately ordered a splendid tent to be erected, and a throne placed in it, which was to be called *the throne of Alexander*; and on it were to be laid his diadem and crown, with his sceptre and arms; that all the chiefs should resort thither every morning to offer sacrifices; that their consultations should be held near the throne, and that all orders should be received in the name of the king, as if he were still living, and taking care of his kingdom. Eumenes calmed the dispute by this expedient, which met with unanimous approbation. No one raised himself above the others; but each competitor continued in the enjoyment of his privileges, till new events decided them in a more positive manner.

As Eumenes was sufficiently supplied with money,¹ he soon raised a very considerable body of troops, and had an army of 20,000 men in the spring. These forces, with Eumenes at their head, were sufficient to spread terror among his enemies. Ptolemy sailed to the coasts of Cilicia, and employed all sorts of expedients to corrupt the Argyraspides. Antigonus, on his part, made the same attempts by the emissaries he had in his camp; but neither the one nor the other could then succeed; so much had Eumenes gained upon the minds of his soldiers, and so great was the confidence they reposed in him.

He advanced, with these troops, thus favourably disposed, into Syria and Phœnicia, to recover those provinces which Ptolemy had seized with the greatest injustice. The maritime force of Phœnicia, in conjunction with the fleet, which the regent had already procured, would have rendered them absolute masters by sea, and they might likewise have been capable of transmitting all necessary succours to each other. Could Eumenes have succeeded in this design, it would have been a decisive blow; but the fleet of Polysperchon having been entirely destroyed by the misconduct of Clitus, who commanded it, that misfortune rendered his project ineffectual. Antigonus, who had defeated him, marched by land, immediately after that victory, against Eumenes, with an army much more numerous than his own. Eumenes made a prudent retreat through Coele-syria, passed the Euphrates, and took up his winter-quarters at Carrhæ, in Mesopotamia.

During his continuance in those parts,² he sent to Pithon, governor of Media, and to Seleucus, governor of Babylon, to press them to join him with their forces against Antigonus, and caused the orders of the kings to be shown them, by which they were enjoined to comply with his demand. They answered, that they were ready to assist those monarchs; but that, as to himself, they would have no transactions with a man who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. This was only a pretext, and they were actuated by a much more prevalent motive. If they had acknowledged the authority of Eumenes, and had obeyed him by advancing to him, and sub-

jecting their troops to his command, they must also have acknowledged the sovereign power of the regent, as well as of those who were masters of the royal pupils, and made use of their name, to render their own power more extensive. Pithon and Seleucus, must, therefore, by inevitable consequence, have owned that they held their governments only from those kings, and might be divested of them at their pleasure by the first order which might be issued to that effect; and this would have destroyed all their ambitious pretences with a single stroke.

Most of the officers of Alexander, who had shared the governments of the empire among themselves after his death, were solicitous to secure to themselves the supreme power in their several provinces; for which reason they had chosen a person of a mean capacity, and an infant, on whom they conferred the title of sovereign, in order to have sufficient time to establish their usurpations under so weak a government. But all those measures would have been disconcerted, if they had allowed Eumenes an ascendancy over them, with such an air of superiority as subjected them to his orders. He issued them, indeed, in the name of the kings; but this was a circumstance they were desirous of evading, and this it was that created him so many enemies and obstructions. They were also apprehensive of the merit and superior genius of Eumenes, who was capable of the greatest and most difficult enterprises. It is certain, that of all the captains of Alexander, he had the greatest share of wisdom and bravery, and was also the most steady in his resolutions, and the most faithful in his engagements; for he never violated those which he had made with any of those commanders, though they did not observe the same fidelity with respect to him.

Eumenes marched in the direction of Babylonia the following spring, and was in danger of losing his army by a stratagem of Seleucus. The troops were encamped in a plain near the Euphrates; and Seleucus, by cutting the banks of that river, laid all the neighbouring country under water. Eumenes, however, was so expeditious as to gain an eminence with his troops, and found means, the next day, to drain off the inundation so effectually, that he pursued his march almost without sustaining any loss.

Seleucus was then reduced to the necessity of making a truce with him,³ and of granting him a peaceable passage through the territories of his province, in order to arrive at Susa, where he disposed his troops into quarters of refreshment while he solicited all the governors of the provinces in Upper Asia for succours. He had before notified to them the order of the kings; and those whom he had charged with that commission, found them all assembled, at the close of a war they had undertaken in concert against Pithon the governor of Media. This Pithon having pursued the very same measures in the Upper Asia, which Antigonus had formed in the Lower, had caused Philotas to be put to death, and made himself master of his government. He would likewise have attempted to treat the rest in the same manner, if they had not opposed him by this confederacy, which the common interest had formed against him. Peucestes, governor of the province of Persia, had the command in chief conferred upon him, and defeated Pithon, drove him out of Media, and obliged him to go to Babylon to implore the protection of Seleucus. All the confederates were still in the camp after this victory, when the deputies from Eumenes arrived, and they immediately marched from Susa to join him; not that they were really devoted to the royal party, but because they were more apprehensive than ever of being subjected to the victorious Antigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and either divested of their employments all such governors as he suspected, or reduced them to the state of mere officers, liable to be removed and punished at his pleasure.

They joined Eumenes, therefore, with all their forces, which composed an army of above 25,000 men. With this reinforcement he saw himself not

¹ Diod. l. xviii. p. 636—638.

² Diod. l. xix. p. 660, 661.

³ Diod. l. xix. p. 662—664. Plut. in Eumen

only in a condition to oppose Antigonus, who was then advancing to him, but even much superior in the number of his troops. The season was too far advanced when Antigonus arrived at the banks of the Tigris, and was obliged to take winter-quarters in Mesopotamia; where, with Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, he concerted measures for the operations of the next campaign.

During these transactions,¹ Macedonia was the scene of a great revolution. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, whom Polysperchon had recalled, had made herself mistress of affairs, and caused Aridaeus, or Philip, who had enjoyed the title of king for six years and four months, to be put to death. Eurydice his consort shared the same fate; for Olympias sent her a dagger, a cord, and a bowl of poison, and only allowed her the liberty of choosing her death. She accordingly gave the preference to the cord, and then strangled herself, after she had uttered a thousand imprecations against her enemy and murderess. Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and a hundred of the principal friends of this latter, likewise suffered death.

These repeated barbarities did not long remain unpunished. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, with Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, and Deidamia, the daughter of Æacides, king of Epirus, and sister of Pyrrhus. Cassander did not lose any time, but besieged them by sea and land. Æacides prepared to assist the princesses, and was already upon his march; but the greatest part of his forces, who were averse to that expedition, revolted from the king, and condemned him to banishment when they returned to Epirus. They likewise massacred all his friends; and Pyrrhus the son of Æacides, who was then but an infant, would have suffered the same fate, if a set of faithful domestics had not happily withdrawn him from their rage. Epirus then declared in favour of Cassander, who sent Lyciscus thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olympias had then no resource but in Polysperchon alone, who was then in Pherræbia, a small province on the confines of Ætolia, and was preparing to succour her; but Cassander sent Callas, one of his generals, against him, who corrupted the greatest part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, a city of Pherræbia, where he besieged him. Olympias, who had supported all the miseries of famine with an invincible courage, having now lost all hopes of relief, was compelled to surrender at discretion.

Cassander, in order to destroy her in a manner that might give the least offence, prompted the relations of the principal officers, whom Olympias had caused to be slain during her regency, to accuse her in the assembly of the Macedonians, and to sue for vengeance for the cruelties she had committed. The request of all these persons was granted; and when they had all been heard, she was condemned to die, though absent, and no one interposed his good offices in her defence. After sentence of death had thus passed, Cassander proposed to her, by some friends, to retire to Athens, promising to accommodate her with a galley to convey her thither, whenever she should be so disposed. His intention was to destroy her in the passage by sea, and to publish through all Macedonia that the gods, amidst their displeasure at her horrible cruelties, had abandoned her to the mercy of the waves; for he was apprehensive of a retaliation from the Macedonians, and was, therefore, desirous of casting upon Providence all the odious circumstances of his own perfidy.

Olympias, whether she had been advertised of Cassander's design, or whether she was actuated by sentiments of grandeur, so natural to persons of her rank, imagined her presence alone would calm the storm, and answered with an imperious air, that she was not a woman who would have recourse to flight, and insisted on pleading her own cause in the public assembly; adding, this was the least favour that could

be granted a queen, or rather that it was an act of justice, which could not be refused to persons of the lowest rank. Cassander had no inclination to consent to this demand, having reason to be apprehensive that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmost veneration, would create a sudden change in their resolutions; he, therefore sent 200 soldiers, entirely devoted to his will, with orders to destroy her; but resolute as they were, they were incapable of supporting the air of majesty which appeared in the eyes and aspect of that princess; and retired without executing their commission. It became necessary, therefore, to employ in this murder, the relations of those whom she had caused to suffer death; and they were transported at the opportunity of gratifying their own vengeance, and at the same time making their court to Cassander. Thus perished the famous Olympias, the daughter, the sister, the wife, and mother of kings, who really merited so tragical a period of her days, in consequence of all her crimes and cruelties; but whom it is impossible to see perish in this manner, without detesting the wickedness of a prince who deprived her of life in so unworthy a manner.

Cassander already beheld an assured passage to the Macedonian throne opened to his ambition;² but he thought it incumbent on him to have recourse to other measures, in order to secure himself against the vicissitudes of time, the inconstancy of the Macedonians, and the jealousy of his competitors. Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, being qualified by her illustrious birth, and authority in Macedonia, to conciliate to him the friendship of the grandees and people of that kingdom, he hoped, by espousing her, to attach them in a peculiar manner to himself, in consequence of the esteem and respect he should testify for the royal family.

There was still one obstacle more to be surmounted, without which Cassander would have always been deemed an usurper and a tyrant. The young prince Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great, by Roxana, was still living, and had been acknowledged king, and the lawful heir to the throne. It became necessary, therefore, to remove this prince and his mother out of the way. Cassander,³ emboldened by the success of his former crime, was determined to commit a second, from whence he expected to derive all the fruits of his hopes. Prudence, however, made it necessary for him to sound the disposition of the Macedonians, with respect to the death of Olympias; for if they showed themselves insensible of the loss of that princess, he might be certain that the death of the young king and his mother would affect them as little. He, therefore, judged it expedient to proceed with caution, and advanced by moderate steps, to the execution of his scheme. He began with causing Alexander and Roxana to be conducted to the castle of Amphipolis, by a strong escort, commanded by Glaucias, an officer entirely devoted to his interest. When they arrived at that fortress, they were divested of all regal honours, and treated rather like private persons, whom important motives of state made it necessary to secure.

He intended, by his next step, to make it evident that he claimed the sovereign power in Macedonia. With this view, and in order to render the memory of Olympias still more odious, he gave orders for performing with great magnificence the funeral obsequies of king Philip, or Aridaeus, and queen Eurydice his wife, who had been murdered by the directions of Olympias. He commanded such mourning to be used as was customary in solemnities of that nature, and caused the bodies to be deposited in the tombs appropriated to the sepulture of the Macedonian kings; affecting by these exteriors of dissembled sorrow to manifest his zeal for the royal family, at the same time that he was meditating the destruction of the young king.

Polysperchon, in consequence of the information he received of the death of Olympias, and the mea-

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 695—697.

² Haud ignarus summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio. Tacit.

³ Diod. l. xix. p. 659, 660.

sures which Cassander was adopting in order to raise himself to the throne of Macedonia, had sheltered himself in Naxia, a city of Perrhæbia, where he had sustained a siege, and from whence he retreated with a very inconsiderable body of troops to pass into Thessaly, in order to join some forces of *Æacides*; after which he advanced into *Ætolia*, where he was greatly respected. Cassander followed him closely, and marched his army into *Boeotia*, where the ancient inhabitants of Thebes were seen wandering from place to place, without any fixed habitation or retreat. He was touched with the calamitous condition of that city, which was once so powerful, and had been razed to its very foundations by the command of Alexander. After a period of twenty years, he endeavoured to reinstate it in its primitive splendour; the Athenians offered to rebuild part of the walls at their own expense, and several towns and cities of *Magna Græcia*, Italy, Sicily, and Greece Proper, bestowed considerable sums on that occasion by voluntary contributions. By which means, Thebes, in a short space of time, recovered its ancient opulence, and became even richer than ever, by the care and magnificence of Cassander, who was justly considered as the father and restorer of that city.

Cassander, after he had given proper orders for the re-establishment of Thebes, advanced into *Peloponnesus*, against Alexander, the son of *Polysperchon*, and marched directly to *Argos*, which surrendered without resistance; upon which all the cities of the *Messeniens*, except *Ithome*, followed that example. Alexander, terrified at the rapidity of his conquests, endeavoured to check them by a battle; but Cassander, who was much inferior to him in troops, was unwilling to hazard a battle, and thought it more advisable to retire into Macedonia, after he had left good garrisons in the places he had taken.

As he knew the merit of Alexander,¹ he endeavoured to disengage him from the party of *Antigonus*, and attach him to his own, by offering him the government of all *Peloponnesus*, with the command of the troops stationed in that country. An offer so advantageous was accepted by Alexander without any hesitation; but he did not long enjoy it, being unfortunately slain soon after by some citizens of *Sicyon*, where he then resided, who had combined to destroy him. This conspiracy, however, did not produce the effects expected from it; for *Cratesipolis*, the wife of Alexander, whose heart was a composition of grandeur and fortitude, instead of manifesting any consternation at the sight of this fatal accident, as she was beloved by the soldiers and honoured by the officers, whom she had always obliged and served, assumed the command of the troops, repressed the insolence of the *Sicyonians* and defeated them in a battle; after which she caused thirty of the most riotous among them to be hung up; appeased all the troubles which had been excited by the seditious in the city, re-entered it in a victorious manner, and governed it with a wisdom that acquired her the admiration of all those who heard her conduct mentioned.

Whilst Cassander was employ-

A. M. 3688. ing all his efforts to establish himself on the throne of Macedonia,

Ant. J. C. 316. *Antigonus* was concerting measures to rid himself of a dangerous enemy: and having taken the field the ensuing spring, he advanced to *Babylon*, where he augmented his army with the troops he received from *Pithon* and *Seleucus*, and then passed the *Tigris* to attack *Eumenes*, who had neglected nothing on his part to give him a warm reception. He was much superior to *Antigonus* in the number of his troops, and yet more in the abilities of a great commander; though the other was far from being defective in those qualifications: for, next to *Eumenes*, he was undoubtedly the best general and ablest statesman of his time.

One disadvantage on the side of *Eumenes* was,² that his army being composed of different bodies of

troops, which the governors of provinces had supplied, each of these governors pretended to the command in chief. *Eumenes* not being a Macedonian, but a *Thracian* by birth, every one of them thought himself, for that reason, his superior. We may add to this, that the pomp, splendour, and magnificence, affected by them, seemed to leave an infinite distance between him and them, who assumed the air of real *Satrapæ*. They imagined in consequence of a mistaken and ill-timed ambition,³ but very customary with great men, that to give sumptuous repasts, and add to them whatever may heighten pleasure and gratify the senses, were part of the duties of a soldier of rank; and estimating their own merit by the largeness of their revenues and expenses, they flattered themselves that they had acquired, by their means, an extraordinary credit, and a great authority over the troops, and that the army had all the consideration and esteem for them imaginable.

A circumstance happened which ought to have undeceived them. A. M. 3689. As the soldiers were marching in Ant. J. C. 315. quest of the enemy, *Eumenes*, who was seized with a dangerous indisposition, was carried in a litter, at a considerable distance from the army, to be more remote from the noise, and that he might enjoy the refreshment of slumber, of which he had long been deprived. When they had advanced some way, and began to perceive the enemy appear on the rising grounds, they halted on a sudden, and began to call for *Eumenes*. At the same time they cast their bucklers on the ground, and declared to their officers that they would not proceed on their march till *Eumenes* came to command them. He accordingly came with all expedition, hasting the slaves who carried him, and opening the curtains on each side of his litter: he then stretched out his hands to the soldiers, and made them a declaration of his joy and gratitude. When the troops beheld him, they immediately saluted him in the Macedonian language, resumed their bucklers, clashed upon them with their pikes, and broke forth into loud exclamations of victory and defiance to their enemies, as if they feared nothing, so they had but their general at their head.

When *Antigonus* received intelligence that *Eumenes* was ill,⁴ and caused himself to be carried in a litter to the rear of the army, he advanced, in hopes that his distemper would deliver his enemies into his hands; but when he came near enough to take a view of them, and beheld their cheerful aspects, the disposition of their army, and particularly the litter, which was carried from rank to rank, he burst into a loud vein of laughter in his usual manner, and addressing himself to one of his officers—"Take notice," said he, "of yonder litter; it is that which has drawn up those troops against us; and is now preparing to attack us." And then, without losing a moment's time, he caused a retreat to be sounded, and returned to his camp.

Plutarch remarks, that the Macedonians made it very evident, on this occasion, that they judged all the other *satrapæ* exceedingly well qualified to give splendid entertainments, and arrange great feasts, but that they esteemed *Eumenes* alone capable of commanding an army with great ability. This is a solid and sensible reflection, and affords room for a variety of applications; and points out the false taste for glory, and the injudiciousness of those officers and commanders, who are only studious to distinguish themselves in the army by magnificent entertainments, and place their principal merit in surpassing others in luxury, and frequently in ruining themselves without thanks, by those ridiculous expenses. I say without thanks, because nobody thinks himself obliged to them for their profusion, and they are always the worst servants of the state.

The two armies having separated without engaging,⁵ encamped at the distance of three furlongs from each other, with a river and several gullies between

¹ Diod. l. i. x. p. 705—708.

² Diod. l. i. x. p. 669—672. *Plut.* in *Eum.* p. 591, 592.

³ Non deerant qui ambitione stolidi—luxuriosos apparatus concivior et irritamenta libidinum at instrumenta belli mercarentur. *Tacit.*

⁴ Diod. l. i. x. p. 672.

⁵ Diod. l. i. x. p. 672.

them; and as they sustained great inconveniences, because the whole country was eaten up, Antigonus sent ambassadors to the Satrapæ and Macedonians of the army of Eumenes, to prevail upon them to quit that general and join him, making them, at the same time, the most magnificent promises to induce their compliance. The Macedonians rejected his proposals, and dismissed the ambassadors with severe menaces, in case they should presume to make any such offers for the future. Eumenes, after having commended them for their fidelity, related to them this very ancient fable: "A lion entertaining a passion for a young virgin, demanded her one day in marriage of her father, whose answer was that he esteemed this alliance a great honour to him, and was ready to present his daughter to him; but that his large nails and sharp teeth made him apprehensive lest he should employ them a little too rudely upon her, if the least difference should arise between them with relation to their household affairs. The lion, who was passionately fond of the maid, immediately suffered his claws to be pared off, and his teeth to be drawn out. After which the father caught up a strong cudgel, and soon drove away his proffered son-in-law. This," continued Eumenes, "is the aim of Antigonus. He amuses you with mighty promises, in order to make himself master of your forces; but when he has accomplished that design, he will soon make you sensible of his teeth and claws."

A few days after this event, some deserters from the army of Antigonus having acquainted Eumenes that that general was preparing to decamp the next night, about the hour of nine or ten in the evening, Eumenes at first suspected that his intention was to advance into the province of Gabene, which was a fertile country, capable of subsisting numerous armies, and very commodious and secure for the troops, by reason of the rivers and gullies with which it was intersected, and therefore he resolved to prevent his execution of that design. With this view he prevailed, by sums of money, upon some foreign soldiers, to go like deserters into the camp of Antigonus, and acquaint him that Eumenes intended to attack him at night-fall. In the mean time he caused the baggage to be conveyed away, and ordered the troops to take some refreshment, and then march. Antigonus, upon this false intelligence, caused his troops to continue under arms, while Eumenes in the mean time advanced on his way. Antigonus was soon informed by his scouts that Eumenes had decamped, and finding that he had been overreached by his enemy, he still persisted in his first intention; and having ordered his troops to strike their tents, he proceeded with so much expedition, that his march resembled a pursuit. But when he saw that it was impossible to advance with his whole army up to Eumenes, who had the start of him, at least six hours, in his march, he left his infantry under the command of Pittho, and proceeded with the cavalry, on a full gallop, and came up by break of day with the rear-guard of the enemy, who were descending a hill. He then halted upon the top, and Eumenes, who discovered this body of cavalry, imagined it to be the whole army; upon which he discontinued his march, and formed his troops in order of battle. By these means Antigonus played off a retaliation upon Eumenes, and amused him in his turn; for he prevented the continuance of his march, and gave his own infantry sufficient time to come up.

The two armies were then drawn up:² that of Eumenes consisted of 35,000 foot, with above 6000 horse, and 114 elephants. That of Antigonus was composed of 23,000 foot, 8500 horse, and sixty-five elephants. The battle was fought with great obstinacy till the night was far advanced, for the moon was then in the full, but the slaughter was not very considerable on either side. Antigonus lost 3700 of his infantry, and fifty-four of his horse, and above 4000 of his men were wounded. Eumenes lost 540 of his infantry, and a very inconsiderable number of his cavalry, and had above 900 wounded. The victory

was really on his side; but as his troops, notwithstanding all his entreaties, would not return to the field of battle to carry off the dead bodies, which among the ancients was an evidence of victory, it was in consequence attributed to Antigonus, whose army appeared again in the field, and buried the dead. Eumenes sent a herald the next day to desire leave to inter his slain. This was granted him, and he rendered them funeral honours with all possible magnificence.

A very singular dispute arose at the performance of this ceremony.³ The men happened to find among the slain the body of an Indian officer, who had brought his two wives with him, one of whom he had but lately married. The law of the country, which is said to be still subsisting, would not allow a wife to survive her husband; and if she refused to be burnt with him on the funeral pile, her character was for ever branded with infamy, and she was obliged to continue in a state of widowhood the remainder of her days. She was even condemned to a kind of excommunication, as she was rendered incapable of assisting at any sacrifice, or other religious ceremony. This law, however, mentioned only one wife; but in the present instance there were two; each of whom insisted on being preferred to the other. The eldest pleaded her superiority of years, to which the youngest replied, that the law excluded her rival, because she was then pregnant; and the contest was accordingly determined in that manner. The first of them retired with a very dejected air, her eyes bathed in tears, and tearing her hair and garments, as if she had sustained some great calamity. The other, on the contrary, with a mien of joy and triumph, amidst a numerous retinue of her relations and friends, and arrayed in her richest ornaments, as on the day of her nuptials, advanced with a solemn pace, where the funeral ceremonies were to be performed. She there distributed all her jewels among her friends and relations; and, having taken her last farewell, she placed herself on the funeral pile, by the assistance of her own brother, and expired amidst the praises and acclamations of most of the spectators; but some of them, according to the historian, disapproved of this strange custom, as barbarous and inhuman. The action of this woman was undoubtedly a real murder, and might justly be considered as a violation of the most express law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a person's own life; and commands us not to dispose of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, nor forget that it is a trust, which ought to be resigned to none but that Being from whom we receive it. Such a sacrifice is so far from deserving to be enumerated among the instances of respect and fondness due to a husband, that it rather treats him as an unrelenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of such precious victims.

During the course of this campaign,⁴ the war was maintained with obstinacy on both sides, and Persia and Media were the theatre of its operations. The armies traversed those two great provinces by marches and countermarches, and each party had recourse to all the art and stratagems that the greatest capacity, in conjunction with a long series of experience in the profession of war, could supply. Eumenes, though he had a mutinous and untractable army to govern, obtained however several advantages over his enemies in this campaign; and when his troops grew impatient for winter quarters, he had still the dexterity to secure the best in all the province of Gabene, and obliged Antigonus to seek his to the north in Media, where he was incapable of arriving, till after a march of twenty-five days.

The troops of Eumenes were so ungovernable,⁵ that he could not prevail upon them to post themselves near enough to each other, to be assembled in haste on any emergency. They absolutely insisted on very distant quarters, which took in the whole extent of the province, under pretence of being more commodiously stationed, and of having every thing

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 672, 673. ² Diod. l. xix. p. 673—678.

³ Diod. l. xix. p. 678—680.

⁴ Diod. l. xix. p. 680—684.

⁵ Ibid. p. 684—688. Plut. in Eumen. p. 592. Cor. Nep. c. viii—xii.

in greater abundance. In a word, they were dispersed at such a distance from each other, that it required several days for reassembling them in a body. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumstance, marched from a very remote quarter, in the depth of winter, in hopes to surprise these different bodies so dispersed.

Eumenes, however, was not a man that would suffer himself to be surprised in such a manner, but had had the precaution to despatch, to various parts, spies mounted on dromedaries, the swiftest of all animals, to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions; and he had posted them so judiciously, that he received information of their march, before Antigonus could arrive at any of his quarters; this furnished him with an expedient to save his army by a stratagem, when all the other generals looked upon it as lost. He posted the troops who were nearest to him on the mountains that rose toward the quarter from whence the enemies were advancing, and ordered them, the following night, to kindle as many fires as might cause it to be imagined all the army were encamped in that situation. Antigonus was soon informed, by his advanced guard, that those fires were seen at a great distance, upon which he concluded that Eumenes was there encamped with all his forces, and in a condition to receive him. In order, therefore, not to expose his men, who were fatigued by long marches, to an engagement with fresh troops, he caused them to halt, that they might have time to recover themselves a little; by which means Eumenes had all the opportunity that was necessary for assembling his forces, before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus, finding his scheme defeated, and extremely mortified at being thus overreached, determined to come to an engagement.

The troops of Eumenes being all assembled about him, were struck with admiration at his extraordinary prudence and ability, and resolved that he should exercise the sole command. Antigones and Teutames, the two captains who led the *Argyraspides*, were so exceedingly mortified at a distinction so glorious for Eumenes, that they formed a resolution to destroy him, and drew most of the Satrapæ and principal officers into their conspiracy. Envy is a malady that seldom admits of a cure, and is generally heightened by the remedies administered to it. All the precautions of prudence, moderation, and condescension, which Eumenes employed, were incapable of mollifying the hearts of those barbarians, and extinguishing their jealousy, and he must have renounced his merit and virtue, which alone occasioned it, to have been capable of appeasing them. He frequently lamented to himself his unhappiness in being fated to live, not with men, as his expression was, but with savage beasts. Several conspiracies had already been formed against him, and he daily beheld himself exposed to the same danger. In order to frustrate their effects, if possible, he had borrowed, on various pretences of pressing necessity, many considerable sums of those who appeared most inveterate against him, that he, at least, might restrain them by the consideration of their own interest, and an apprehension of losing the sums they had lent him, should he happen to perish.

His enemies, however, being now determined to destroy him, held a council, in order to deliberate on the time, place, and means of accomplishing their intentions. They all agreed to protract his fall, till after the decision of the impending battle, and then to destroy him immediately afterwards. Endamus, who commanded the elephants, went immediately, with Phædinus, to acquaint Eumenes with this resolution, not from any affection to his person, but only from their apprehensions of losing the money he had borrowed of them. Eumenes returned them his thanks, and highly applauded their affection and fidelity.

When he returned to his tent, he immediately made his will, and then burnt all his papers, with the letters that had been written to him, because he was unwilling that those who had favoured him with any secret intelligence, should be exposed to any accusation or calumny after his death. When he

had thus disposed of his affairs, and found himself alone, he deliberated on the conduct he ought to pursue. A thousand contrary thoughts agitated his mind. Could it possibly be prudent in him to repose any confidence in those officers and generals who had sworn his destruction? Might he not lawfully arm against them the zeal and affection of the soldiers, who were inviolably devoted to him? On the other hand, would it not be his best expedient, to pass through Media and Armenia, and retire to Cappadocia, the place of his residence, where he might hope for a sure asylum from danger? Or, in order to avenge himself on those traitors, would it not be better for him to abandon them in the crisis of the battle, and resign the victory to his enemies? For in a situation so desperate as his own, what thoughts will not rise up in the mind of a man reduced to the last extremity by a set of perfidious traitors! This last thought, however, infused a horror into his soul; and as he was determined to discharge his duty to his latest breath, and to combat, to the close of his life, for the prince who had armed him in his cause, he resigned his destiny, says Plutarch, to the will of the gods, and thought only of preparing his troops for the battle.

He had 36,700 foot, and above 6000 horse, with 114 elephants. The army of Antigonus was composed of 22,000 foot, 9000 horse, with a body of Median cavalry, and sixty-five elephants. This general posted his cavalry on the two wings, his infantry he disposed in the centre, and formed his elephants into a first line, which extended along the front of the army, and he filled up the intervals between the elephants with light-armed troops. He gave the command of the left wing to Pithon; that of the right he assigned to his son Demetrius, and here he himself was to act in person, at the head of a body of chosen troops. Eumenes drew up his army almost in the same manner; his best troops he disposed into the left wing, and placed himself in their front, in order to oppose Antigonus, and gave the command of the right to Philip.

Before the armies began to charge, he exhorted the Greeks and Barbarians to perform their duty well; for as to his phalanx, and the *Argyraspides*, they so little needed any animating expressions, that they were the first to encourage him with assurances, that the enemy should not wait a moment for them. They were the oldest troops, who had served under Philip and Alexander, and were all veteran champions, whom victory had crowned in a hundred combats; they had hitherto been reputed invincible, and had never been foiled in any action; for which reason they advanced to the troops of Antigonus, and charged them fiercely with this exclamation: "Villains! you now fight with your fathers!" They then broke in upon the infantry with irresistible fury; not one of the battalions could sustain the shock, and most of them were cut to pieces.

The event was different with respect to the cavalry, for as the engagement between them began on a sandy soil, the motion of the men and horses raised such a thick cloud of dust, as made them incapable of seeing to the distance of three paces. Antigonus, befriended by this darkness, detached from his cavalry a body of troops superior to that of the enemy, and carried off all their baggage, without their perceiving it, and at the same time broke in upon their horse. Peucestes, who commanded them, and till then had given a thousand proofs of true bravery, fell back, and drew all the rest after him. Eumenes employed all his efforts to rally them, but in vain; the confusion was universal in that quarter, as the advantage had been complete in the other. The capture of the baggage was of more importance to Antigonus, than the victory could be to Eumenes; for the soldiers of this latter, finding, at their return, all their baggage carried off, with their wives and children, instead of employing their swords against the enemy, in order to recover them, which would have been very practicable at that time, and was what Eumenes had promised to accomplish, turned all their fury against their own general.

Having chosen their time, they fell upon him,

forced his sword out of his hand, and bound his hands behind him with his own belt. In this condition they led him through the Macedonian phalanx, then drawn up in lines under arms, in order to deliver him up to Antigonus, who had promised to restore them all their baggage on that condition. "Kill me, O soldiers," said Eumenes, as he passed by them, "Kill me yourselves, I conjure you in the name of all the gods! for though I perish by the command of Antigonus, my death will, however, be as much your act as if I had fallen by your swords. If you are unwilling to do me that office with your own hands, permit me, at least, to discharge it by one of mine. That shall render me the service which you refuse me. On this condition I absolve you from all the severities you have reason to apprehend from the vengeance of the gods, for the crime you are preparing to perpetrate on me."

Upon this they hastened him along to prevent the repetition of such pathetic addresses, which might awaken the affection of the troops for their general.

Most of the soldiers of Antigonus went out to meet him, and scarce a single man was left in his camp. When that illustrious prisoner arrived there, Antigonus had not the courage to see him, because his presence alone would have reproached him in the highest degree. As those who guarded him asked Antigonus in what manner he would have him kept: "As you would an elephant," replied he, "or a lion;" which are two animals most to be dreaded. But within a few days he was touched with compassion, and ordered him to be eased of the weightiest of his chains; he likewise appointed one of his own domestics to serve him, and permitted his friends to see him, and pass whole days in his company. They were also allowed to furnish him with all necessary refreshments.

Antigonus deliberated with himself for some time, in what manner he should treat his prisoner. They had been intimate friends, when they served under Alexander, and the remembrance of that amity rekindled some tender sentiments in his favour, and combated for awhile against his interest. His son Demetrius also solicited strongly in his favour; passionately desiring, through mere generosity, that the life of so great a man might be saved. But Antigonus, who was well acquainted with his indefeasible fidelity for the family of Alexander, and knew what a dangerous enemy he had in him, and how capable he was of disconcerting all his measures, should he escape from his hands, was too much afraid of him to grant him his life, and therefore ordered him to be destroyed in prison.

Such was the end of the most accomplished man of his age, in every particular, and the worthiest to succeed Alexander the Great. He had not, indeed, the fortune of that monarch, but he, perhaps, was not his inferior in merit. He was truly brave, without temerity; and prudent, without weakness. His descent was but mean, though he was not ashamed of it; and he gradually rose to the highest stations, and might even have aspired to a throne, if he had either had more ambition or less probity. At a time when intrigues and cabals, inspired by a motive most capable of affecting the human heart, I mean the thirst of empire, knew neither sincerity nor fidelity, nor had any respect to the ties of blood or the rights of friendship, but trampled on the most sacred laws, Eumenes always retained an inviolable fidelity and attachment to the royal family, which no hopes or fears, no vicissitude of fortune, nor any elevation, had power to shake. This very character of probity rendered him insupportable to his colleagues; for it frequently happens,¹ that virtue creates enmities and aversions, because it seems to reproach those who think in a different manner, and places their defects in too near a view.

He possessed all the military virtues in a supreme degree; complete skill in the art of war, valour, foresight, firmness, a wonderful fertility of invention

for stratagems and resources in the most unexpected dangers, and most desperate conjunctures: but I place far above these that character of probity, and those sentiments of honour, which prevailed in him, and which do not always accompany the other shining qualities I have mentioned.

A merit so illustrious and universal, and at the same time so modest, which ought to have excited the esteem and admiration of the other commanders, only gave them offence, and inflamed their envy; a defect too frequently visible in person of high rank. These satrapes, full of themselves, saw with jealousy and indignation, that an officer of no birth, but much better qualified, and more brave and experienced than themselves, had ascended by degrees to the most exalted stations, which they imagined due only to those who were dignified with great names, and descended from ancient and illustrious families: as if true nobility did not consist in merit and virtue.²

Antigonus and the whole army celebrated the funeral obsequies of Eumenes with great magnificence, and willingly paid him the utmost honours; his death having extinguished all their envy and fear. They deposited his bones and ashes in an urn of silver, and sent it to his wife and children in Cappadocia; a poor compensation for a desolate widow and her helpless orphans!

SECTION VI.—SELEUCUS, PTOLEMY, LYSIMACHUS, AND CASSANDER, FORM A CONFEDERACY AGAINST ANTIGONUS. HE DEPRIVES PTOLEMY OF SYRIA AND PHENICIA, AND MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF TYRE, AFTER A LONG SIEGE. DEMETRIUS, THE SON OF ANTIGONUS, BEGINS TO DISTINGUISH HIMSELF IN ASIA MINOR. HE LOSES A FIRST BATTLE, AND GAINS A SECOND. SELEUCUS TAKES BABYLON. A TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE PRINCES IS IMMEDIATELY BROKEN. CASSANDER CAUSES THE YOUNG KING ALEXANDER, AND HIS MOTHER ROXANA, TO BE PUT TO DEATH. HERCULES, ANOTHER SON OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, IS LIKEWISE SLAIN, WITH HIS MOTHER BARSIDA, BY POLYSPERCHON. ANTIGONUS CAUSES CLEOPATRA, THE SISTER OF THE SAME ALEXANDER, TO BE PUT TO DEATH. THE REVOLT OF OPHELLAS IN LIBYA.

ANTIGONUS,³ looking upon himself as master of the empire of Asia for the future, made a new regulation in the eastern provinces, for his better security. He discarded all the governors he suspected, and advanced to their places those persons in whom he thought he might confide. He even destroyed several who had rendered themselves formidable to him by their too great merit. Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the Argyraspides, were among these latter. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was likewise minuted down in his list of proscriptions, but he found means to escape the danger, and threw himself under the protection of Ptolemy in Egypt. As for the Argyraspides, who had betrayed Eumenes, he sent them into Arachosia, the remotest province in the empire; and ordered Syburtius, who governed there, to take such measures as might destroy them all, and that not one of them might ever return to Greece. The just horror he conceived at the infamous manner in which they betrayed their general, contributed not a little to this resolution, though he enjoyed the fruit of their treason without the least scruple or remorse; but a motive, still more prevalent, determined him chiefly to this proceeding. These soldiers were mutinous, untractable, licentious, and averse to all obedience; their example, therefore, was capable of corrupting the other troops, and even of destroying him, by a new instance of treachery: he therefore was resolved to exterminate them without hesitation.

Seleucus knew how to represent the formidable power of Antigonus so effectually to Ptolemy,⁴ that he engaged him in a league with Ly-

¹ *Industrie innocentiaque quasi malis artibus infensioriam gloria ac virtus infensus habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens. Tacit.*

² *Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus. Juv.*

³ *Diod. l. xix. p. 689—693, & 697, 698.*

⁴ *Ibid. p. 698—700.*

A. M. 3689.

Ant. J. C. 315.

A. M. 3690.

Ant. J. C. 314.

simachus and Cassander, whom he had also convinced, by the information which he had sent them, of the danger they had reason to apprehend from the power of that prince. Antigonus was very sensible that Seleucus would not fail to solicit them into measures against his interest, for which reason he sent an embassy to each of the three, to renew the good intelligence between them, by new assurances of his friendship. But what confidence could be reposed in such assurances from a perfidious man, who had lately destroyed so many governors, from no inducement but the ambition of reigning alone at the expense of all his colleagues? The answers therefore which he received, made him sufficiently sensible, that it was incumbent on him to prepare for war: upon which he quitted the East, and advanced to Cilicia with very considerable treasures which he had drawn from Babylon and Susa. He there raised new levies, regulated several affairs in the provinces of Asia Minor, and then marched into Syria and Phœnicia.

His design was to dispossess Ptolemy of those two provinces,¹ and make himself master of their maritime forces, which was absolutely necessary for him in the war he was preparing to undertake against the confederates. For unless he could be master at sea, and have at least the ports and vessels of the Phœnicians at his disposal, he could never expect any success against them. He, however, arrived too late to surprise the ships; for Ptolemy had already sent to Egypt all that could be found in Phœnicia, and it was even with difficulty that Antigonus made himself master of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, opposed him with all their forces. The two last, indeed, were soon taken, but a considerable length of time was necessary for the reduction of Tyre,

However, as he was already master of all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia, he immediately gave orders for building vessels; and a vast number of trees were cut down, for that purpose, on mount Libanus, which was covered with cedar and cypress trees of extraordinary beauty and height, and they were conveyed to the different ports where the ships were to be built, in which work he employed several thousand men. At length, with these ships, and others that joined him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and some other cities with which he had contracted an alliance, he formed a considerable fleet, and rendered himself master of the sea.

His ardour for this work was redoubled by an affront he had received from Seleucus, who with 100 ships that Ptolemy had sent him, sailed up to Tyre, in sight of all the forces of Antigonus, with an intention to brave him whilst he was engaged in the siege of that city. And in reality this insult had greatly discouraged his troops, and given his allies such an impression of his weakness as was very injurious to him. In order, therefore, to prevent the effect of those disadvantageous opinions, he sent for the principal allies, and assured them he would have such a fleet at sea that summer, as should be superior to the naval forces of all his enemies, and he was punctual to his promise before the expiration of the year.

But when he perceived, that

A. M. 3691. while he was thus employed in Ant. J. C. 313. Phœnicia, Cassander gained upon him in Asia Minor, he marched thither with part of his troops, and left the rest with his son Demetrius, who was then but twenty-two years of age, to defend Syria and Phœnicia against Ptolemy. This Demetrius will be much celebrated in the sequel of this history, and I shall soon point out his particular character.

Tyre was then reduced to the last extremities;² the fleet of Antigonus cut off all communication of provisions, and the city was soon obliged to capitulate. The garrison which Ptolemy had there, obtained permission to march out with all their effects, and the inhabitants were promised the enjoyment of theirs without molestation. Andronicus, who commanded at the siege, was transported with gaining a place of such importance on any condition whatever; espe-

cially after a siege which had harassed his troops so exceedingly for fifteen months.

Nineteen years only had elapsed since Alexander had destroyed this city, in such a manner as made it natural to believe it would require whole ages to re-establish it; and yet in so short a time it became capable of sustaining this new siege, which lasted more than as long again as that of Alexander. This circumstance discovers the great resources derived from commerce; for this was the only expedient by which Tyre rose out of its ruins, and recovered most of its former splendour. This city was then the centre of all the trade of the East and West.

Demetrius,³ who now began to be known, and will in the sequel be surnamed Poliorcetes,⁴ which signifies *taker of cities*, was the son of Antigonus. He was finely made, and of uncommon beauty. Sweetness, blended with gravity, was visible in his aspect,⁵ and he had an air of serenity, intermixed with something which carried awe along with it. Vivacity of youth in him was tempered with a majestic mien, and an air truly royal and heroic. The same mixture was likewise observable in his manners, which were equally qualified to charm and astonish. When he had no affairs to transact, his intercourse with his friends was enchanting. Nothing could equal the sumptuousness of his feasts, his luxury, and his whole manner of living; and it may be justly said, that he was the most magnificent, the most voluptuous, and the most delicate, of all princes. On the other hand, however alluring all these soft pleasures might appear to him, when he had any enterprise to undertake, he was the most active and vigilant of mankind; nothing but his patience and assiduity in fatigue were equal to his vivacity and courage. Such is the character of the young prince who now begins to appear upon the stage of action.

Plutarch remarks in him, as a peculiarity which distinguished him from the other princes of his time, his profound respect for his parents, which neither flowed from affection nor ceremony, but was sincere and real, and the growth of the heart itself. Antigonus, on his part, had a tenderness and affection for his son that was truly paternal, and extended even to familiarity, though without any diminution of the authority of the sovereign and the father; and this created a union and confidence between them entirely free from all fear and suspicion. Plutarch relates an instance of it. One day, when Antigonus was engaged in giving audience to some ambassadors, Demetrius, returning from the chase, advanced into the great hall, where he saluted his father with a kiss, and then seated himself at his side, with his darts in his hand. Antigonus had just given the ambassadors their answer, and was dismissing them, but he called them back, and said aloud, "You may likewise inform your masters of the manner in which my son and I live together;" intimating thereby, that he was not afraid to let his son approach him with arms,⁶ and that this good understanding that subsisted between him and his son, constituted the greatest strength of his dominions, at the same time that it affected him with the most sensible pleasure. But to return to our subject.

Antigonus having passed into Asia Minor,⁷ soon stopped the progress of Cassander's arms, and pressed him so vigorously, that he obliged him to come to an accommodation, on very disgraceful terms; in consequence of which the treaty was hardly concluded before he repented of his accession to it, and broke it by demanding succours of Ptolemy and Seleucus, and renewing the war. The violation of treaties was considered as nothing, by the generality of those princes whose history I am now writing.

³ Plut. in Demet. p. 889, 890.

⁴ The word is derived from πολιορκεῖν, to besiege a city, whose root is πόλις, a city, and ἔρκος, a fence, a rampart, a bulwark.

⁵ Τὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ χάρις καὶ βᾶρος, καὶ εὐθεὶς καὶ ἡερὸς εἶχε, καὶ συνεκτικρότο τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ ἰταμῷ δυσμήματος κεραιῇ τις ἐπιφάνεια καὶ βασιλικὴ σεμνότης.

⁶ Neither the Greeks nor Romans ever wore arms but in war, or when they hunted.

⁷ Plut. l. xiv. p. 710.

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 709—703.

² Diod. l. xix. p. 710.

These unworthy expedients, which are justly thought dishonourable in private persons, appeared to them as so many circumstances essential to their glory. They applauded themselves for their perfidious measures, as if they had been instances of their abilities in government; and were never sensible that such proceedings would teach their troops to be wanting in their fidelity to them, and leave themselves destitute of any pretext of complaint against their own subjects, who, by revolting from their authority, only trod in the same paths which they themselves had already marked out. By such contagious examples, a whole age is soon corrupted, and learns to renounce, without a blush, all sentiments of honour and probity, because that which is once become common, no longer appears shameful.

The renewal of this war detained Antigonus in those parts longer than he intended, and afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of obtaining a considerable advantage over him in another quarter.

He first sailed with his fleet to the isle of Cyprus,¹ and reduced the greatest part of it to his obedience. Nicocles, king of Paphos, one of the cities of that island, submitted to him like the rest, but made a secret alliance with Antigonus a year or two after. Ptolemy received intelligence of this proceeding; and, in order to prevent the other princes from imitating his example, he ordered some of his officers in Cyprus to destroy him; but they being unwilling to execute that commission themselves, earnestly entreated Nicocles to prevent it by a voluntary death. The unhappy prince consented to the proposal, and, seeing himself utterly destitute of defence, became his own executioner. But though Ptolemy had commanded those officers to treat the queen Axitha, and the other princesses whom they found in the palace of Nicocles, with the respect due to their rank, yet they could not prevent them from following the example of the unfortunate king. The queen, after she had slain her daughters with her own hands, and exhorted the other princesses not to survive the calamity by which their unhappy brother fell, plunged her dagger into her own bosom. The death of these princesses was succeeded by that of their husbands, who, before they slew themselves, set fire to the four corners of the palace. Such was the dreadful and bloody scene which was acted at Cyprus.

Ptolemy, after having made himself master of that island, made a descent into Syria, and from thence proceeded to Cilicia, where he acquired great spoils, and took a large number of prisoners, whom he carried with him into Egypt. Seleucus imparted to

A. M. 3692.
Ant. J. C. 312.

him, at his return, a project for regaining Syria and Phœnicia, and the execution of it was agreed to be undertaken. Ptolemy accordingly marched thither in person, with a fine army, after he had happily suppressed a revolt which had been kindled among the Cyreneans, and found Demetrius at Gaza, who opposed his entrance into that place. This occasioned a sharp engagement, in which Ptolemy was at last victorious. Demetrius had 5000 of his men killed, and 8000 more made prisoners: he likewise lost his tents, his treasure, and all his equipage, and was obliged to retreat as far as Azotus, and from thence to Tripoli, a city of Phœnicia, on the frontiers of Upper Syria, and to abandon all Phœnicia, Palestine, and Coele-syria, to Ptolemy.

Before his departure from Azotus, he desired leave to bury the dead, which Ptolemy not only granted, but also sent him back all his equipage, tents, furniture, friends, and domestics, without any ransom, with a message, "That they ought not to make war against each other for riches, but for glory;" and it was impossible for a Pagan to think better. May we not likewise say, that he uttered his real sentiments? Demetrius, touched with so obliging an instance of generosity, immediately begged of the gods not to leave him long indebted to Ptolemy for so great a kindness, but to furnish him with an opportunity of making him a similar return.

Ptolemy sent the rest of the prisoners into Egypt,

to serve him in his fleet, and then pursued his conquests. All the coasts of Phœnicia submitted to him except the city of Tyre: upon which he sent a secret message to Andronicus, the governor of that place, and one of the bravest officers of Antigonus, and the most attached to the service of his master, to induce him to abandon the city with a good grace, and not oblige him to seize it in force. Andronicus, who depended on the Tyrian's fidelity to Antigonus, returned a haughty, and even an insulting and contemptuous answer to Ptolemy; but he was deceived in his expectations, for the garrison and inhabitants compelled him to surrender. He then imagined himself inevitably lost, and that nothing could make a conqueror forget the insolence with which he had treated him; but he was again deceived. The king of Egypt, instead of making any reprisals upon an officer who had insulted him with so much indignity, made it a kind of duty to engage him in his service by the regard he professed for him when he was introduced to salute him.

Demetrius was not discouraged with the loss of the battle, as a young prince who had been so unfortunate in his enterprise might naturally have been; but he employed all his attention in raising fresh troops and making new preparations, with all the steadiness and resolution of a consummate general habituated to the art of war, and to the inconstancy and vicissitudes of arms; in a word, he fortified the cities, and was continually exercising his soldiers.

Antigonus received intelligence of the loss of that battle without any visible emotion, and he coldly said, "Ptolemy has defeated boys, but he shall soon have men to deal with;" and as he was unwilling to abate the courage and ardour of his son, he complied with his request of making a second trial of his strength against Ptolemy.

A short time after this event,² Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, arrived with a numerous army, fully persuaded that he should drive Demetrius out of Syria; for he had entertained a very contemptible opinion of him from his defeat; but Demetrius, who had known how to derive advantages from his misfortune, and was now become more circumspect and attentive, fell upon him when he least expected it, and made himself master of his camp and all his baggage, took 7000 of his men prisoners, even seized him with his own hands, and carried off a great booty. The glory and riches Demetrius had acquired by this victory, affected him less than the pleasure of being in a condition to acquit himself of his debt towards his enemy, and return the obligation he had received from him. He would not, however, act in this manner by his own authority, but wrote an account of the whole affair to his father, who permitted him to act as he should judge proper. Upon which he immediately sent back Cilles, with all his friends, laden with magnificent presents, and with them all the baggage he had taken. There is certainly something very noble in thus vying in generosity with an enemy; and it was a disposition still more estimable, especially in a young and victorious prince, to make it a point of glory to depend entirely upon his father, and to take no measures in such a conjuncture without consulting him.

Seleucus,³ after the victory obtained over Demetrius at Gaza, had obtained 1000 foot and 300 horse from Ptolemy, and proceeded with this small escort to the East, with an intention to re-enter Babylon. When he arrived at Carrhæ, in Mesopotamia, he made the Macedonian garrison join his troops, partly by consent and partly by compulsion. As soon as his approach to Babylon was known, his ancient subjects came in great numbers to range themselves under his ensigns; for the moderation of his government had rendered him greatly beloved in that province, whilst the severity of Antigonus was universally detested. The people were charmed at his return, and the hopes of his re-establishment. When he arrived at Babylon he found the gates open, and was received with the general acclamations of the

¹ Diod. l. xx. p. 761.

² Diod. l. xix. p. 729.

³ Ibid. p. 726—729.

people. Those who favoured the party of Antigonus retired into the castle; but as Seleucus was master of the city and the affections of the people, he soon made himself master of that fortress, and there found his children, friends, and domestics, whom Antigonus had detained prisoners in that place ever since the retreat of Seleucus into Egypt.

It was immediately judged necessary to raise a good army to defend these acquisitions; and he was hardly reinstated in Babylon before Nicanor, the governor of Media under Antigonus, was upon his march to dislodge him. Seleucus having received intelligence of this, passed the Tigris, in order to meet him, and he had the good fortune to surprise him in a disadvantageous post, where he assaulted his camp by night, and entirely defeated his army. Nicanor was compelled to fly, with a small number of his friends, and to cross the deserts before he could arrive at the place where Antigonus then was. All the troops, who had escaped from the defeat, declared for Seleucus, either through dissatisfaction to serve under Antigonus, or else from apprehensions of the conqueror. Seleucus was now master of a fine army, which he employed in the conquest of Media and Susiana, with the other adjacent provinces, by which means he rendered himself very powerful. The lenity of his government, his justice, equity, and humanity to all his subjects, contributed principally to the establishment of his power; and he was then sensible how advantageous it is for a prince to treat his people in that manner, and to possess their affections. He had arrived in his own territories with a handful of men, but the love of his people was equivalent to an army; and he not only assembled a vast body of them about him in a short time, but they were likewise rendered invincible by their affection for him.

With this entry into Babylon

A. M. 3693. commences the famous era of the Ant. J. C. 311. Seleucidæ, received by all the people

of the East, as well Pagans as Jews, Christians, and Mahomedans. The Jews call it the Era of Contracts, because when they were subjected to the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were obliged to insert it into the dates of their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians style it the Era of the Double-horned, by which, according to some authors, they denote Seleucus, whom sculptors usually represented with two horns of an ox on his head, because this prince was so strong, that he could seize that animal by the horns, and stop him short in his full career. The two books of the Maccabees call it the Era of the Greeks, and use it in their dates; with this difference, however, that the first of these books represents it as beginning in the spring, the other in the autumn of the same year. The thirty-one years of the reign ascribed to Seleucus, begin at this period.

Antigonus was at Celenæ in Phrygia,¹ when he received intelligence of the victory obtained by his son Demetrius over the troops of Ptolemy; and immediately advanced to Syria, in order to secure all the advantages that were presented to him by that event. He crossed mount Taurus, and joined his son, whom he tenderly embraced at the first interview, shedding at the same time tears of joy. Ptolemy, being sensible that he was not strong enough to oppose the united forces of the father and son, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Aco, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza; after which he retired into Egypt, with the greatest part of the riches of the country, and a numerous train of the inhabitants. In this manner was all Phœnicia, Judea, and Coele-syria, subjected a second time to the power of Antigonus.

The inhabitants of these provinces who were carried off by Ptolemy,² followed him more out of inclination than by constraint: and the moderation and humanity with which he always treated those who submitted to his government, had gained their hearts so effectually, that they were more desirous of living under him in a foreign country, than of continuing

in their own subject to Antigonus, from whom they had no expectations of so gentle a treatment. They were likewise strengthened in this resolution by the advantageous proposals of Ptolemy; for, as he then intended to make Alexandria the capital of Egypt, he was very desirous of drawing inhabitants thither, and for this purpose he offered them extraordinary privileges and immunities. He, therefore, settled in that city most of those who followed him on this occasion, among whom was a numerous body of Jews. Alexander had formerly placed many of that nation there; but Ptolemy, in his return from one of his first expeditions, planted a much greater number in that city than Alexander himself, and they there found a fine country and a powerful protection. The rumour of these advantages being propagated through all Judea, rendered many more desirous of establishing themselves at Alexandria; and they accomplished their design upon this occasion. Alexander had granted the Jews who settled there under his government, the same privileges as were enjoyed by the Macedonians: and Ptolemy pursued the same conduct with respect to this new colony. In a word, he settled such a number of them there, that the quarter inhabited by the Jews almost formed an entire city of itself. A large body of Samaritans also established themselves there, on the same footing with the Jews, and increased exceedingly in numbers.

Antigonus,³ after he had repossessed himself of Syria and Judea, sent Athenæus, one of his generals, against the Nabathean Arabs, a nation of robbers, who had made several inroads into the country he had newly conquered, and had lately carried off a very large booty. Their capital city was Petra, so called by the Greeks, because it was situated on a high rock, in the middle of a desert country. Athenæus made himself master of the place, and likewise of the spoils deposited in it; but the Arabs attacked him by surprise in his retreat, and defeated the greatest part of his troops; they likewise killed him on the spot, regained all the booty, and carried it back to Petra, from whence they wrote a letter to Antigonus, who was then in Syria, complaining of the injustice with which they had been treated by Athenæus. Antigonus pretended at first to disapprove his proceedings; but as soon as he had assembled his troops, he gave the command of them to his son Demetrius, with orders to chastise the insolence of those robbers: but as this prince found it impracticable to force them in their retreat, or retake Petra, he contented himself with making the best treaty he could with this people, and then marched back with his troops.

Antigonus,⁴ upon the intelligence A. M. 3693. he received from Nicanor of the Ant. J. C. 311. success of Seleucus in the East, sent his son Demetrius thither at the head of an army, to drive him out of Babylon, and dispossess him of that province, while he himself advanced to the coasts of Asia Minor, to oppose the operations of the confederate princes, whose power daily increased. He likewise ordered his son to join him, after he had executed his commission in the East. Demetrius, in conformity to his father's directions, assembled an army at Damascus, and marched to Babylon; and as Seleucus was then in Media, he entered the city without any opposition. Patroclus, who had been intrusted with the government of that city by Seleucus, finding himself not strong enough to resist Demetrius, retired with his troops into the marshes, where the rivers, canals, and fens, that covered him, made the approach impracticable. He had the precaution, when he left Babylon, to cause the inhabitants also to retire from thence, who all took refuge, some on the other side of the Tigris, others in the deserts, and the rest in places of security.

Demetrius caused the castles to be attacked, of which there were two in Babylon, very large, and strengthened with good garrisons, on the two opposite banks of the Euphrates. One of these he took, and placed in it a garrison of 7000 men. The other sus-

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 729.

² Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. et contra. Appion. l. i. & ii.

³ Diod. l. xix. 730—733.

⁴ Diod. p. 735, 736. Plut. in Demet. p. 891.

tained the siege till Antigonus ordered his son to join him. The prince, therefore, left Archelaus, one of the principal officers of the army, with 1000 horse, and 5000 foot to continue the siege, and marched with the rest of the troops into Asia Minor to reinforce his father.

Before his departure, he caused Babylon to be plundered; but this action proved to be detrimental to his father's affairs, and attached the inhabitants more than ever to Seleucus; even those who, till then, had espoused the interest of Antigonus, never imagined that the city would be treated in that manner, if he ever intended to return thither, and looked upon this pillage as an act of desertion, and a formal declaration of his having entirely abandoned them: this induced them to turn their thoughts to an accommodation with Seleucus, and they accordingly went over to his party; by which means Seleucus, upon his return, which immediately followed the departure of Demetrius, had no difficulty in driving out the few troops that Demetrius had left in the city, and he retook the castle which they possessed. When this event was accomplished, he established his authority in such a solid manner, that nothing was capable of shaking it. This therefore is the epocha to which the Babylonians refer the foundation of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Asia place it six months sooner, and in the preceding year.

Demetrius, upon his arrival in Asia Minor, obliged Ptolemy to raise the siege of Halicarnassus; and this event was succeeded by a treaty of peace between the confederate princes and Antigonus; by which it was stipulated, that Cassander should have the management of the Macedonian affairs, till Alexander, the son of Roxana, was of age to reign. Lysimachus was to have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt and the frontiers of Libya, with Arabia; and all Asia was allotted to Antigonus. All the cities of Greece were likewise to enjoy their liberty; but this accommodation was of no long duration: and indeed it is surprising that princes, so well acquainted with each other, and sensible that the sacred solemnity of oaths was only employed for their mutual delusion, should expect any success from an expedient that had been practised so frequently in vain, and was then so much disregarded. This treaty was hardly concluded, before each party complained that it was infringed, and hostilities were renewed. The true reason was, the extraordinary power of Antigonus, which daily increased, and became so formidable to the other three, that they were incapable of enjoying any satisfaction till they had reduced him.

It was manifest that they were only solicitous for their own interest, and had no regard for the family of Alexander. The Macedonians began to be impatient: and declared aloud, that it was time for them to cause the young Alexander to appear upon the stage of action, as he was then fourteen years of age, and to bring him out of prison, in order to make him acquainted with public business. Cassander, who foresaw in this proceeding the destruction of his own measures, caused the young king, and his mother Roxana, to be secretly put to death in the castle of Amphipolis, where he had confined them for some years.

Polysperchon,² who governed in A. M. 3694. Peloponnesus, took this opportunity to declare openly against the conduct of Cassander, and made the people sensible of the enormous wickedness of this action, with a view of rendering him odious to the Macedonians, and entirely supplanting him in their affections. As he had then thoughts of re-entering Macedonia, from whence he had been driven by Cassander, he affected an air of great zeal for the house of Alexander; and in order to render it apparent, he caused Hercules, another son of Alexander, by Barsina, the widow of Memnon, and who was then about seventeen years of age, to be brought from Pergamus, upon which he himself advanced

with an army, and proposed to the Macedonians to place him upon the throne. Cassander was terrified at this proceeding, and represented to him, at an interview between them, that he was preparing to raise himself a master; but that it would be more for his interest to remove Hercules out of the way, and secure the sovereignty of Greece to himself, offering, at the same time, his own assistance for that purpose. This discourse easily prevailed upon him to sacrifice the young prince to Cassander, as he was now persuaded that he should derive great advantages from his death. Hercules, therefore, and his mother, suffered A. M. 3695. the same fate from him the next Ant. J. C. 309. year, as Roxana and her son had before from Cassander; and each of these wretches sacrificed, in his turn, an heir of the crown, in order to share it between themselves.

As there was now no prince of Alexander's house left, each of them retained his government with the authority of a sovereign, and were persuaded that they had effectually secured their acquisitions, by the murder of those princes, who alone had a lawful title to them, congratulating themselves for having extinguished in their own minds all remains of respect for the memory of Alexander, their master and benefactor, which till then had held their hands. Who, without horror, could behold an action so perfidious, and, at the same time, so shameful and base! But such was the insensibility of them both, that they were equally forward to felicitate themselves on the success of an impious confederacy, which ended in the effusion of their master's blood. The blackest of all crimes never cost the ambitious any remorse, provided they conduce to their ends.

Ptolemy having commenced the war anew,³ took several cities from Antigonus in Cilicia and other parts; but Demetrius soon regained what his father had lost in Cilicia: and the other generals of Antigonus had the same success against those of Ptolemy, who did not command this expedition in person. Cyprus was now the only territory where Ptolemy preserved his conquests; for when he had caused Nicocles, king of Paphos, to suffer death, he entirely crushed the party of Antigonus in that island.

In order to obtain some compensation for what he had lost in Cilicia,⁴ he invaded Pamphylia, Lycia, Ant. J. C. 308. and some other provinces of Asia Minor, where he took several places from Antigonus.

He then sailed into the Ægean sea,⁵ and made himself master of the isle of Audros; after which he took Sicyon, Corinth, and some other cities.

During his continuance in those parts, he formed an intimate correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander. She had espoused Alexander, king of Epirus, at whose nuptials Philip had been assassinated, and after the death of her consort, who was slain in the wars of Italy, had continued in a state of widowhood, and for several years had resided at Sardis in Lydia. As Antigonus, who was master of that city, did not treat her with due attention and respect, Ptolemy artfully took advantage of her discontent, to gain her over to his interest. With this intention he invited her to an interview, in hopes of deriving, from her presence, some advantages against Antigonus. The princess had already set out, but the governor of Sardis caused her to be stopped and immediately brought back, and shortly after, by the command of Antigonus, caused her to be secretly destroyed. Antigonus, soon after this event, came to Sardis, where he ordered all the women who had been instrumental in her murder to be proceeded against.

We may here behold with admiration, how heavily the arm of the Almighty fell upon the race of Alexander, and with what severity he pursued the small remains of his family, and all those who had the misfortune to be any way related to that famous conqueror, whose favour was ardently courted by all the world a few years before. A fatal curse con-

¹ Diod. l. xix. p. 739. Plut. in Demet. p. 892.

² Diod. l. xx. p. 760, 761, & 766, 767.

³ Diod. l. xx. p. 760.

⁴ Ibid. 774, 775.

⁵ Ibid. p. 766.

sumed his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. God even used the ministrations of his courtiers, officers, and domestics, to render the severity of his judgments visible to all mankind, who, by these means, received some kind of reparation for the calamities they had suffered from Alexander.

Antigonus, though he was the minister of the Deity in the execution of his just decrees was not the less criminal on that account, because he acted only from motives of ambition and cruelty, of the enormity of which he was himself sensible, and which he wished he could be capable of concealing from the observation of mankind. He celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra with extraordinary magnificence, hoping, by this plausible exterior, to dazzle the eyes of the public, and avoid the hatred due to so black a crime. But such deep hypocrisy as this, usually discovers the crime it labours to conceal, and only increases the just horror the world generally entertains for those who have committed it.

This barbarous and unmanly action was not the only one that Antigonus committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy raised the superstructure of their power on the clemency and justice with which they governed their people; and, by these expedients, established lasting empires, which continued in their families for several generations: but the character of Antigonus was of a different cast. It was a maxim with him, to remove all obstacle to his designs, without the least regard to justice or humanity; in consequence of which, when that brutal and tyrannical force, by which alone he had supported himself, came to fail him, he lost both life and empire.

Ptolemy, with all the wisdom and moderation of his government, was not secure from revolts. The treachery of Ophellas, governor of Libya, and Cyrenaica, who formed an insurrection much about this time, gave him a just cause for inquietude; but it happened very fortunately to be attended with no bad effect. This officer had served first under Alexander, and, after the death of that prince, had embraced the interest of Ptolemy, whom he followed into Egypt. Ptolemy had intrusted him with the command of the army which was intended for the reduction of Libya and Cyrenaica, provinces that had been allotted to him, as well as Egypt and Arabia, in the partition of the empire. When these two provinces were subdued, Ptolemy conferred the government of them upon Ophellas; who, when he was sensible that this prince was too much engaged with Antigonus and Demetrius to give him any apprehensions, had rendered himself independent, and continued, till this year, in the peaceable enjoyment of his usurpation.

Agathocles, king of Sicily, having marched into Africa to attack Ant. J. C. 307. the Carthaginians, endeavoured to engage Ophellas in his interest, and promised to assist him in the conquest of all Africa for himself. Ophellas, seduced by so grateful a proposal, joined Agathocles with an army of 20,000 men in the Carthaginian territories; but he had scarce arrived there, before the perfidious wretch who had drawn him thither, caused him to be slain, and kept his army in his own service. The history of the Carthaginians will inform the reader in what manner this black instance of treachery succeeded. Ptolemy, upon the death of Ophellas, recovered Libya and Cyrenaica. The wife of the latter was an Athenian lady of uncommon beauty; her name was Eurydice, and she was descended from Miltiades. After the death of her husband she returned to Athens, where Demetrius saw her the following year, and espoused her.

SECTION VII.—DEMETRIUS, THE SON OF ANTIGONUS, BESIEGES AND TAKES ATHENS, AND ESTABLISHES A DEMOCRACY IN THAT CITY. DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS, WHO COMMANDED THERE, RETIRES TO THEBES. HE IS CONDEMNED TO SUFFER DEATH, AND HIS STATUES ARE THROWN DOWN. HE RETIRES INTO EGYPT. THE EXCESSIVE HONOURS RENDERED BY THE ATHENIANS TO ANTI-

GONUS AND HIS SON DEMETRIUS. THE LATTER OBTAINS A GREAT NAVAL VICTORY OVER PTOLEMY, TAKES SALAMIS, AND MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF ALL THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS. ANTIGONUS AND DEMETRIUS ASSUME THE TITLE OF KINGS AFTER THIS VICTORY, AND THEIR EXAMPLE IS FOLLOWED BY THE OTHER PRINCES. ANTIGONUS FORMS AN ENTERPRISE AGAINST EGYPT, WHICH PROVES UNSUCCESSFUL.

ANTIGONUS and Demetrius¹ had formed a design to restore liberty to all Greece, which was kept in a kind of slavery by Cassander, Ptolemy, and Polysperchon. These confederate princes, in order to subject the Greeks, had judged it expedient to establish, in all the cities they conquered, aristocracy, that is, the government of the rich and powerful; and it corresponds, the most of any, with regal authority. Antigonus, to engage the people in his interest, had recourse to a contrary method, by substituting a democracy, which more effectually soothed the inclination of the Greeks, by lodging the power in the hands of the people. This conduct was a renewal of the policy which had been so frequently employed against the Lacedæmonians by the Athenians and Persians, and had always succeeded; and it was impossible for it to be ineffectual in this conjuncture, if supported by a good army. Antigonus could not enter upon his measures in a better manner, than by opening the scene with the signal of democratic liberty in Athens; which was not only the most jealous of it, but was likewise at the head of all the other republics.

When the siege of Athens had been resolved upon, Antigonus was told by one of his friends, that if he should happen to take that city, he ought to keep it for himself, as the key of all Greece; but he sternly rejected that proposal, and replied, "That the best and strongest key which he knew, was the friendship of the people; and that Athens, being in a manner the light by which all the world steered, would not fail to spread through all quarters the glory of his actions." It is very surprising to see in what manner, princes, who are very unjust and self-interested, can sometimes borrow the language of equity and generosity, and are solicitous of doing themselves honour by assuming the appearance of virtues to which, in reality, they are utter strangers.

Demetrius set out for Athens with 5000 talents, and a fleet of 250 ships. Demetrius Phalereus had commanded in that city for the space of ten years in the name and under the authority of Cassander; and the republic as I have already observed, never experienced a juster government, or enjoyed a series of greater tranquillity and happiness. The citizens, in gratitude to his administration, had erected as many statues to his honour as there are days in the year, namely, 360, for at that time the year, according to Pliny,² did not exceed this number of days. An honour like this had never been granted to any citizen.

When the fleet of Demetrius approached, all the inhabitants prepared for his reception, believing the ships belonged to Ptolemy; but when the captains and principal officers were at last undeceived, they immediately had recourse to arms for their defence; every place was filled with tumult and confusion, the Athenians being reduced to a sudden and unexpected necessity of repelling an enemy who advanced upon them without being discovered, and had already made a descent; for Demetrius had entered the port, which he found entirely open, and might easily be distinguished on the deck of his galley, where with his hands he made a signal to the people to keep themselves quiet, and afford him an audience. The tumult being then calmed, he caused them to be informed aloud by a herald, who placed himself at his side, "That his father Antigonus had sent him under happy auspices, to reinstate the Athenians in the possession of their liberty; to drive the garrison out of

¹ Plut. in Demetr. p. 892—894.

² Nondum autem hunc numerum dierum excedente. Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

their citadel, and to re-establish their laws, and ancient plan of government."

The Athenians, at this proclamation, cast their bucklers down at their feet, and clapping their hands with loud acclamations of joy, pressed Demetrius to descend from his galley, and called him their preserver and benefactor. Those who were then with Demetrius Phalereus, were unanimously of opinion, that, as the son of Antigonus was already master of the city, it would be better to receive him, though they should even be certain that he would not perform any one article of what he had promised; upon which they immediately despatched ambassadors to him with a tender of their submission.

Demetrius received them in a gracious manner, and gave them a very favourable audience; and in order to convince them of his good disposition towards them, he gave them Aristodemus of Miletus, one of his father's most intimate friends, as a hostage, at their dismissal. He was likewise careful to provide for the safety of Demetrius Phalereus; who, in consequence of this revolution, had more reason to be apprehensive of his citizens, than even of the enemies themselves. The reputation and virtue of this great man had inspired the young prince with the utmost respect for his person; and he sent him with a sufficient guard to Thebes, in compliance with his own request. He then told the Athenians that he was determined not to see their city, nor so much as enter within the walls, however desirous he might be to visit them, till he had entirely freed the inhabitants from subjection, by driving out the garrison that encroached upon their liberties. At the same time he ordered a large ditch to be opened, and raised strong intrenchments before the fortress of Munychia, to deprive it of all communication with the city; after which he embarked for Megara, where Cassander had placed a strong garrison.

When he arrived at that city, he was informed that Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander the son of Polysperchon, who was greatly celebrated for her beauty, then resided at Patreæ, and was extremely desirous to see him, and be at his devotion. He therefore left his army in the territories of Megara, and having selected a small number of persons, most disposed to attend him, he set out for Patreæ; and, when he had arrived within a small distance of that city, he secretly withdrew himself from his attendants, and caused a pavilion to be erected in a private place, that Cratesipolis might not be seen when she came to him. A party of the enemy happening to be apprised of this imprudent proceeding, marched against him when he least expected such a visit, and he had but just time to disguise himself in a mean habit, and elude the danger by a precipitate flight; so that he was on the point of being taken in the most ignominious manner, on account of his incontinence. The enemy seized his tent, with the riches that were in it.

The city of Megara being taken, the soldiers demanded leave to plunder the inhabitants; but the Athenians interceded for them so effectually, that the city was saved. Demetrius drove out the garrison of Cassander, and reinstated Megara in its liberties. Stilpon,¹ a celebrated philosopher, lived in that city, and was sent for by Demetrius, who asked him if he had not lost something? "Nothing at all," replied Stilpon, "for I carry all my effects about me;" meaning by that expression, his justice, probity, temperance, and wisdom; with the advantage of not ranking any thing in the class of blessings that could be taken from him. What could all the kings of the earth do in conjunction against such a man as this, who neither desires nor dreads any thing, and who

has been taught by philosophy not to consider death itself as a calamity!

Though the city was saved from pillage, yet all the slaves in general were taken and carried off by the conquerors. Demetrius, on the day of his quitting Megara, after having showed the strongest marks of regard to Stilpon, told him that he left the city to him in an entire state of freedom. "What you say, my lord, is certainly true," replied the philosopher, "for you have not left so much as one slave in it."

Demetrius, when he returned to Athens, posted his troops before the port of Munychia, and carried on the siege with so much vigour, that he soon drove out the garrison, and razed the fort. The Athenians, after this event, entreated him with great importunity to come and refresh himself in the city; upon which he accordingly entered it, and then assembled the people, to whom he restored their ancient form of government, promising, at the same time, that his father should send them 150,000 measures of corn, and all necessary materials for building 100 galleys of three benches of oars. In this manner did the Athenians recover their democracy, about fourteen years after its abolition.

They carried their gratitude to their benefactors even to impiety and irreligion, by the excessive honours they decreed them. They first conferred the title of king on Antigonus and Demetrius, a title which neither these nor any of the other princes had ever had the presumption to take till then, though they had assumed to themselves all the power and effects of royalty. The Athenians likewise honoured them with the appellation of *tutelar deities*; and instead of the magistracy of the Archon, which gave the year its denomination, they elected annually a priest of these tutelar deities, in whose name all the public acts and decrees were passed. They also ordered their pictures to be painted, with those of the other gods, on the veil which was carried in procession at their solemn festivals in honour of Minerva, called Panathænea; and, by an excess of adulation scarce credible, they consecrated the spot of ground on which Demetrius descended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called the *altar of Demetrius descending from his chariot*; and they added to the ten ancient tribes two more, which they styled the *tribe of Demetrius* and the *tribe of Antigonus*. They likewise changed the names of two months in their favour, and published an order, that those who should be sent to Antigonus or Demetrius, by any decree of the people, instead of being distinguished by the common title of ambassadors, should be called *Theori*, which was an appellation reserved for those who were chosen to go and offer sacrifices to the gods at Delphi, or Olympia, in the name of the cities. But even all these honours were not so strange and extravagant as the decree obtained by Democritus, who proposed, "that in order to the more effectual consecration of the bucklers that were to be dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, proper persons should be despatched to Demetrius, the tutelar deity; and that after they had offered sacrifices to him, they should inquire of this tutelar deity in what manner they ought to conduct themselves, so as to celebrate, with the greatest promptitude, and the utmost devotion and magnificence, the dedication of those offerings, and that the people should comply with all the directions of the oracle on that occasion."

The extreme ingratitude the Athenians discovered towards Demetrius Phalereus, was no less criminal and extravagant than the immoderate acknowledgment they had just shown to their new master. They had always considered the former as too much devoted to oligarchy, and were offended at his suffering the Macedonian garrison to continue in their citadel for the space of ten years, without making the least application to Cassander for its removal; in this, however, he had only followed the example of Phocion, and undoubtedly considered those troops as a necessary restraint on the turbulent disposition of the Athenians. They might possibly imagine likewise,²

¹ Megara Demetrius sperat, cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. Ab hoc Stilpon philosophus interrogatus, num quid perdidisset: Nihil, inquit; omnia namque mea mecum sunt—Habebat enim secum vera bona in quæ non est manus injectio—Hæc sunt, justitia, virtus, temperantia, prudentia; et hoc ipsum, nihil bonum putare quod eripi possit. Cogita nunc, an lucis quicquam facere injuriam possit, cui bellum, et hostis ille egregiam artem quassandarum urbium professus, eripere nihil potuit. *Senec. de Const. sap. e. v.*
& Ep. IX

² Diog. Laert.

that by declaring against him, they should ingratiate themselves more effectually with the conqueror. But whatever their motives might be, they first condemned him to suffer death for contumacy; and as they were incapable of executing their resentment upon his person, because he had retired from their city, they threw down the numerous statues they had raised in honour of Demetrius Phalereus; who, when he had received intelligence of their proceedings, "At least," said he, "it will not be in their power to destroy that virtue in me by which those statues were deserved."

What estimation is to be made of those honours which, at one time, are bestowed with so much profusion, and as suddenly revoked at another; honours that had been denied to virtue, and prostituted to vicious princes, with a constant disposition to divest them of those favours upon the first impressions of discontent, and degrade them from their divinity with as much precipitation as they conferred it upon them! What weakness and stupidity do those discover, who are either touched with strong impressions of joy when they receive such honours, or appear dejected when they happen to lose them!

The Athenians still proceeded to greater extremities. Demetrius Phalereus was accused of having acted contrary to their laws in many instances during his administration, and they omitted no endeavours to render him odious. It was necessary for them to have recourse to this injustice and calumny, infamous as such proceedings were in their own nature, to escape, if possible, the just reproach of having condemned that merit and virtue which had been universally known and experienced. The statues, while they subsisted, were so many public testimonials, continually declaring in favour of the innocence of Demetrius, and against the injustice of the Athenians. Their own evidence then turned against them, and that they could not invalidate. The reputation of Demetrius was not obliterated by the destruction of his statues; and therefore it was absolutely necessary that he should appear criminal, that the Athenians might be able to represent themselves as innocent and just; and they imagined that a solemn and authentic condemnation would supply the defect of proofs, and the regularity of forms. They did not even spare his friends; and all those who had maintained a strict intimacy with him were exposed to danger. Menander, that celebrated poet, from whom Terence has transcribed the greatest part of his comedies, was on the point of being prosecuted, for no other reason than his having contracted a friendship with Demetrius.

There is reason to believe that Demetrius, after he had passed some time at Thebes, retired for refuge to Cassander, who was sensible of his merit, and testified a particular esteem for him, and that he continued under his protection as long as that prince lived. But, after the death of Cassander, as he had reason to be apprehensive of the worst that could befall him from the brutality of his son Antipater, who had caused his own mother to be destroyed, he retired into Egypt, to Ptolemy Soter, who had rendered himself illustrious by his liberalities to men of letters, and whose court was then the asylum of all persons in distress.

His reception at that court was as favourable as possible; and the king, according to Ælian, gave him the office of superintending the observation of the laws of the state.¹ He held the first rank among the friends of that prince; lived in affluence, and was in a condition to transmit presents to his friends at Athens. These were undoubtedly some of those real friends, of whom Demetrius himself declared, that they never came to him in his prosperity till he first had sent for them, but that they always visited him in his adversity without waiting for any invitation.

During his exile he composed several treatises on government, the duties of civil life, and other subjects of the like nature. This employment was a kind of sustenance to his mind,² and cherished in it those

sentiments of humanity with which it was so largely replenished. How grateful a consolation and resource is this, either in solitude or a state of exile, to a man solicitous of improving his hours of leisure to the advantage of himself and the public!

The reader, when he considers the surprising number of statues erected in honour of one man, will undoubtedly have noticed the striking difference between the glorious ages of Athens and that we are now describing. A very judicious author has a fine remark upon this occasion.³ All the recompense, says he, which the Athenians formerly granted Miltiades for preserving the state, was the privilege of being represented in a picture as the principal figure, and at the head of nine other generals, animating the troops for the battle; but the same people, being afterwards softened and corrupted by the flattery of their orators, decreed above 300 statues to Demetrius Phalereus. Honours thus prodigally lavished, are no proofs of real merit, but the effects of servile adulation; and Demetrius Phalereus was culpable to a considerable degree in not opposing them to the utmost of his power, if he really was in a condition to prevent their taking place. The conduct of Cato was much more prudent,⁴ in declining several marks of distinction which the people were desirous of granting him; and when he was asked one day, why no statues had been erected to him, when Rome was crowded with so many others, "I had much rather," said he, "people should inquire why I have none, than why I have any."

True honour and distinction, says Plutarch, in the place I last cited, consist in the sincere esteem and affection of the people, founded on real merit and effectual services. These are sentiments which are so far from being extinguished by death, that they gain strength and are perpetuated from age to age; whereas a profusion of honours lavished through flattery or fear, upon bad princes and tyrants, are never known to survive them, and frequently die away before them. The same Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom we have lately seen consulted and adored as an oracle and a god, will soon have the mortification to behold the Athenians shutting their gates against him, for no other reason than the change of his fortune.

Demetrius,⁵ while he continued at Athens espoused Eurydice, the widow of Ophellus. He had already several wives, and among the rest Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom his father compelled him to marry against his inclinations, citing to him a verse out of Euripides, which he changed into a parody by the alteration of one word: "Wherever fortune is, a person ought to marry, even against his inclination."⁶ Ancient as this maxim is, it has never grown obsolete hitherto, but retains its full force, how contrary soever it be to the sentiments of nature. Demetrius was severely censured at Athens for infamous excesses.

In a short time after this marriage,⁷ his father ordered him to quit Greece, and sent him, with a strong fleet and a numerous army, to conquer the isle of Cyprus from Ptolemy. Before he undertook this expedition, he sent ambassadors to the Rhodians, to invite them to an alliance with him against Ptolemy; but this attempt proved ineffectual, and they constantly insisted on the liberty of persevering in the neutrality they had embraced. Demetrius being sensible that the intelligence Ptolemy maintained in Rhodes had defeated his design, advanced to Cyprus, where he made a descent, and marched to Salamis, the capital of that island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who had shut himself up there with most of his troops, marched out to give him battle, but

ad usum aliquem suum, quo erat orbat; sed animi cultus ille erat ei quasi quidam humanitatis cibis. *Cic. de Finib. bon. et mal. l. v. n. 54.*

¹ Cor. Nep. in Miltiad. c. vi.

² Plut. in præc. reip. ger. p. 820.

³ Plut. in Demetr. p. 894.

⁴ Ὅσον τὸ χεῖρος, πλεονάζουσιν γαμμήτιον. It was δουλεύειν, a man must serve.

⁷ Diod. l. xx. p. 783—789. Plut. in Dem. p. 895, 896. Justin. l. xv. c. 2.

¹ Ælian. l. iii. c. 17. Plut. de exil. p. 601.

² Multa præclara in illo calamitoso exilio scripsit, non

was defeated, and compelled to re-enter the place after he had lost 1000 of his men, who were slain upon the spot, and 3000 more who were taken prisoners.

Menelaus not doubting but the prince, elated with this success, would undertake the siege of Salamis, made all the necessary preparations, on his part, for a vigorous defence; and while he was employing all his attention for that purpose, he sent couriers post to Ptolemy, to carry him the news of his defeat, and the siege with which he was threatened; they were also to solicit him to hasten the succours he demanded, and, if possible, to lead them in person.

Demetrius, after he had obtained an exact account of the situation of the place, as also of its strength and that of the garrison, was sensible that he had not a sufficient number of battering-rams and other military machines to reduce it; and therefore sent to Syria for a great number of expert workmen, with an infinite quantity of iron and wood, in order to make all the necessary preparations for assaulting a city of that importance; and he then first built the famous engine called Helepolis, of which I shall soon give an exact description.

When all the necessary dispositions were made, Demetrius carried on his approaches to the city, and began to batter the walls with his engines; and as they were judiciously worked, they had all the effect that could be expected. The besiegers, after various attacks, opened several large breaches in the walls, by which means the besieged were rendered incapable of sustaining the assault much longer, unless they could resolve upon some bold attempt to prevent the assault which Demetrius intended to make the next day. During the night, which had suspended the hostilities on both sides, the inhabitants of Salamis piled a vast quantity of dry wood on their walls, with an intermixture of other combustible materials, and about midnight threw them all down at the foot of the Helepolis, battering-rams, and other engines, and then kindled them with long flaming poles. The fire immediately seized them with so much violence, that they were all in flames in a very short time. The enemies ran from all quarters to extinguish the fire; but this cost them a considerable time to effect, and most of the machines were greatly damaged. Demetrius, however, was not discouraged at this disaster.

Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill success in the action against Demetrius, had caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out with all expedition, and advanced with the utmost expedition to his assistance. The battle, for which both parties prepared, after some ineffectual overtures of accommodation, created great expectations of the event, not only in the generals who were then upon the spot, but in all the absent princes and commanders. The result appeared to be uncertain; but it was very apparent that it would eventually give one of the contending parties an entire superiority over the rest. Ptolemy, who arrived with a fleet of 150 sail, had ordered Menelaus, who was then at Salamis, to come up with the sixty vessels under his command, in order to charge the rear-guard of Demetrius, and throw them into disorder, amidst the heat of the battle. But Demetrius had had the precaution to leave ten of his ships to oppose those sixty of Menelaus; for this small number was sufficient to guard the entrance into the port, which was very narrow, and prevent Menelaus from coming out. When this preliminary to the engagement was settled, Demetrius drew out his land forces, and extended them along the points of land which projected into the sea, that he might be in a condition, in case any misfortune happened, to assist those who would be obliged to save themselves by swimming; after which he sailed into the open sea with 180 galleys, and charged the fleet of Ptolemy with so much impetuosity, that he broke the line of battle. Ptolemy, finding his defeat inevitable, had immediately recourse to flight with eight galleys, which were all that escaped; for of the other vessels which composed his fleet, some were either shattered or sunk in the battle, and the others, to the number of seventy,

were taken, with their whole complements. All the rest of Ptolemy's train and baggage, his domestics, friends, and wives, provision, arms, money, and machines of war, on board the store-ships which lay at anchor, were seized by Demetrius, who caused them to be carried to his camp.

Menelaus no longer made any opposition after this battle at sea, but surrendered himself to Demetrius, with the city, and all his ships and land forces, which consisted of 1200 horse and 12,000 foot.

Demetrius enhanced the glory of this victory by his humanity and generous conduct after it. He caused the slain to be interred in a magnificent manner, and generously restored liberty to Menelaus and Lentiscus, one the brother and the other the son of Ptolemy, who were found among the prisoners: he also sent them back to him, with their friends and domestics, and all their baggage, without any ransom; that he might once more return the civilities he had formerly experienced from Ptolemy, on a like occasion, after the battle of Gaza. With so much more generosity, disinterestedness, and politeness, did enemies make war against each other in those days, than we now find between friends in the ordinary intercourse of life.¹ He likewise selected out of the spoils 1200 complete suits of armour, and gave them to the Athenians; the rest of the prisoners, whose number amounted to 17,000 men, without including the sailors taken with the fleet, were incorporated by him into his troops; by which means he greatly reinforced his army.

Antigonus, who continued in Syria, waited with the utmost anxiety and impatience for an account of a battle, by the event of which the fate of himself and his son was to be decided. When the courier brought him intelligence, that Demetrius had obtained a complete victory, his joy rose in proportion; and all the people, at the same instant, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus immediately transmitted to his son the diadem which had glittered on his own brows, and gave him the title of king in the letter he wrote to him. The Egyptians, when they were informed of this proceeding, proclaimed Ptolemy king also, that they might not seem to be dejected at their defeat, or be thought to entertain the less esteem and affection for their prince. Lysimachus and Seleucus soon followed their example, the one in Thrace, and the other in Babylon and the provinces of the East; and assumed the title of king, in their several dominions, after they had for so many years usurped all the authority, without presuming to take the title upon them, till now, which was about eighteen years after the death of Alexander. Cassander alone, though he was treated as a king by the others when they either spoke or wrote to him, continued to write his letters in his usual manner, and without affixing any addition to his name. Plutarch observes, that this new title not only occasioned these princes to augment their train and pompous appearance, but also caused them to assume airs of pride and arrogance, and inspired them with such haughty impressions as they had never manifested till then; as if this appellation had suddenly exalted them into a species of beings different from the rest of mankind.

Seleucus had greatly increased his power in the oriental provinces,² during the transactions we have been describing; for after he had killed Nicanor, whom Antigonus had sent against him, in a battle, he not only established himself in the possession of Media, Assyria, and Babylon, but reduced Persia, Bactriana, Hyrcania, and all the provinces on this side the Indus, which had formerly been conquered by Alexander.

Antigonus,³ on his side, to improve the victory his son had obtained in Cyprus, assembled an army of 100,000 men in Syria, with an intention to invade Egypt. He flattered himself that conquest would

¹ Tanto honestius tunc bella gerebantur, quam nunc amicitie coluntur. *Justin.*

² Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. *Justin.* l. xv. c. 4.

³ *Diod.* l. xx. p. 804—806. *Plut.* in Demetr. p. 896, 897.

readily attend his arms, and that he should divest Ptolemy of that kingdom, with as much ease as he had taken Cyprus from him. Whilst he was conducting this great army by land, Demetrius followed him with his fleet, which coasted along the shore to Gaza, where the father and son concerted the measures each of them were to pursue. The pilots advised them to wait till the setting of the Pleiades, and defer their departure only for eight days, because the sea was then very tempestuous; but the impatience of Antigonus to surprise Ptolemy, before his preparations were completed, caused him to disregard that salutary advice. Demetrius was ordered to make a descent in one of the mouths of the Nile, whilst Antigonus was to endeavour to open a passage by land, into the heart of the country; but neither the one nor the other succeeded in his expedition. The fleet of Demetrius sustained great damage by violent storms; and Ptolemy had taken such effectual precautions to secure the mouths of the Nile, as rendered it impracticable to Demetrius to land his troops. Antigonus, on the other hand, after enduring many hardships in crossing the deserts that lie between Palestine and Egypt, had much greater difficulties still to surmount, and found it impossible to pass the first arm of the Nile in his march; such judicious orders had been given by Ptolemy, and so advantageously were his troops posted at all the passes and avenues; but what was still more distressing to Antigonus than all the rest, his soldiers daily deserted from him in great numbers.

Ptolemy had sent out boats on several parts of the river where the enemies resorted for water, and caused it to be proclaimed on his part, from those vessels, that every deserter from their troops should receive from him two mine, and every officer a talent. So considerable a recompense soon allured great numbers to receive it, especially the mercenaries in the pay of Antigonus; nor were they prevailed upon by money alone, as their inclinations to serve Ptolemy were much stronger than their motives to continue under Antigonus, whom they considered as an old man, difficult to be pleased, imperious, morose, and severe; whereas Ptolemy rendered himself amiable, by his gentle disposition and engaging behaviour to all who approached him.

Antigonus, after he had hovered to no effect on the frontiers of Egypt, and even till his provisions began to fail him, becoming sensible of his inability to enter Egypt, and finding that his army decreased every day by sickness and desertion, and that it was impossible for him to subsist his remaining troops any longer in that country, was obliged to return into Syria, in a very shameful manner, after having lost in this unfortunate expedition a great number of his land forces, and many of his ships.

Ptolemy, having offered a sacrifice to the gods, in gratitude for the protection they had granted him, sent to acquaint Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, with the happy event of that campaign, and to renew the alliance between them, against the common enemy. This was the last attack he had to sustain for the crown of Egypt, and it greatly contributed to fix it upon his head, in consequence of the prudent measures he pursued. Ptolemy, the astronomer, therefore, fixes the commencement of his reign at this period, and afterwards points out the several years of its duration, in his chronological canon. He begins the epocha on the seventh of November, nineteen years after the death of Alexander the Great.

SECTION VIII.—DEMETRIUS FORMS THE SIEGE OF RHODES, WHICH HE RAISES A YEAR AFTER, BY CONCLUDING A TREATY MUCH TO THE HONOUR OF THE CITY. HELEPOLIS, A FAMOUS MACHINE. THE COLLOSSUS OF RHODES. PROTOGENIS, A CELEBRATED PAINTER, SPARED DURING THE SIEGE.

ANTIGONUS was not less than A. M. 3700. fourscore years of age at that Ant. J. C. 304. time,¹ and as he had then contracted a gross habit of body, and con-

sequently was but little qualified for the activity of a military life, he made use of his son's services, who, from the experience he had already acquired, and the success which attended him, transacted the most important affairs with great ability. The father, for this reason, was not offended at his expensive luxury and intemperance; for Demetrius, during peace, abandoned himself to the greatest excesses of all kinds, without the least regard to decorum. In times of war, indeed, he acted a very different part; he was then a quite different man, vigilant, active, laborious, and invincible by fatigues. Whether he indulged in pleasure, or applied to serious affairs, he entirely devoted himself to the one or the other; and for the time he engaged in either was incapable of moderation. He had an inventive genius; and an inquisitive turn of mind, actuated by a love for the sciences. He never employed his natural industry, in frivolous and insignificant amusements, like many other kings, some of whom, as Plutarch observes, valued themselves for their experience in playing on instruments, others in painting, and some in their dexterity in the turner's art, with a hundred other qualities of private men, but not one of a prince. His application to the mechanic arts had something great and truly royal in it; his galleys, with fifteen benches of oars, were the admiration of his enemies, who beheld them sailing along their coasts; and his engines called *helepolis*, were a surprising spectacle to those whom he besieged. They were exceedingly useful to him in the war with Rhodes, with the conduct of which his father had charged him at the time we are now speaking of.

Among the islands called Sporades, Rhodes held the first rank, as well for the fertility of its soil, as the safety of its ports and roads, which, on that account, were resorted to by great numbers of trading ships from all parts. It then formed a small, but very powerful state, whose friendship was courted by all princes, and which was studious, on its own part, to keep upon good terms with them all, by observing an exact neutrality, and carefully declining any declaration in favour of one against another, in the wars that arose in those times. As the inhabitants were limited to a little island, all their power flowed from their riches, and their riches from their commerce, which it was their main interest to preserve as free as possible with the Mediterranean states, which all contributed to its prosperity. The Rhodians, by persisting in so prudent a conduct, had rendered their city very flourishing; and as they enjoyed continual peace, they became extremely opulent. Notwithstanding the seeming neutrality they maintained, their inclination, as well as interest, peculiarly attached them to Ptolemy, because the principal and most advantageous branches of their commerce flowed from Egypt. When Antigonus, therefore, demanded succours of them in his war with Cyprus, they entreated him not to compel them to declare against Ptolemy, their ancient friend and ally; but this answer, prudent and well concerted as it really was, drew upon them the displeasure of Antigonus, which he expressed in the severest menaces; and, when he returned from his expedition to Egypt, he sent his son Demetrius, with a fleet and army, to chastise their insolent temerity, as he termed it, and likewise to reduce them to his obedience.

The Rhodians, who foresaw the impending storm, had sent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy, in particular, to implore their assistance; and caused it to be represented to the latter, that their attachment to his interest had drawn upon them the danger to which they were then exposed.

The preparations on each side were immense. Demetrius arrived before Rhodes with a very numerous fleet, for he had 200 ships of war of different dimensions; and more than 170 transports, which carried about 40,000 men, without including the cavalry, and the succours he received from pirates. He had likewise near 1000 small vessels laden with provisions, and all other necessary accommodations for an army. The expectation of the vast booty to be acquired by the capture of so rich a city as Rhodes, had allured great numbers of soldiers to join Demetrius in this

¹ Diod. l. xx. p. 809—815, et 817—825. Plut. in. Demetr. p. 897. et 898.

expedition. This prince, who had the most fertile and inventive genius that ever was, for attacking places, and forming machines of war, had brought with him an infinite number of the latter. He was sensible that he had to deal with a brave people, and very able commanders, who had acquired great experience in maritime affairs; and that the besieged had above 800 military machines almost as formidable as his own.

Demetrius, upon his arrival at the island, landed in order to take a view of the most commodious situation for assaulting the place. He likewise sent out parties to lay the country waste on all sides, and, at the same time, caused another body of his troops to cut down the trees, and demolish the houses in the parts adjacent to Rhodes, and then employed them as materials to fortify his camp with a triple palisade.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. All persons of merit, and reputation for military affairs in the countries in alliance with the Rhodians, threw themselves into the city, as much for the honour of serving a republic, equally celebrated for its gratitude and the courage of its citizens, as to manifest their own valour and abilities in the defence of that place, against one of the greatest captains, and the most expert in the conduct of sieges, that antiquity ever produced.

They began with dismissing from the city all such persons as were useless; and the number of those who remained, and were capable of bearing arms, amounted to 6000 citizens, and 1000 strangers. Liberty, and the right of denizens, were promised to such slaves as should distinguish themselves by their bravery, and the public engaged to pay the masters the full price for each of them. It was likewise publicly declared, that the citizens would bestow an honourable interment on those who should lose their lives in any engagement, and would also provide for the subsistence of their parents, wives, and children, and portion the daughters in marriage; and that when the sons should be of an age capable of bearing arms, they should be presented with a complete suit of armour, on the public theatre, at the great solemnity of the Bacchanalia.

This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds with money to defray the expense of the siege, and the soldiers' pay. The workmen redoubled their industry in making arms that were excellent, as well for the promptitude of execution, as the beauty of the work. Some were employed in making catapultas and balistas; others formed different machines equally necessary; a third class repaired the breaches of the walls; while several others supplied them with stone. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout the city, each striving with emulation to distinguish himself on that occasion; so that a zeal so ardent and universal was never known before.

The besieged first sent out three good sailers against a small fleet of sutlers and merchants, who were bringing a supply of provisions to the enemy: they sunk a great number of their vessels, burnt several, and carried into the city such of the prisoners as were in a condition to pay their ransom. The Rhodians gained a considerable sum of money by this expedition; for it was mutually agreed, that 100 drachmas (about five and twenty pounds) should be paid for every person that was a freeman, and half that sum for a slave.

The siege of Rhodes has been represented as the masterpiece of Demetrius, and the greatest instance of the fertility of his genius in resources and inventions. He began the attack from the sea, in order to make himself master of the port, and the towers which defended the entrance.

In order to accomplish this design, he caused two tortoises¹ to be erected on two flat-bottomed vessels joined together, to facilitate his approach to the places he intended to batter. One of these was stronger and more solid than the other, in order to cover the men from those enormous masses which

the besieged discharged from the towers and walls, by means of the catapultas planted upon them; the other was of a lighter structure, and designed to shelter the soldiers from flights of darts and arrows. Two towers of four stories were erected at the same time, which exceeded in height the towers that defended the entrance into the port, and these were intended to be used in battering the latter with volleys of stones and darts. Each of these towers was placed upon two ships strongly bound together.

Demetrius, besides, caused a kind of floating barricado to be erected in front of these tortoises and towers on a long beam of timber, four feet thick, through which stakes, armed at the end with large spikes of iron, were driven. These stakes were disposed horizontally, with their spikes projecting forward, in order to prevent the vessels of the port from shattering the work with their beaks.

He likewise selected out of his fleet the largest vessels, on the side of which he erected a rampart of planks with little windows easy to be opened. He there placed the best Cretan archers and slingers in all his army, and furnished them with an infinite number of bows, small balistas or cross-bows, slings and catapultas, with other engines for shooting; in order to gall the workmen of the city employed in raising and repairing the walls of the port.

The Rhodians, seeing the besiegers turn all their efforts against that quarter, were no less industrious to defend it; in order to accomplish that design, they raised two machines upon an adjoining eminence, and formed three others, which they placed on large ships of burden, at the mouth of the little haven. A body of archers and slingers was likewise posted on each of these situations, with a prodigious quantity of stones, darts, and arrows of all kinds. The same orders were also given with respect to the ships of burden in the great port.

When Demetrius advanced with his ships and all his armament, to begin the attack on the ports, such a violent tempest arose as rendered it impossible for him to accomplish any of his operations that day; but the sea growing calm about night, he took the advantage of the darkness, and advanced, without being perceived by the enemy, to the great harbour: he made himself master of a neighbouring eminence, about 500 paces from the wall, and posted there 400 soldiers, who fortified themselves immediately with strong palisades.

The next morning, Demetrius caused his batteries to advance with the sound of trumpets, and the shouts of his whole army: and they at first produced all the effect he proposed from them. A great number of the besieged were slain in this attack, and several breaches were opened in the mole which covered the port: but they were not very advantageous to the besiegers, who were always repulsed by the Rhodians; and after a loss nearly equal on both sides, Demetrius was obliged to retire from the port with his ships and machines, to be out of the reach of the enemy's arrows.

The besieged, who had learned to their cost what advantage might be taken of the darkness of the night, caused several fire-ships to sail out of the port during the darkness, in order to burn the tortoises and wooden towers which the enemy had erected; but as unfortunately they were not able to force the floating barricado which sheltered them, they were obliged to return into the port. The Rhodians lost some of their fire-ships in this expedition, but the mariners saved themselves by swimming.

The next day, the prince ordered a general attack to be made against the port and the walls of the place, with the sound of trumpets and shouts of his whole army, thinking by those means to spread terror among the besieged: but they were so far from being intimidated, that they sustained the attack with incredible vigour, and discovered the same intrepidity for the space of eight days that it continued; and actions of astonishing bravery were performed on both sides during that long interval.

Demetrius, taking advantage of the eminence which his troops had seized, gave orders for erecting upon it a battery of several engines, which discharged

¹ These were pent-houses of wood, constructed so as to shelter the soldiers.

great stones of 150 pounds in weight, against the walls and towers, the latter of which tottered with the repeated shocks, and several breaches were soon made in the walls. The besiegers advanced with great fury to seize the mole which defended the entrance into the port; but as this post was of the utmost importance to the Rhodians, they spared no pains to repulse the besiegers, who had already made a considerable progress. This they at last effected, by a shower of stones and arrows, which they discharged upon their enemies with so much rapidity, and for such a length of time, that they were obliged to retire in confusion, after losing a great number of their men.

The ardour of the besiegers was not diminished by this repulse, and they rather appeared more animated than ever against the Rhodians. They began the scalade by land and sea at the same time, and employed the besieged so effectually, that they scarce knew to what quarter to run for the defence of the place. The attack was carried on with the utmost fury on all sides, and the besieged defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. Great numbers were thrown from the ladders to the earth, and miserably bruised; several even of the principal officers, got to the top of the wall, where they were covered with wounds, and taken prisoners by the enemy; so that Demetrius, notwithstanding all his valour, thought it necessary to retreat, in order to repair his engines, which were almost entirely destroyed by so many attacks, as well as the vessels that carried them.

After the prince had retreated from Rhodes, immediate care was taken to bury the dead; the beaks also of the ships, with the other spoils that had been taken from the enemy, were carried to the temple, and the workmen were indefatigable in repairing the breaches of the walls.

Demetrius, having employed seven days in refitting his ships, and repairing his engines, set sail again, with a fleet as formidable as the former, and steered, with a fair wind, directly for the port, which he was most anxious to gain, as he conceived it impracticable to reduce the place till he had first made himself master of that. Upon his arrival, he caused a vast quantity of lighted torches, flaming straw, and arrows to be discharged, in order to set fire to the vessels that were riding there, while his engines battered the mole without intermission. The besieged, who expected attacks of this nature, exerted themselves with so much vigour and activity, that they soon extinguished the flames which had seized the vessels in the port.

At the same time they caused three of their largest ships to sail out of the port, under the command of Exacestes, one of their bravest officers, with orders to attack the enemy, and exert the utmost efforts to reach the vessels that carried the tortoises and wooden towers, and to charge them in such a manner with the beaks of theirs, as might either sink them, or render them entirely useless. These orders were executed with surprising expedition and address; and the three galleys, after they had shattered and broken through the floating barricado already mentioned, drove their beaks with so much violence into the sides of the enemy's barks, on which the machines were erected, that the water was immediately seen to flow into them through several openings. Two of them were already sunk, but the third was towed along by the galleys, and joined the main fleet; and dangerous as it was to attack them in that situation, the Rhodians, through a blind and precipitate ardour, ventured to attempt it. But as the inequality was too great to admit them to come off with success, Exacestes, with the officer who commanded under him, and some others, after having fought with all the bravery imaginable, were taken with the galley in which they were; the other two regained the port, after sustaining many dangers, and most of the men also arrived there by swimming.

Unfortunate as this last attack had proved to Demetrius, he was determined to undertake another; and in order to succeed in that design, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, of thrice the

height and breadth of those he had lately lost. When this was completed, he caused it to be placed near the port which he was resolved to force; but at the instant they were preparing to work it, a dreadful tempest arose at sea, and sunk it to the bottom, with the vessels on which it had been raised.

The besieged, who were careful to improve all opportunities, employed the time afforded them by the continuance of the tempest, in regaining the eminence near the port, which the enemy had carried in the first assault, and where they afterwards fortified themselves. The Rhodians attacked it, and were repulsed several times; but the forces of Demetrius who defended it, perceiving fresh troops continually pouring upon them, and that it was in vain for them to expect any relief, were obliged, at last, to surrender themselves prisoners, to the number of 400 men.

This series of fortunate events was succeeded by the arrival of 500 men from Cnossus, a city of Crete, to the assistance of the Rhodians, and also of 500 more whom Ptolemy sent from Egypt, most of them being Rhodians, who had listed themselves among the troops of that prince.

Demetrius being extremely mortified to see all his batteries on the side of the harbour rendered ineffectual, resolved to employ them by land, in order to carry the place by assault, or reduce it to the necessity of capitulating. He, therefore, prepared materials of every kind, and formed a machine called *helepolis*, which was larger than any that had ever been invented before. The basis on which it stood was square, and each of its sides was seventy-five feet wide. The machine itself was an assemblage of large square beams, riveted together with iron, and the whole mass rested upon eight wheels that were made proportionable to the weight of the superstructure. The fellos of these wheels were three feet thick, and strengthened with large iron plates.

In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the *helepolis*, care had been taken to place casters¹ under it, by which the machine was made movable any way.

From each of the four angles a large column of wood was carried up to the height of about 150 feet, inclining towards each other. The machine was composed of nine stories, whose dimensions gradually lessened in the ascent. The first story was supported by forty-three beams, and the last by no more than nine.

Three sides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fires that were launched from the city.

In the front of each story were little windows, whose form and dimensions corresponded with the nature of the arrows that were to be shot from the machine. Over each window was a kind of curtain made with leather, stuffed with wool: this was let down by a machine for that purpose, and the intention of it was to break the force of whatever should be discharged by the enemy against it.

Each story had two large staircases, one for the ascent of the men, and the other for their descent.

This machine was moved forward by 3400 of the strongest and most vigorous men in the whole army, but the art with which it was built greatly facilitated the motion.

Demetrius also gave directions for building a great number of other machines, of different magnitudes, and for various uses; he also employed his seamen in levelling the ground over which the machines were to move, which was 100 fathoms in length. The number of artizans and others employed on these works, amounted to near 30,000 men, by which means they were finished with incredible expedition.

¹ Monsieur Rollin informs us, in a note, that he was obliged to retain the Greek term (*Antistrepta*) for want of a proper French word to render it by; but as the English language is not so defective in that particular, the translator has expressed the Greek by the word *caster*, which, as well as the original word, signifies a wheel placed under a piece of work, in such a manner as to render it convertible on all sides, like those little wheels affixed under the feet of beds, by which they move with ease to any part of the room.

The Rhodians were not indolent during these formidable preparations, but employed their time in raising a counter-wall, on the track of ground where Demetrius intended to batter the walls of the city with the helepolis; and, in order to accomplish this work, they demolished the wall which surrounded the theatre, as also several neighbouring houses, and even some temples, having solemnly promised the gods to build more magnificent structures for the celebration of their worship after the siege should be raised.

When they knew that the enemy had quitted the sea, they sent out nine of their best ships of war, divided into three squadrons, the command of which they gave to three of their bravest sea-officers, who returned with a very rich booty, some galleys, and several smaller vessels, which they had taken, as also a great number of prisoners. They had likewise seized a galley richly laden, in which were large quantities of tapestry, with other furniture, and a variety of rich robes, intended by Phila as a present to her husband Demetrius, and accompanied with letters which she herself had written to him. The Rhodians sent the whole, and even the letters, to Ptolemy, which exceedingly exasperated Demetrius. In this proceeding, says Plutarch, they did not imitate the polite conduct of the Athenians, who having once seized some of the couriers of Philip, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but those of Olympias, which they sent to Philip sealed as they were. There are some rules of decency and honour which ought to be inviolably observed even with enemies.

While the ships of the republic were employed in taking the prizes already mentioned, a great commotion happened at Rhodes, respecting the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius, which had been erected in honour of them, and till then had been held in the utmost veneration. Some of the principal citizens were solicitous, in a public assembly, for an order to destroy the statues of those princes who then harassed them with such a cruel war; but the people, who were more discreet and moderate on this occasion than their chiefs, would not suffer that proposal to be executed. So wise and equitable a conduct, exclusively of all events, did the Rhodians no small honour; but in case their city should be taken, it could not fail to inspire the conqueror with impressions in their favour.

Demetrius, having tried several mines without success, from their being all discovered, and rendered ineffectual by the vigilant conduct and activity of the besieged, gave orders and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault; in order to which the helepolis was moved to a situation from whence the city might be battered with the best effect. Each story of this formidable engine was furnished with catapults and ballistas proportioned in their size to the dimensions of the place. It was likewise supported and fortified on two of its sides, by four small machines called tortoises, each which had a covered gallery, to secure those who should either enter the helepolis, or issue out of it, to execute different orders. On the two other sides was a battering-ram of a prodigious size, consisting of a piece of timber thirty fathoms in length, armed with iron terminating in a point, and as strong as the beak of a galley. These engines were mounted on wheels, and were driven forward to batter the walls during the attack with incredible force by near 1000 men.

When every thing was ready, Demetrius ordered the trumpets to sound, and the general assault to be given on all sides, both by sea and land. In the heat of the attack, and when the walls were already shaken by the battering-rams, ambassadors arrived from the Cnidians, and earnestly solicited Demetrius to suspend the assault, giving him hopes, at the same time, that they should prevail upon the besieged to submit to an honourable capitulation. A suspension of arms was accordingly granted; but the Rhodians refusing to capitulate on the conditions proposed to them, the attack was renewed with so much fury, and all the machines co-operated so effectually, that a large tower built with square stones, and the wall that flanked it,

were battered down. The besieged fought like lions in the breach, and repulsed their enemies.

In this conjuncture, the vessels which Ptolemy had freighted with 300,000 measures of corn, and different kinds of pulse for the Rhodians, arrived very seasonably in the port, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy's ships which cruised in the neighbourhood to intercept them. A few days after this relief, two other small fleets sailed into the port; one of which was sent by Cassander, with 100,000 bushels of barley; the other came from Lysimachus, with 400,000 bushels of wheat, and as much barley. This seasonable and abundant supply, which was received when the city began to be in want of provisions, inspired the besieged with new courage; and they resolved not to surrender till the last extremity.

While they were animated in this manner, they attempted to fire the enemy's machines, and with this view, ordered a numerous body of soldiers to march out of the city towards midnight with torches, and all kinds of kindled wood. These troops advanced to the batteries, and set them on fire, and at the same time innumerable arrows were shot from the wall, to support the detachment against those who should endeavour to extinguish the flames. The besiegers lost great numbers of their men on this occasion, because they were incapable, amidst the obscurity of the night, either to see or avoid the volleys of arrows discharged upon them. Several plates of iron happening to fall from the helepolis during the conflagration, the Rhodians advanced with impetuosity, in order to set it on fire; but as the troops within quenched it with water as fast as the flames were kindled, they could not effect their design. However, Demetrius being apprehensive that all his machines would be consumed, caused them to be removed with all possible expedition.

Demetrius, being curious to know what number of machines the besieged had employed in casting arrows, caused all those, which had been shot from the place in the attack that night, to be gathered up; and when these were counted, and a proper computation made, he found that the inhabitants must have more than 800 engines, of different dimensions, for discharging fires, and about 1500 for arrows. The prince was struck with consternation at this number, as he did not imagine the city could have made such formidable preparations. He caused his dead to be interred, gave directions for curing those who were wounded, and was as expeditious as possible in repairing the machines which had been dismantled and rendered useless.

The besieged, in order to take advantage of the relaxation they enjoyed by the removal of the machines, were industrious to fortify themselves against the new assault, for which their enemies were then preparing. To this purpose they began with opening a large and deep ditch behind the breach, to obstruct the passage of the enemy into the city; after which they raised a substantial wall, in the form of a crescent, along the ditch; which would cost the enemies a new attack.

As their attention was devoted, at the same time, to every other emergency, they detached a squadron of the best sailing ships in their port, which took a great number of vessels laden with provision and ammunition for Demetrius, and brought them into the port. These were soon followed by a numerous fleet of small vessels freighted with corn and other necessities, sent them by Ptolemy, with 1500 men, commanded by Antigonus of Macedonia.

Demetrius, having repaired his machines, caused them all to advance near the city, when a second embassy arrived at the camp from the Athenians, and some other states of Greece, on the same subject as the former, but with as little success. The king, whose imagination was fruitful of expedients for succeeding in his projects, detached 1500 of his best troops, under the command of Alcimus and Mancius, with orders to enter the breach at midnight, and force the intrenchments behind it. They were then to possess themselves of the parts adjacent to the theatre, where they would be in a condition to maintain their ground, if they could but once make them-

selves masters of it. In order to facilitate the execution of so important and dangerous an expedition, and amuse the enemy with false attacks, he at the same time caused all the trumpets to sound a charge, and the city to be attacked on all sides, both by sea and land, that the besieged finding sufficient employment in all parts, the 1500 men might have an opportunity of forcing the intrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of seizing all the advantageous posts about the theatre. This feint had all the success the prince expected from it. The troops having shouted from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general assault, the detachment commanded by Alcimus entered the breach, and made such a vigorous attack upon those who defended the ditch, and the crescent which covered it, that after they had killed a great number of their enemies, and put the rest into confusion, they seized the posts adjacent to the theatre, where they maintained themselves.

The alarm was very great in the city, and all the chiefs who commanded there despatched orders to their officers and soldiers forbidding them to quit their posts, or make the least movement whatever. After which they placed themselves at the head of a chosen body of their own troops, and of those who were newly arrived from Egypt, and with them poured upon the detachment which had advanced as far as the theatre; but the obscurity of the night rendered it impracticable to dislodge them from the posts they had seized, and the day no sooner appeared, than a universal cry of the besiegers was heard from all quarters, by which they endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground, where they might soon expect succours. This terrible cry drew floods of tears and dismal groans from the populace, women, and children, who continued in the city, and concluded themselves inevitably lost. The battle, however, continued with great vigour near the theatre, and the Macedonians defended their post with an intrepidity that astonished their enemies, till at last the Rhodians prevailing by their numbers, and perpetual supplies of fresh troops, the detachment, after having seen Alcimus and Mancius slain on the spot, were obliged to submit to superior force, and abandon a post it was no longer possible to maintain. Great numbers of them fell on the spot, and the rest were taken prisoners.

The ardour of Demetrius was rather augmented than abated by this check, and he was making the necessary dispositions for a new assault, when he received letters from his father Antigonus, by which he was directed to take all possible measures for the conclusion of a peace with the Rhodians. He then wanted some plausible pretext for discontinuing the siege, and chance supplied him with it. At that very instant deputies from Ætolia arrived at his camp to solicit him anew to grant a peace to the Rhodians, to which they found him not so averse as before.

If what Vegetius relates of the helepolis be true,¹ and indeed Vitruvius seems to confirm it with a small variation of circumstances, it might possibly be another motive that contributed not a little to dispose Demetrius to a peace. That prince was preparing to advance his helepolis against the city, when a Rhodian engineer contrived an expedient to render it entirely useless; he opened a mine under the walls of the city, and continued it to the way over which the tower was to pass the ensuing day in order to approach the walls. The besiegers not suspecting any stratagem of that nature moved on the tower to the place undermined; which being incapable of supporting so enormous a load, sunk in under the machine, which buried itself so deep in the earth, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This was one inconvenience to which these formidable engines were obnoxious; and the two authors whom I have cited declare, that this accident determined Demetrius to raise the siege; and it is, at least, very probable that it contributed not a little to his taking that resolution.

The Rhodians, on their part, were as desirous of an accommodation as himself, provided it could be effected upon reasonable terms. Ptolemy, in promising them fresh succours, much more considerable than the former, had earnestly exhorted them not to lose a favourable occasion, if it should offer itself. Besides which, they were sensible of the extreme necessity they were under of putting an end to the siege, which could not but prove fatal to them at last. This consideration induced them to listen with pleasure to the proposals made them, and the treaty was concluded soon after upon the following terms: That the republic of Rhodes, and all its citizens, should retain the enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and liberty, without being subjected to any power whatsoever. The alliance they had always had with Antigonus, was to be confirmed and renewed, with an obligation to take up arms for him in any war in which he should be engaged, provided it was not against Ptolemy. The city was also to deliver 100 hostages, to be chosen by Demetrius, for the effectual performance of the articles stipulated between them. When these hostages were given, the army decamped from before Rhodes, after having besieged it a year.

Demetrius,² who was then reconciled with the Rhodians, was desirous, before his departure, to give them a proof of that disposition; and accordingly presented them with all the machines of war he had employed in that siege. These were afterwards sold for 300 talents (about 300,000 crowns,) which they employed, with an additional sum of their own, in making the famous Colossus, which was reputed one of the seven wonders of the world. It was a statue of the sun, of so stupendous a size, that ships in full sail passed between its legs: the height of it was seventy cubits, or 105 feet, and few men could clasp his thumb with their arms. It was the work of Chares of Lindus, and employed him for the space of twelve years. Sixty-six years after its erection, it was thrown down by an earthquake; of which we shall speak in the sequel of this history.

The Rhodians, to testify their gratitude to Ptolemy for the assistance he had given them in so dangerous a conjuncture, consecrated a grove to that prince, after they had consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, to give the action an air of solemnity; and, to honour him the more, erected a magnificent edifice within it. They built a sumptuous portico, and continued it along each side of the square which encompassed the grove, and contained a space of 400 fathoms. This portico was called the Ptolemæon; and, out of flattery, no less customary in those days than it was inapious, divine honours were rendered to him in that place; and in order to perpetuate their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of Soter, which signifies a saviour, and is used by the historians to distinguish him from the other Ptolemies, who were his successors on the throne of Egypt.

I was unwilling to interrupt the series of events that occurred at this siege, and, therefore, reserved for this place one that greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius. It relates to his taste for the arts, and the esteem he entertained for those who were distinguished by peculiar merit in them; a circumstance not a little conducive to the glory of a prince.

Rhodes was at that time the residence of a celebrated painter, named Protogenes, who was a native of Canus, a city of Caria, which was then subject to the Rhodians. The apartment where he painted was in the suburbs, without the city, when Demetrius first besieged it; but neither the presence of the enemies who then surrounded him, nor the noise of arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or discontinue his work. The king was surprised at his conduct; and he one day asked him his reasons for such a proceeding. "It is," replied he, "because I am sensible you have declared war against the Rhodians, and not against the sciences." Nor was he deceived in that opinion, for Demetrius actually showed himself their protector. He planted a guard round his house, that the artist might

¹ Veget. de re milit. c. 4.

² Plin. l. xxiv. c. 7.

enjoy tranquillity, or, at least, be secure from danger, amidst the tumult and ravages of war. He frequently went to see him work, and could never sufficiently admire his application, and his surprising excellency in his art.

The masterpiece of this painter was the *Ialysus*, an historical picture of a fabulous hero of that name, whom the Rhodians acknowledged as their founder.¹ Protogenes had employed seven years in finishing this piece; and when Apelles first saw it, he was transported with so much admiration, that his speech failed him for some time; and when he at last began to recover from his astonishment, he cried out, "Prodigious work indeed! Admirable performance! It has not, however, the graces I give my works, and which has raised their reputation to the skies." If we may credit Pliny, Protogenes, during the whole time he was working on this picture, condemned himself to a very rigid and abstemious life,² that the delicacy of his taste and imagination might not be affected by his diet. This picture was carried to Rome, and consecrated in the temple of Peace, where it remained in the time of Pliny; but it was destroyed at last by fire.

The same Pliny pretends that Rhodes was saved by this picture, because as it hung in the only quarter by which it was possible for Demetrius to take the city, he rather chose to abandon his conquest,³ than expose so precious a monument of art to the danger of being consumed in the flames. This, indeed, would have been carrying his taste and value for painting into a surprising extreme; but we have already seen the true reasons which obliged Demetrius to raise the siege.

One of the figures in this picture was a dog,⁴ that was admired by all the good judges, and had cost the painter great pains, without his being able to express his idea to his own satisfaction, though he was sufficiently pleased with all the rest of the work. He endeavoured to represent the dog panting, and with his mouth foaming as after a long chase; and employed all the skill he was capable of exerting on this part of his subject, without being able to content himself. Art, in his opinion, was more visible than it ought to have been; a mere resemblance would not suffice, and almost nothing but reality itself would satisfy him. He was desirous that the foam should not seem painted, but actually flowing out of the mouth of the dog. He frequently retouched it, and suffered a degree of torture from his anxiety to express those simple traces of nature, of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. All his attempts were however ineffectual, till at last, in a violent emotion of rage and despair, he darted at the picture the sponge with which he used to wipe out his colours, and chance accomplished that which art had not been able to effect.

This painter is censured for being too difficult to be pleased, and for retouching his pictures too frequently. It is certain that, though Apelles almost regarded him as his master,⁵ and allowed him a num-

ber of excellent qualities, yet he condemned in him the defect of not being able to quit the pencil and finish his works; a defect highly pernicious in eloquence as well as painting. "We ought," says Cicero,⁶ "to know how far we should go; and Apelles justly censured some painters for not knowing when to have done."

SECTION IX.—THE EXPEDITION OF SELEUCUS INTO INDIA. DEMETRIUS COMPELS CASSANDER TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF ATHENS. THE EXCESSIVE HONOURS PAID HIM IN THAT CITY. A LEAGUE BETWEEN PTOLEMY, SELEUCUS, CASSANDER, AND LYSIMACHUS, AGAINST ANTIGONUS AND DEMETRIUS. THE BATTLE OF IPSUS, A CITY OF PHRYGIA, WHEREIN ANTIGONUS IS SLAIN, AND DEMETRIUS PUT TO FLIGHT.

THE farther we advance into the history of Alexander's successors, the more easily may we discover the spirit by which they were constantly actuated hitherto, and by which they will still appear to be influenced. They at first concealed their real dispositions, by nominating children, or persons of weak capacities, to the regal dignity, in order to disguise their own ambitious views. But as soon as all the family of Alexander was destroyed, they threw off the mask, and discovered themselves in their proper colours, and such as, in reality, they had always been. They were all equally solicitous to support themselves in their several governments; to become entirely independent; to assume an absolute sovereignty; and enlarge the limits of their provinces and kingdoms, at the expense of those other governors who were weaker or less successful than themselves. For this purpose they employed the force of their arms, and entered into alliances, which they were always ready to violate when they could derive more advantages from others; and they renewed them with the same facility from the same motives. They considered the vast conquests of Alexander as an inheritance destitute of a master, which prudence obliged them to secure for themselves, in as large portions as possible, without any apprehensions of being reproached as usurpers, for the acquisition of countries gained by the victories of the Macedonians, but not the property of any particular person. This was the great motive of all the enterprises in which they engaged.

Seleucus, as we formerly observed, was master of all the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus, and was desirous of acquiring those that lay beyond the latter of those rivers. In order, therefore, to improve the favourable opportunity which now offered, when he himself was in alliance with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, and when the forces of Antigonus were divided, and Demetrius was employed in the siege of Rhodes, and in aving the republics of Greece; and while Antigonus himself was only intent upon becoming master of Syria and Phœnicia, and attacking Ptolemy even in Egypt itself, he thought it incumbent on him to take advantage of this diversion, which weakened the only enemy he had to fear; for carrying his arms against the people of India, who were included in his lot by the general partition, and whom he hoped it would be very practicable for him to subdue if he made a sudden irruption into that country, when it was altogether unexpected by king Sandrocotta. This person was an Indian of very mean extraction, who, under the specious pretext of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raised an army, and augmented it so well by degrees, that he found means to drive the Macedonians out of all the provinces of India which Alexander had conquered, and to establish himself in them, while the successors of that monarch were engaged in mutual wars with each other. Seleucus passed the Indus in order to regain those provinces; but when he found that Sandrocotta had rendered himself absolute master of all India, and had likewise an army of 600,000

¹ He was the son of Ochimus, whose parents were the Sun and Rhoda, from whom the city and island derived their name.

² He supported himself on boiled lupines, a kind of pulse, which satisfied his hunger and thirst at the same time.

³ *Parcentem picturæ fugit occasio victoriæ.*

⁴ Est in eâ canis mirè factus ut quem pariter casus et ars pinxerint. Non iudicabat se exprimere in eo spumam anhelantis posse, cum in reliquâ omni parte (quod difficillimum erat) sibi ipsi satisfecisset. Displebat autem ars ipsa, nec minui poterat, et videbatur nimia, ac longius à veritate discedere, spumaque illa pingi non ex ore nasci, anxio animi cruciatus, cum in picturâ verum esse, non verisimile, vellet. Absterceret sæpius maturaveritque penicillum, nullo modo sibi approbans. Postremò iratus arti quod intelligeretur, spumam eam impegit inviso loco tabulæ, et illa repositis ablatis coloribus, qualiter cura operabat: fecitque in picturâ fortuna naturam. *Plin. l. xxxv. cap. 10.*

⁵ Et aliam gloriam usurpavit Apelles, cum Protogenis opus immensi laboris ac curæ supra modum anxie mirarentur. Dixit enim omnia sibi cum illo paria esse, aut illi meliora, sed uo se præstare, quod manum ille de tabulâ nesciret tollere: memorabili præcepto, noscere sæpe nimiam diligentiam. *Plin. ibid.*

⁶ In omnibus rebus videndum est quatenus—In quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebat, qui non sentirent quid esset satis. *Orat. v. 73.*

men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it prudent to attack so potent a prince; but entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to renounce all his pretensions to that country, provided Sandrocotta would furnish him with 500 elephants; upon which terms a peace was concluded. This was the final result of Alexander's Indian conquests! this the fruit of so much blood shed to gratify the frantic ambition of one prince! Seleucus shortly after led his troops into the West against Antigonus, as I shall soon observe. The absolute necessity he was under of engaging in this war, was one of his strongest inducements for concluding so sudden a peace with the Indian prince.

The Athenians at the same time called in Demetrius to assist them against Cassander,¹ who was besieging their city. He accordingly set sail with 330 galleys, and a great body of foot; and not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but pursued him as far as Thermopylae, where he defeated him, and made himself master of Heraclea, which surrendered voluntarily. He also admitted into his service 6000 Macedonians, who came over to his side.

When he returned to Athens, the inhabitants of that city, though they had already lavished upon him all the honours they were able to invent, had recourse to new flatteries that outdid the former. They lodged him in the back part of the temple of Minerva, called the Parthenon; but even this place, which had so much sanctity ascribed to it by the people, and was the mansion of a virgin goddess, he did not scruple to profane by the most infamous debaucheries. His courtizans were there treated with more honour than the goddess herself, and were the only divinities he adored. He even caused altars to be erected to them by the Athenians,² whom he called abject wretches for their mean compliance, and creatures born only for slavery; so much was even this prince shocked at such despicable adulation, as Tacitus observed with respect to Tiberius.³

Democles, surnamed *the Fair*, and of a very tender age, threw himself, in order to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a vessel of boiling water prepared for a bath, and there lost his life, choosing rather to die than violate his modesty. The Athenians, to appease the resentment of Demetrius, who was extremely offended at a decree they had published with relation to him, issued a new one, importing, "That it was ordered and adjudged by the people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius might think fit to command, should be considered as sacred with regard to the gods, and just with regard to men." Is it possible to believe, that flattery and servitude could be carried to such an excess of baseness, extravagance, and irreligion?

Demetrius, after these proceedings, entered Peloponnesus, and took from Ptolemy, who had rendered himself powerful in that country, the cities of Sicyon, Corinth, and several others where he had garrisons. And as he happened to be at Argos, at the grand festival in honour of Juno, he was desirous of celebrating it, by proposing prizes, and presiding in person among the Greeks. In order to solemnize it more effectually, he espoused, on that day, Deidamia, the daughter of Æacides, king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus.

The states of Greece being assembled in the Isthmus,⁴ and curiosity having drawn a vast number of people from all parts, Demetrius was proclaimed general of all the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been before him; to whom he thought himself abundantly superior; so much was he intoxicated with the success of his arms, and the extravagant flattery lavished upon him.

When he was about to depart from Peloponnesus for Athens, he wrote to the inhabitants of that city

that he intended, upon his arrival among them, to be initiated in the greater and lesser mysteries at the same time. This had never been permitted before; for it was necessary to observe certain intervals; it being lawful to celebrate the lesser mysteries only in the month of March,⁵ and the greater in that of October. In order, therefore, to obviate this inconvenience, and satisfy so religious a prince, it was ordered, that the then present month of May should be deemed the month of March, and afterwards that of October; and Demetrius, by this rare invention, was duly initiated, without infringing the customs and ceremonies prescribed by the law.

But of all the abuses committed at Athens, that which most afflicted and mortified the inhabitants, was an order issued by Demetrius, for immediately furnishing the sum of 250 talents; and when this money had been collected without the least delay or abatement, the prince, the moment he saw it amassed together, ordered it to be given to Lania, and the other courtizans in her company, for washes and paint. The Athenians were more offended at the indignity than the loss, and resented the application of that sum much more than their contribution of the sum itself.

Lania, as if this terrible expense had not been sufficient, being desirous to regale Demetrius at a feast, extorted money from several of the richest Athenians by her own private authority. The entertainment cost immense sums, and gave birth to a very ingenious pleasantry of a comic poet, who said, that Lania was a true *helepolis*. We have already shown that the *helepolis* was a machine invented by Demetrius for attacking and taking towns.

Cassander finding himself vigorously pressed by Demetrius,⁶ A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302. and not being able to obtain a peace without submitting entirely to the discretion of Antigonus, agreed with Lysimachus to send ambassadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, to represent to them the situation to which they were reduced. The conduct of Antigonus made it evident that he had no less in view than to dispossess all the other successors of Alexander, and usurp the whole empire to himself; and that it was time to form a strict alliance with each other to humble this exorbitant power. They were likewise offended, and Lysimachus in particular, at the contemptible manner in which Demetrius permitted people to treat the other kings in their conversation at his table, appropriating the regal title to himself and his father; whereas Ptolemy, according to his flatterers, was no more than the captain of a ship, Seleucus a commander of elephants, and Lysimachus a treasurer. A confederacy was therefore formed by these four kings, and Seleucus hastened into Assyria, to make preparations for this new war.

The first operations of it were commenced at the Hellespont; Cassander and Lysimachus having judged it expedient that the former should continue in Europe, to defend it against Demetrius, and that the latter, with as many troops as could be drawn out of their two kingdoms, without leaving them too destitute of forces, should invade the provinces of Antigonus, in Asia. Lysimachus consequently passed the Hellespont with a fine army, and, either by treaty or force, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and most of the territories between the Propontis and the river Mæander.

Antigonus was then at Antiochia, which he had lately built in Upper Syria, and where he was employed in celebrating the solemn games he had there established. This news, with that of several other revolts, transmitted to him at the same time, caused him immediately to quit his games. He accordingly dismissed the assembly upon the spot, and made preparations for advancing against the enemy. When all his troops were drawn together, he marched with the utmost expedition over mount Taurus, and en-

¹ Diod. l. xx. p. 825—828. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899.

² Athen. l. vi. p. 253.

³ *Memoria proditur, Tiberium, quoties curia cederetur, Græcis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum: O homines ad servitutum paratos! Scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollit, tam projectæ servitutium patientiæ tadebat.* Tacit. *Annal.* l. iii. c. 65.

⁴ Plut. in Demetr. p. 900.

⁵ There are various opinions with relation to the months in which these mysteries were celebrated.

⁶ Diod. l. xx. p. 830—836. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

tered Cilicia, where he took out of the public treasury of Quinda, a city in that province, as much money as he wanted, and then augmented his troops to the number he thought necessary. After which he advanced directly towards the enemy, and retook several places which had revolted in his march. Lysimachus thought proper to be upon the defensive, till the arrival of the succours which were upon their march to join him from Seleucus and Ptolemy. The remaining part of the year, therefore, elapsed without any action, and each party retired into winter-quarters.

Seleucus, at the beginning of the A. M. 3703. next year, formed his army at Babylon, and marched into Cappadocia, to act against Antigonus. This latter sent immediately for Demetrius, who left Greece with great expedition, marched to Ephesus, and retook that city, with several others that had declared for Lysimachus upon his arrival in Asia.

Ptolemy improved the opportunity in Syria, of the absence of Antigonus, and recovered all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœle-Syria, except the cities of Tyre and Sidon, where Antigonus had left good garrisons. He, indeed, formed the siege of Sidon; but whilst his troops were employed in battering the walls, he received intelligence that Antigonus had defeated Seleucus and Lysimachus, and was advancing to relieve the place. Upon this false report he made a truce for five months with the Sidonians, raised the siege, and returned to Egypt.

Here ends what remains of the history of Diodorus Siculus, in a period of the greatest importance, and on the very point of a battle, by which the fate of Alexander's successors is to be decided.

The confederate army,¹ commanded by Seleucus and Lysimachus, and the troops of Antigonus and Demetrius, arrived in Phrygia almost at the same time, but did not long confront each other without coming to blows. Antigonus had about 60,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and seventy-five elephants. The enemy's forces consisted of 64,000 foot, 10,500 horse, 400 elephants, with 120 chariots armed with scythes.

The battle was fought near Ipsus, a city of Phrygia.

As soon as the signal was given, Demetrius, at the head of his best cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, and behaved with so much bravery, that he broke the enemy's ranks, and put them to flight; but a rash and inconsiderate thirst of glory, against which generals can never be too much on their guard, and which has been fatal to many, prompted Demetrius to pursue the fugitives with too much ardour, and without any consideration for the rest of the army; by which means he lost the victory he might easily have secured, had he improved his first advantage aright. For when he returned from the pursuit, he found it impracticable for him to rejoin his infantry, the enemy's elephants having filled up all the intermediate space. When Seleucus saw the infantry of Antigonus separated from their cavalry, he did not actually attack them, but only made a feint as if he were going to fall upon them, sometimes on one side and sometimes on another, in order to intimidate and afford them sufficient time to quit the army of Antigonus, and come over to his own; and this was at last the expedient on which they resolved. The greatest part of the infantry detached themselves from the rest, and surrendered voluntarily to Seleucus, and the other were all put to flight. At the same instant a large body of the army of Seleucus drew off by his order, and made a furious attack upon Antigonus, who sustained their efforts for some time, but being at last overwhelmed with darts, and having received many wounds, he fell dead on the earth, having defended himself valiantly to his last gasp. Demetrius seeing his father dead, rallied all the troops he was able to draw together, and retired to Ephesus with 5000 foot and 4000 horse; which were all that remained of more than 70,000 men, whom his father and himself commanded at the beginning of the engagement. The great Pyrrhus,² young as he then was, was inseparable from Demetrius, overthrew all that opposed him, and gave an essay, in this first action, of what might be expected one day from his valour and bravery.

¹ Plut. in Demet. p. 902.

² Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 334.

THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

BOOK XVII.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.—THE FOUR VICTORIOUS PRINCES DIVIDE THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT INTO AS MANY KINGDOMS. SELEUCUS BUILDS SEVERAL CITIES. ATHENS SHUTS HER GATES AGAINST DEMETRIUS. HE RECONCILES HIMSELF WITH SELEUCUS, AND AFTERWARDS WITH PTOLEMY. THE DEATH OF CASSANDER. THE FIRST EXPLOITS OF PYRRHUS. ATHENS TAKEN BY DEMETRIUS. HE LOSES ALMOST AT THE SAME TIME ALL HE POSSESSED.

AFTER the battle of Ipsus,¹ the four confederate princes divided the dominions of Antigonus among

¹ Plut. in Demet. p. 902. Appian. in Syr. p. 123, 123. Polyb. l. xv. p. 572.

themselves, and added them to those which they already possessed. The empire of Alexander was thus divided into four kingdoms. Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine: Cassander had Macedonia and Greece: Lysimachus, Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces beyond the Hellespont, and the Bosphorus; and Seleucus all the rest of Asia, to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the river Indus. The dominions of this last prince are usually called the kingdom of Syria, because Seleucus, who afterwards built Antioch in that province, made it the chief seat of his residence, in which his successors, who from his name were called Seleucidae, followed his example. This kingdom, however, not only included Syria, but

those vast and fertile provinces of Upper Asia, which constituted the Persian empire. The reign of twenty years, which I have assigned to Seleucus Nicator, commences at this period, because he was not acknowledged as king till after the battle of Ipsus; and if we add to these the twelve during which he had already exercised the regal authority without the title, they will make out the reign of thirty-one years assigned him by Usher.

These four kings are the four horns of the he-goat in the prophecy of Daniel,¹ which came up in the place of the first horn that was broken. The first horn was Alexander king of Greece, who destroyed the empire of the Medes and Persians, designated by the ram with two horns; and the other four horns, are those four kings who rose up after him, and divided his empire among them, but they were not of his posterity.

They are likewise shadowed out by the four heads of the leopard, which form part of another vision shewn to the same prophet.²

These prophecies of Daniel were exactly accomplished by this last partition of Alexander's empire; other divisions had, indeed, been made before this, but they were only of provinces which were consigned to governors, under the brother and son of Alexander, and none but the last was a partition into kingdoms. Those prophecies, therefore, are to be understood of this alone, for they evidently represent these four successors of Alexander, as four kings, "four stood up for it." But not one of Alexander's successors obtained the regal dignity, till about three years before this last division of the empire. And even then this dignity was precarious, as being assumed by each of the several parties, merely by his own authority, and not acknowledged by any of the rest. Whereas, after the battle of Ipsus, the treaty made between the four confederates, when they had defeated their adversary, and divested him of his dominions, assigned each of them their dominions, under the appellation of so many kingdoms, and authorized and acknowledged them as kings and sovereigns independent of any superior power. These four kings are Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus.

We can never sufficiently admire, in this and the other places, wherein the completion of the prophecies of Daniel will be pointed out, the strong light with which the prophet penetrates the thick gloom of futurity, at a time when there was not the least appearance of all he foretells. With how much certainty and exactness, even amidst the variety of these revolutions, and this chaos of singular events, does he determine each particular circumstance, and fix the number of the several successors! How expressly has he pointed out the nation, which was to be the Grecian; described the countries they were to possess; measured the duration of their empires, and the extent of their power, inferior to that of Alexander; in a word, with what lively colours has he drawn the characters of those princes, and speci-

fied their alliances, treaties, treachery, marriages, and success! Can any one possibly ascribe to chance, or human foresight, so many circumstantial predictions, which at the time of their being denounced, were so remote from probability; and not evidently discover in them the character, and as it were, the seal, of the Divinity, to whom all ages are present in one view, and who alone determines at his will the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world? But it is now time to resume the thread of our history.

Onias,³ the first of that name, and high-priest of the Jews, died about this time, and was succeeded by his son Simon, who for the sanctity of his life, and the equity of his actions, was surnamed *the Just*. He enjoyed the pontificate for the space of nine years.

Seleucus,⁴ after the defeat of Antigonus, made himself master A. M. 3704. of Upper Syria, where he built Ant. J. C. 300. Antioch on the Orontes, and gave it that name, either from his father or his son, for they were both called Antiochus. This city, where the Syrian kings afterwards resided, was, for a long time, the capital of the East, and still preserved that privilege under the Roman emperors. Antigonus had lately built a city at a small distance from this, and called it Antigonia; but Seleucus caused it to be entirely demolished, and employed the materials in the construction of his own city, to which he afterwards transplanted the inhabitants of the former.

Among several other cities built by Seleucus in this country,⁵ there were three more remarkable than the rest: the first was called Seleucia, from his own name; the second, Apamea, from the name of his consort, who was the daughter of Artabazus the Persian; the third was Laodicea, so denominated from his mother. Apamea and Seleucia were situated on the same river on which Antioch was built, and Laodicea was on the same side towards the south. He allowed the Jews the same privileges and immunities, in each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, and especially at Antioch in Syria, where that people settled in such numbers, that they possessed as considerable a part of that city as their other countrymen enjoyed at Alexandria.

Demetrius had withdrawn himself to Ephesus, after the battle of Ipsus, and from thence embarked for Greece, his only resource being the affection of the Athenians, with whom he had left his fleet, money, and wife, Deidamia. But he was strangely surprised and offended, when he was met on his way by ambassadors from the Athenians, who came to acquaint him that he could not be admitted into their city, because the people had by a decree, prohibited the reception of any of the kings; they also informed him, that his consort Deidamia had been conducted to Megara, with all the honours and attendance due to her rank. Demetrius was then sensible of the value of honours and homage extorted by fear, and which did not proceed from the heart. The posture of his affairs not permitting him to punish the perfidy of that people, he contented himself with intimating his complaints to them in a moderate manner, and demanded his galleys, among which was that prodigious galley of sixteen benches of oars. As soon as he had received them, he sailed towards the Chersonesus; and having committed some devastations in the territories of Lysimachus, he enriched his army with the spoils, and by that expedient prevented the desertion of his troops, who now began to recover their vigour, and rendered themselves formidable.

Lysimachus, king of Thrace, in order to strengthen himself in his dominions, entered into a particular treaty with Ptolemy, and strengthened the alliance between them, by espousing one of his daughters, named Arisnoe; he had before this procured another, named Lysandra, to be married to his son Agathocles.

¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

² Strab. l. xvi. p. 749, 750 Appian. in Syr. p. 121. Jos. l. xv. c. 4.

³ Strab. l. xvi. p. 750.

¹ And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the West on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and from it came up four notable horns, towards the four winds of heaven.—Dan. viii. 5—8. God afterwards explains to his prophet what he had seen: The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia, and the rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power. *Ibid.* v. 20—22.

² After this, I beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it. *Dan.* vii. 6.

This alliance between Lysimachus and Ptolemy gave umbrage Ant. J. C. 299. to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius, and espoused Stratonice, the daughter of that prince, by Phila the sister of Cassander. The beauty of Stratonice had induced Seleucus to demand her in marriage; and as the affairs of Demetrius were at that time in a very bad condition, so honourable an alliance with so powerful a prince was exceedingly agreeable to him. In consequence of which he immediately conducted his daughter with all his fleet into Syria from Greece, where he was still in possession of some places. During his passage he made a descent on Cilicia, which then belonged to Plistarchus the brother of Cassander, to whom it had been assigned by the four kings, who divided the dominions of Alexander the Great after the death of Antigonus. Plistarchus went to complain of this proceeding to Seleucus, and to reproach him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy, without the consent of the other kings, which he considered as an infraction of the treaty. Demetrius receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of Quinda, where the treasures of the province, amounting to 1200 talents,² were deposited. These he carried off with all expedition to his fleet, and then set sail for Syria, where he found Seleucus, and gave him the princess Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius, after some days passed in rejoicings for the nuptials, and in entertainments given on each side, returned to Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province. He then sent his wife Phila to Cassander, in order to excuse this proceeding. These kings imitated the princes of the East, with whom it is customary to have several wives at the same time.

During these transactions, Deidamia, another of his wives, who had taken a journey to meet him in Greece, and had passed some time with him in that country, was seized with an indisposition that ended

her days. Demetrius having conciled himself with Ptolemy, by the mediation of Seleucus, espoused Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy, by which means his affairs began to assume a better aspect: for he had all the island of Cyprus, and the two rich and powerful cities of Tyre and Sidon in Phœnicia, besides his new conquests in Cilicia, and some other cities in Asia.

It was very imprudent in Seleucus to permit so dangerous an enemy to establish himself at so small a distance from him, and to usurp from one of his allies a province so near his own dominions as Cilicia. All this shows that these princes had no established rules and principles of conduct, and were even ignorant of the true interests of their ambition. For as to sincerity, equity, and gratitude, they had long since renounced them all, and only reigned for the unhappiness of their people, as the author of the first book of Maccabees has observed.³

The eyes of Seleucus were however open at last, and in order to prevent his having a neighbour of such abilities on each side of his dominions, he required Demetrius to surrender Cilicia to him for a very considerable sum of money; but that prince not being disposed to comply with such a proposal, Seleucus insisted upon his returning him the cities of Tyre and Sidon, that were dependencies on Syria, of which he was king. Demetrius, enraged at this demand, replied very abruptly, that though he should lose several other battles as fatal to him as that of Ipsus, he could never resolve to purchase the friendship of Seleucus at so high a price. At the same time he sailed to those two cities, reinforced their garrisons, and furnished them with all things necessary for a vigorous defence; by which means the intention of Seleucus to take them from him was rendered ineffectual at that time. This proceeding of Seleucus, though sufficiently conformable to the rules of political interest, had such an odious aspect, with

reference to the maxims of honour, that it shocked all mankind, and was universally condemned: for, as his dominions were of such a vast extent as to include all the countries between India and the Mediterranean, how insatiable was that rigour and avidity which would not permit him to leave his father-in-law the peaceable enjoyment of the shattered remains of his fortune!

Cassander died about this time, of a dropsy, after having governed Macedonia for the space of nineteen years, from the death of his father Antipater, and six or seven from the last partition. He left three sons by Thessalonica, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great. Philip, who succeeded him, dying soon after, left his crown to be contested by his two brothers.

Pyrrhus,⁴ the famous king of Epirus, had espoused Antigone, a relation of Ptolemy, in Egypt. This young prince was the son of Æacides, whom the Molossians, in a rebellion, had expelled from the throne; and it was with great difficulty that Pyrrhus himself, then an infant at the breast, was preserved from the fury of the rebels, who pursued him with intent to destroy him. After various adventures, he was conducted to the court of king Glaucias in Illyria, where he was taken into the protection of that prince. Cassander, the mortal enemy of Æacides, solicited the king to deliver the young prince into his hands, and offered him 200 talents on that occasion: Glaucias, however, was struck with horror at such a proposal; and when the infant had attained the twelfth year of his age, he conducted him in person to Epirus with a powerful army, and reinstated him in his dominions; by which means the Molossians were compelled to submit to force. Justin tells us, that their hatred being softened into compassion, they themselves recalled him, and assigned him guardians to govern the kingdom till he should be of age himself; but there seems to be no great probability in his account.

When he had attained his seventeenth year, he began to think himself sufficiently established on the throne: and set out from his capital city for Illyria, in order to be present at the nuptials of one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been brought up. The Molossians, taking advantage of his absence, revolted a second time, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized all his treasures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus, his great uncle. Pyrrhus being thus divested of his dominions, and finding himself destitute of all succours, retired to his brother-in-law, Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had espoused his sister Deidamia.

This young prince distinguished himself among the bravest in the battle that was fought on the plains of Ipsus, and would not forsake Demetrius even after he was defeated. He also preserved for him those Grecian cities which that prince had confided to him; and when a treaty of peace was concluded between Ptolemy and Demetrius, by the mediation of Seleucus, Pyrrhus went into Egypt as a hostage for his brother-in-law.

During his continuance at the court of Ptolemy, he gave sufficient proofs of his strength, address, and extraordinary patience, in hunting, martial exercises, and all other labours. Observing, that of all the wives of Ptolemy, Berenice had the greatest ascendant over him, and that she surpassed the others in wit and prudence, as well as beauty, he attached himself to her in particular; for as he was already an able politician, he neglected no opportunity of making his court to those on whom his fortune depended, and of ingratiating himself with such persons as were capable of being useful to him. His noble and engaging demeanour procured him such a share in Ptolemy's esteem, that he gave him Antigone, the daughter of Berenice his favourite consort, in preference to several young princes who demanded her in marriage. This lady was the daughter of Berenice, by Philip her first husband, who was a Macedonian nobleman, little known with respect to

¹ Plut. in Demetr. p. 903.

² Twelve hundred thousand crowns.

³ Chap. i. ver. 9.

VOL. II.—7

⁴ Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 323—325.

any other particular. When Pyrrhus had espoused Antigone, the queen had so much influence over her consort, as to induce him to grant his son-in-law a fleet, with a supply of money, which enabled him to repossess himself of his dominions. Here began the fortune of an exiled prince, who was afterwards esteemed the greatest general of his age; and it must be acknowledged, that every instance of his early conduct denoted extraordinary merit, and raised great expectations of his future glory.

A. M. 3708. Athens,¹ as we have already ob-
Ant. J. C. 296. served, had revolted from Demetrius, and shut her gates against him. But when that prince thought he had sufficiently provided for the security of his territories in Asia, he marched against that rebellious and ungrateful city, with a resolution to punish her as she deserved. The first year was employed in the reduction of the Messenians, and the conquest of some other cities who had quitted his party; and he returned the next season to Athens, which he closely blocked up, and reduced to the last extremity, by cutting off all communication of provisions. A fleet of 150 sail, sent by king Ptolemy to succour the Athenians, and which appeared on the coasts of Ægina, afforded them but a transient joy; for when this naval force saw a strong fleet arrive from Peloponnesus to the assistance of Demetrius, besides a great number of other vessels from Cyprus, and that the whole amounted to 300, they weighed anchor, and fled.

A. M. 3709.
Ant. J. C. 295. Although the Athenians had issued a decree, by which they made it capital for any person even to mention a peace with Demetrius, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced by want of provisions, obliged them to open their gates to him. When he entered the city, he commanded the inhabitants to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with armed troops, and posted his guards on each side of the stage where the dramatic pieces were performed; and then descending from the upper part of the theatre, in the manner usual with the actors, he showed himself to that multitude, who seemed rather dead than alive, and waited for the event in inexpressible terror, expecting it would prove the sentence for their destruction. But he dissipated their apprehensions by the first expressions he uttered; for he did not raise his voice like a man affected with the emotions of rage, nor deliver himself in any passionate or insulting language; but softened the tone of his voice, and only addressed himself to them in gentle complaints and amicable expostulations. He pardoned their offence, and restored them to his favour; presenting them, at the same time, with 100,000 measures of corn, and reinstating such magistrates as were most agreeable to them. The joy of this people may be easily conceived from the terrors with which they were before affected; and how glorious must such a prince be, who could always support so brilliant, so admirable a character!

When he had regulated the state of affairs in Athens, he determined to reduce the Lacedæmonian Archidamus, their king, advanced as far as Mantinea to meet him: but Demetrius defeated him in a great battle, and obliged him to have recourse to flight; after which he advanced into Laconia, and fought another battle in the very sight of Sparta. He was again victorious; 500 of his enemies were made prisoners, and 200 killed upon the spot, so that he was already considered as master of the city, which had never been taken before.

But at this important moment he received two pieces of intelligence, which compelled him to direct his attention to a quite different quarter. The first was, that Lysimachus had lately divested him of all his territories in Asia; and the other, that Ptolemy had made a descent on Cyprus, and conquered all the island, except Salamis, where the mother of Demetrius, with his wife and children, had retired; and that the king of Egypt carried on the siege of that

city with great vigour. Demetrius left all to fly to their assistance, but was soon informed that the place had surrendered. Ptolemy had the generosity to give the mother, wife, and children, of his enemy, their liberty without any ransom; and to dismiss them with all their attendants and effects. He even made them magnificent presents at their departure, which he accompanied with all imaginable marks of honour.

The loss of Cyprus was soon succeeded by that of Tyre and Sidon; and Seleucus dispossessed him of Cilicia on another side. Thus, in a very short time, he saw himself divested of all his dominions, without any resource or hopes for the future.

SECTION II.—DISPUTE BETWEEN THE TWO SONS OF CASSANDER FOR THE CROWN OF MACEDONIA. DEMETRIUS, BEING INVITED TO THE ASSISTANCE OF ALEXANDER, FINDS MEANS TO DESTROY HIM, AND IS PROCLAIMED KING BY THE MACEDONIANS. HE MAKES GREAT PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONQUEST OF ASIA. A POWERFUL CONFEDERACY IS FORMED AGAINST HIM. PYRRHUS AND LYSIMACHUS DEPRIVE HIM OF MACEDONIA, AND DIVIDE IT BETWEEN THEMSELVES. PYRRHUS IS SOON OBLIGED TO QUIT THOSE TERRITORIES. SAD END OF DEMETRIUS, WHO DIES IN PRISON.

No prince was ever obnoxious to greater vicissitudes of fortune, nor ever experienced more sudden changes, than Demetrius. He exposed himself to these events by his imprudence, amusing himself with inconsiderable conquests, while he abandoned his provinces to the first invader. His greatest successes were immediately followed by his being dispossessed of all his dominions, and almost reduced to despair, when suddenly an unexpected resource offered itself from a quarter from whence he had not the least room to expect it.

In the quarrel between the two sons of Cassander for the crown,² A. M. 3710.
Thessalonica, their mother, favoured Ant. J. C. 294.
Alexander, who was the youngest; which so enraged Antipater, the eldest son, that he killed her with his own hands, though she conjured him by the breasts which had nourished him, to spare her life. Alexander, in order to avenge this unnatural barbarity, solicited the assistance of Pyrrhus and Demetrius, the former of whom was in Epirus, and the latter in Peloponnesus. Pyrrhus arrived the first, and made himself master of several cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as a compensation for the aid he had given Alexander; and he returned to his own dominions, after he had reconciled the two brothers. Demetrius came up at the same instant, upon which Alexander advanced to meet him; and testified, at the interview between them, all imaginable gratitude and friendship; but represented to him, at the same time, that the state of his affairs was changed, and that he no longer had any need of his assistance. Demetrius was displeased with this compliment, whilst Alexander, who dreaded the greatness of his power, was apprehensive of subjecting himself to a master, should he admit him into his dominions. They, however, conversed together with an external air of friendship, and entertained each other with reciprocal feasts; till at last, Demetrius, upon some intelligence, either true or fictitious, that Alexander intended to destroy him, prevented the execution of that design, and killed him. This murder armed the Macedonians against him at first; but when he had acquainted them with all the particulars that influenced his conduct, the aversion they entertained for Antipater, the infamous murderer of his own mother, induced them to declare for Demetrius, and they accordingly proclaimed him king of Macedonia. Demetrius possessed this crown for the space of seven years, and Antipater fled into Thrace, where he did not long survive the loss of his kingdom.

One of the branches of the royal family of Philip, king of Macedonia, became entirely extinct by the death of Thessalonica and her two sons; as the other

¹ Plut. in Demetr. p. 904, 905.

² Plut. in Demetr. p. 905. in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. xvi. c. 1.

branch from Alexander the Great had been before by the death of the young Alexander and Hercules, his two sons. Thus these two princes, who by their unjust wars had spread desolation through so many provinces, and destroyed such a number of royal families, experienced, by a just decree of Providence, the same calamities in their own families, as they had occasioned to others. Philip and Alexander, with their wives, and all their descendants, perished by violent deaths.

Much about this time Seleucus built the city of Seleucia,¹ on the banks of the Tigris, at the distance of forty miles from Babylon. It became very populous in a short time, and Pliny tells us it was inhabited by 600,000 persons. The dykes of the Euphrates being broken down, spread such an inundation over the country, and the branch of that river, which passed through Babylon, was sunk so low by this evacuation, as to be rendered unnavigable, by which means that city became so inconvenient, that as soon as Seleucia was built, all its inhabitants withdrew thither. This circumstance prepared the way for the accomplishment of that celebrated prophecy of Isaiah, who, at a time when this city was in the most flourishing condition, had foretold, that it should one day become entirely desert and uninhabited.² I have observed elsewhere by what manner and degrees this prediction was fully accomplished.

Simon, surnamed the Just, the high-priest of the Jews, died at the close of the ninth year of his pontificate,³ and left a young son, named Onias. As he was of too tender an age to take upon himself the exercise of that dignity, it was consigned to Eleazar the brother of Simon, who discharged the functions of it for the space of fifteen years.

I here pass over some events of small importance,⁴ and proceed to Demetrius, who, believing his power sufficiently established in Greece and Macedonia, began to make great preparations for regaining the empire of his father in Asia. With this view he raised an army of above 100,000 men, and fitted out a fleet of 500 sail. So great an armament had never been seen since the time of Alexander the Great. Demetrius animated the workmen by his presence and instructions, visited them in person, directed them how to act, and even assisted them in their labours. The number of his galleys, and their extraordinary dimensions, created a universal astonishment; for no ships of sixteen, or even fifteen benches of oars, had ever been seen till then; and it was not till many years after this period that Ptolemy Philopator built one of forty benches,⁵ but then it was only for pomp and ostentation, whereas those which Demetrius built were extremely useful in battle, and more admirable for their lightness and agility than their size and magnificence.

Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, receiving intelligence of these formidable preparations of Demetrius, immediately caught the alarm, and in order to frustrate their effect, renewed their alliance, in which they likewise engaged Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; in consequence of which, when Lysimachus began to invade Macedonia on one side, Pyrrhus did the same on the other. Demetrius, who was then making preparations in Greece for his intended expedition into Asia, advanced with all speed to defend his own dominions; but before he was able to arrive there, Pyrrhus had taken Berea, one

of the most considerable cities in Macedonia, where he found the wives, children, and effects, of a great number of soldiers belonging to Demetrius. This news caused so great a tumult in the army of that prince, that a considerable part of his troops absolutely refused to follow him, and declared with an air of mutiny and sedition, that they would return to defend their families and effects. In a word, things were carried to such an extremity, that Demetrius, perceiving he no longer had any influence over them, fled to Greece in the disguise of a common soldier, and his troops went over to Pyrrhus, whom they proclaimed king of Macedonia.

The different characters of these two princes greatly contributed to this sudden revolution. Demetrius, who considered vain pomp and superb magnificence as true grandeur, rendered himself contemptible to the Macedonians, in the very circumstance by which he thought to obtain their esteem. He ambitiously encircled his head with a double diadem, like a theatrical monarch, and wore purple robes, enriched with a profusion of gold. The ornaments of his feet were altogether extraordinary; and he had long employed artists to make him a mantle, on which the system of the world, with all the stars visible in the firmament, were to be embroidered in gold. The change of his fortune prevented the finishing of this work, and no future king would presume to wear it.

But that which rendered him still more odious, was his being so difficult of access. He was either so imperious and disdainful, as not to allow those who had any affairs to transact with him the liberty of speech; or else he treated them with so much rudeness, as obliged them to quit his presence with disgust. One day, when he came out of his palace, and walked through the streets with a mien of more affability than it was usual for him to assume, some persons were encouraged to present a few petitions to him. He received them with a gracious air, and placed them in one of the folds of his robe; but as he was passing over a bridge on the river Axius,⁶ he threw all those petitions into the stream. A prince must certainly know very little of mankind, not to be sensible that such a contemptuous behaviour is sufficient to disgust his subjects. On this occasion, an action of the great Philip was recollected, which has been related among the events of his reign. That prince had several times refused audience to a poor woman, under pretence that he wanted leisure to hear her. "Be no longer king then," replied she with some emotion; and Philip, from thenceforth, made it a maxim with himself to grant his subjects long and frequent audiences. For, as Plutarch observes on that occasion, THE MOST INDISPENSABLE DUTY OF A KING, IS TO EXERT HIMSELF IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.⁷

The Macedonians had formed a very different idea of Pyrrhus. They had heard it reported, and were sensible by their own experience, that he was naturally affable, and that he was always mild and accessible; they were convinced of his promptitude to recompense the services rendered him, and that he was slow to anger and severity. Some young officers, over their liquor, had vented several offensive pleasantries against him. The particulars of their conversation were related to Pyrrhus himself, who ordered them to be brought into his presence, and then asked them, if they had expressed themselves in the manner he had heard. "Yes, my lord," replied one of the company, "and we should have added a great deal more, if we had had more wine." Pyrrhus could not forbear laughing at this facetious and sprightly turn, and dismissed them from his presence without farther notice.

The Macedonians thought him much superior to Demetrius, even in military merit. He had beaten them on several occasions, but their admiration of his bravery was greater than their resentment for their defeat. It was a common expression with them,

¹ Strab. l. xvi. p. 738 & 743. Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

² Vol. i. p. 193, &c. At the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.

³ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

⁴ Plut. in Demetr. p. 903, et in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. xvi. c. 2.

⁵ This galley was 220 cubits (about 420 feet) in length, and twenty-eight cubits (seventy-two feet) from the keel to the top of the poop. It carried 400 sailors, besides 4000 rowers, and near 3000 soldiers, who were disposed in the spaces between the rowers, and on the lower deck. Plut. in the Life of Demetrius.

⁶ A river of Upper Macedonia.

⁷ Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως τῷ βασιλεὶ περισσέον, ὥς τὸ τῆς δίκης εἶργον.

that other princes imitated Alexander in nothing but their purple robes, the number of their guards, the affectation of inclining their heads like his, and their imperious manner of speaking; but that Pyrrhus was the only one who represented that monarch in his great and laudable qualities. Pyrrhus himself was not altogether free from vanity, with respect to the resemblance of his own features to those of Alexander,¹ but a good matron of Larissa, in whose house he once lodged, had undeceived him in that particular, by an answer, perhaps, not at all agreeable to him. The Macedonians, however, thought they discovered in him the aspect of that prince; with all the fire of his eyes, and the vivacity, promptitude, and impetuosity, with which he charged his enemies, and bore down all who presumed to oppose him: but with respect to the military art, and ability in drawing up an army in battle, and knowing how to take advantage of circumstances, they thought none comparable to Pyrrhus.

It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising, that the Macedonians, who entertained prepossessions so favourable to the one and so disadvantageous to the other, should easily quit the party of Demetrius to espouse that of Pyrrhus: and one may see by this instance, and a thousand others, of what importance it is for princes to attach their people to their interests by the gentle ties of affection and gratitude; by treating them with mildness and affability; and by entertaining a real love for them, which is the only means of acquiring their love, which constitutes their most solid glory, their most essential obligation, and at the same time their greatest security.

As Lysimachus happened to arrive immediately after Pyrrhus had been declared king of Macedonia,² he pretended that he had contributed as much as that prince to the flight of Demetrius, and that he consequently ought to have a share in that kingdom. Pyrrhus, who, in this conjuncture, was not entirely certain of the fidelity of the Macedonians, readily acquiesced in the pretensions of Lysimachus, and the cities and provinces were accordingly shared between them: but this agreement was so far from uniting them with each other, that it was rather the constant source of animosities and divisions: for, as Plutarch observes, when neither seas nor mountains, nor uninhabitable deserts, could suffice as barriers to the avarice and ambition of these princes; and when their desires were not to be bounded by those limits which separate Europe from Asia, how could they possibly continue in a state of tranquillity, and refrain from the injustice of invading domains which lay so near and so commodious to them? This was not to be expected; and a perpetual war between them became inevitable, from the malignant seeds of envy and usurpation that had taken root in their minds. The names of peace and war were considered by them as two species of coin, to which they themselves had given currency, merely for their own interest, and without the least regard to justice.—Still, continues the same author, they act more laudably, when they engage in an open war, than when they use the sacred names of justice, friendship, and peace, for what, in reality, is no more than a truce, or transient suspension of their unjust views.

The whole history of Alexander's successors justifies these reflections of Plutarch. Never were more treaties and alliances made, and never were they violated with less disguise and more impunity. Would to God that those complaints were never applicable to any princes or times but those we are treating of at present!

Pyrrhus finding the Macedonians more tractable and submissive, when he led them to war, than when he permitted them to enjoy a state of repose; and being himself not much addicted to tranquillity, nor capable of satisfaction in the calm of a long peace, was daily forming new enterprises, without much regard to sparing either his subjects or allies. Lysimachus took advantage of the army's disaffection to Pyrrhus, and inflamed them still more by his emissaries, who artfully insinuated that they had acted most shamefully in choosing a stranger for their master, whom interest, and not affection, had attached to Macedonia. These reproaches drew in the greatest part of the soldiers; upon which Pyrrhus, who feared the consequences of this alienation, retired with the Epirots and the troops of his allies, and lost Macedonia in the same manner he had gained it.

He greatly complained of the inconstancy of this people, and their disaffection to his person; but, as Plutarch again observes, kings have no reason to blame other persons for sometimes changing their party according to their interest, as in acting so they only imitate their own example, and practise the lessons of infidelity and treason, which they have learned from the whole of their own conduct, which upon all occasions demonstrates an utter disregard for justice, veracity, and sincerity, in the observance of engagements.

As to Demetrius,³ when he found himself deserted by his troops, he had retired to the city of Cassandria⁴ where his consort Phila resided: this lady was so afflicted at the calamitous state in which she beheld her husband, and was so terrified at the misfortunes to which she herself was exposed by the declension of his affairs, that she had recourse to a draught of poison, by which she ended a life that was become more insupportable to her than death itself.

Demetrius, thinking to gather up some remains of his shattered fortune, returned to Greece, where several cities still continued devoted to him; and when he had disposed his affairs in the best order he was able, he left the government of those places to his son Antigonus; and assembling all the troops he could raise in that country, which amounted to between ten and eleven thousand men, he embarked for Asia, with a resolution to make a desperate attempt to retrieve his good fortune. Eurydice, the sister of his late wife Phila, received him at Miletus, where she lived with the princess Ptolemais, her daughter by Ptolemy, whose marriage with Demetrius had been agreed upon by the mediation of Seleucus. Eurydice accordingly presented the princess to him, and this alliance gave birth to Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene.

Demetrius,⁵ immediately after the celebration of his nuptials, entered Caria and Lydia, where he took several places from Lysimachus, and considerably augmented his forces; and at length made himself master of Sardis; but, as soon as Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, appeared at the head of an army, he abandoned all his conquests, and marched into the East. His design in taking this route was to surprise Armenia and Media; but Agathocles, who followed him close, cut off his provisions and forage so effectually, that a sickness spread through his army, and weakened it extremely; and when he at last made an attempt to march over mount Taurus, with the small remains of his troops, he found all the passes guarded by the enemies, which obliged him to fall back to Tarsus in Cilicia.

From thence he represented to Seleucus, to whom that city belonged, the melancholy situation of his affairs, and entreated him, in a very moving manner, to afford him the necessary subsistence for himself and the remainder of his troops. Seleucus was touched with compassion at first, and despatched orders to his lieutenants, to furnish him with all he should want. But when remonstrances were afterwards made to him upon the valour and abilities of Deme-

¹ A set of flatterers had really persuaded Pyrrhus, that he resembled Alexander in the features of his face. With this belief he sent for the pictures of Philip, Perdiccas, Alexander, Cassander, and some other princes, and then desired a woman of Larissa, with whom he then lodged, to tell him which of those princes he most resembled. She refused to answer him for a considerable time, till at last he pressed her very earnestly to satisfy his curiosity; upon which she replied, that she thought him very like Batrachion, who was a noted cook in that city. *Lucian, advers. indoct.* p. 552, 553.

² Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 389, 390.

³ Plut. in Demetr. p. 910, 911.

⁴ A city on the frontiers of Thrace, and in Upper Macedonia.

⁵ Plut. in Demetr. p. 912—915.

trius, his genius for resource and stratagem, and his intrepidity in the execution of his designs, whenever the least opportunity for acting presented itself; he thought it impossible to reinstate a prince of that character, without exposing himself to danger. For which reason, instead of continuing to support him, he resolved upon his destruction, and immediately placed himself at the head of a numerous army, with an intention to attack him. Demetrius, who had received intelligence of these measures, posted his troops in those parts of mount Taurus where he imagined it would be very difficult to force them, and sent to Seleucus a second time, to implore his permission to pass into the East, in order to establish himself in some country belonging to the barbarians, where he might end his days in tranquillity: but if he should not be inclined to grant him that favour, he entreated him to allow him to take up his winter-quarters in his dominions; and begged that prince not to expose him, by driving him from thence, to famine, and the rigours of the season, as that would be delivering him up defenceless to the discretion of his enemies.

Seleucus was so prejudiced against the design which Demetrius had formed against the East, that this proposal only tended to increase his distrust; and he consented to nothing more than his taking up his quarters in Cataonia, a province adjacent to Cappadocia, during the two severest months of the winter; after which he was immediately to evacuate that country. Seleucus, during this negotiation, had placed strong guards at all the passes from Cilicia into Syria, which obliged Demetrius to have recourse to arms, in order to disengage himself. He accordingly made such a vigorous attack on the troops who guarded the passes in the mountains, that he dislodged them from thence, and opened himself a passage in Syria, which he immediately entered.

His own courage, and the hopes of his soldiers, reviving from this success, he took all possible measures for making a last effort for the re-establishment of his affairs; but he had the misfortune to be suddenly seized with a severe distemper, which disconcerted all his measures. During

A. M. 3718. the forty days that he continued Ant. J. C. 286. sick, most of his soldiers deserted; and when he at last recovered his health, so as to be capable of action, he found himself reduced to the desperate necessity of attempting to surprise Seleucus in his camp by night, with the handful of men who still continued in his service. A deserter gave Seleucus intelligence of this design time enough to prevent its effect; and the desertion of Demetrius's troops increased upon this disappointment. He then endeavoured, as his last resource, to regain the mountains, and join his fleet; but he found the passes so well guarded, that he was obliged to conceal himself in the woods; from whence he was soon dislodged by hunger, and compelled to surrender himself to Seleucus, who caused him to be conducted under a strong guard to the Cheronesus of Syria near Laodicia, where he was detained a prisoner. He, however, was allowed the liberty of a park for hunting, and all the conveniences of life in abundance.

When Antigonus received intelligence of his father's captivity, he was affected with the utmost sorrow; and wrote to all the kings, and even to Seleucus himself, to obtain his release, offering, at the same time, his own person as a hostage for him, and consenting to part with all his remaining dominions, as the price of his liberty. Several cities, and a great number of princes, joined their solicitations in favour of the captive prince; but Lysimachus offered a large sum of money to Seleucus, provided he would cause his prisoner to be put to death. Seleucus was struck with horror at so barbarous and inhuman a proposal; and in order to grant a favour solicited from so many different quarters, he seemed only to wait the arrival of his son Antigonus, and Stratonice, that Demetrius might owe the obligation of his liberty to them.

In the meantime that unhappy prince supported his misfortunes with patience and magnanimity; and

became at last so habituated to them, that they no longer seemed to affect him. He exercised himself in racing, walking, and hunting; and might have been infinitely more happy, had he made a true estimate of his condition, than whilst hurried over lands and seas by the frenzy of ambition. For what other fruit do these pretended heroes, who are called conquerors, derive from all their labours and wars, and from all the dangers to which they expose themselves, than that of tormenting themselves, while they render others miserable; and constantly turning their backs on tranquillity and happiness, which, if they may be believed, are the sole ends of all their motions? But Demetrius was gradually seized with melancholy; and no longer amused himself with his former exercises: he grew corpulent, and entirely abandoned himself to drinking and gaming at dice, to which he devoted whole days, undoubtedly endeavouring by these methods to banish the melancholy thoughts of his condition. When he had continued in his captivity for the space of three years, he was seized with a severe distemper, occasioned by his inactivity, and intemperance in eating and drinking, and died at the age of fifty-four years. His son Antigonus, to whom the urn which enclosed his ashes was transmitted, celebrated his funeral with great magnificence. We shall see, in the sequel of the present history, that this Antigonus, who was surnamed Gonatas, continued peaceable possessor of the kingdom of Macedonia; and the race of this prince enjoyed the crown for several generations, in a direct line from father to son, till the reign of Perseus, who was the last of that family, and was divested of Macedonia by the Romans.

SECTION III.—PTOLEMY SOTER RESIGNS HIS KINGDOM TO HIS SON PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. THE TOWER OF PHAROS BUILT. THE IMAGE OF SERAPIS CONVEYED TO ALEXANDRIA. THE CELEBRATED LIBRARY FOUNDED IN THAT CITY, WITH AN ACADEMY OF LEARNED MEN. DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS PRESIDES OVER BOTH. DEATH OF PTOLEMY SOTER.

PTOLEMY SOTER,¹ the son ofLAGUS, after a reign of twenty years A. M. 3719. in Egypt, with the title of king, Ant. J. C. 285. and of near thirty-nine from the death of Alexander, was desirous of transmitting the throne to Ptolemy Philadelphus,² one of his sons by Berenice. He had likewise several children by his other wives, and among them Ptolemy, surnamed *Ceraunus*, or *The Thunderer*; who being the son of Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the eldest of the male issue, considered the crown as his right, after the death of his father. But Berenice, who came into Egypt, merely to accompany Eurydice, at the time of her espousals with Ptolemy, had so charmed that prince with her beauty, that he married her; and so great was her ascendant over him, that she caused him to prefer her son to all his issue by the other queens. In order, therefore, to prevent all disputes and wars that might ensue after his death, which he was sensible could not be very remote, as he was then fourscore years of age; he resolved to have him crowned in his own lifetime, intending, at the same time, to resign all his dominions to him; declaring, that to create a king was more glorious than to be so one's self. The coronation of Philadelphus was celebrated with the most splendid festival that had ever been seen; but I reserve the description of it to the end of this section.

Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted the court, and retired to Lysimachus, whose son Agathocles had espoused Lysandra, the sister of Ceraunus, both by father and mother; and, after the death of Agathocles, he removed to the court of Seleucus, who received him with a generosity entirely uncommon, for which he afterwards repaid him with the blackest ingratitude, as will appear in the sequel of this history.

¹ Justin. l. xvi.

² The word signifies a *lover of his brethren*; but Ptolemy received this surname, agreeably to a figure of speech called *antiphrasis*, because he charged two of his brothers with forming designs against his life, and then caused them to be destroyed. Pausan. l. i. p. 12.

In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus,¹ which was also the first year of the 124th Olympiad, the famous watch-tower in the isle of Pharos was completed. It was usually called the tower of Pharos, and has been reputed one of the seven wonders of the world. It was a large square structure built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was constantly kept burning, in order to guide ships in their course. It cost 800 talents, which, estimated by the Athenian money, are equal to 200,000*l.*, but amount to almost double that sum if computed by the coin of Alexandria. The architect of the edifice was Sostratus of Cnidus, who, to perpetuate the whole honour of it to himself, had recourse to the artifice I have mentioned before.² Pharos was originally a real island, at the distance of seven furlongs from the continent; but was afterwards joined to it by a causeway like that of Tyre.

Much about this time the image of A. M. 3720. of the god Serapis was brought Ant. J. C. 284. from Pontus to Alexandria.³ Ptolemy had been induced by a dream to demand it, by an embassy, of the king of Sinope, a city of Pontus, where it was kept. It was, however, refused him for the space of two years, till at last the inhabitants of Sinope suffered such extremities from a famine, that they consented to resign this god to Ptolemy for a supply of corn, which he transmitted to them; and the statue was then conveyed to Alexandria, and placed in one of the suburbs, called Rhacotis, where it was adored by the name of Serapis; and a famous temple, called the Serapion, was afterwards erected for it in that place. This structure, according to Ammianus Marcellinus,⁴ surpassed, in beauty and magnificence, all the temples in the world, except the Capitol at Rome. This temple had also a library, which became famous in all succeeding ages, for the number and value of the books it contained.

Ptolemy Soter had been careful to improve himself in polite literature,⁵ as was evident by his compiling the life of Alexander, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but is now entirely lost. In order to encourage the cultivation of the sciences, which he much admired, he founded an academy at Alexandria, called the Museum, where a society of learned men devoted themselves to philosophic studies, and the improvement of all other sciences, almost in the same manner as those of London and Paris. For this purpose, he began by giving them a library, which was prodigiously increased by his successors.

His son Philadelphus left 100,000 volumes in it at the time of his death,⁶ and the succeeding princes of that race enlarged it still more, till at last it consisted of 700,000 volumes.

This library was formed by the following method.⁷ All the Greek and other books that were brought into Egypt were seized, and sent to the Museum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose. The copies were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals were deposited in the library. Ptolemy Evergetes, for instance, borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus, of the Athenians, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a manner as possible; and he likewise presented them with fifteen talents (equal to 15,000 crowns) for the originals which he kept.

As the Museum was at first in that quarter of the city which was called Bruchion, and near the royal palace, the library was founded in the same place, and it soon drew vast numbers thither; but when it was so much augmented, as to contain 400,000 volumes, they began to deposit the additional books in

the Serapion. This last library was a supplement to the former, for which reason it received the appellation of its Daughter, and in process of time had in it 300,000 volumes.

In Cesar's war with the inhabitants of Alexandria,⁸ a fire, occasioned by those hostilities, consumed the library of Bruchion, with its 400,000 volumes. Seneca seems to me to be out of humour,⁹ when, speaking of the conflagration, he bestows his censures, both on the library itself, and the eulogium made on it by Livy, who styles it an illustrious monument of the opulence of the Egyptian kings, and of their judicious attention to the improvement of the sciences. Seneca, instead of allowing it to be such, would have it considered only as a work resulting from the pride and vanity of those monarchs, who had amassed such a number of books, not for their own use, but merely for pomp and ostentation. This reflection, however, seems to discover very little sagacity; for is it not evident beyond contradiction, that none but kings are capable of founding these magnificent libraries, which became a necessary treasure to the learned, and do infinite honour to those states in which they are established?

The library of Serapion did not sustain any damage, and it was undoubtedly there, that Cleopatra deposited those 200,000 volumes from that of Pergamus, which were presented to her by Antony. This addition, with other enlargements that were made from time to time, rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and considerable than the first: and though it was ransacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the Roman empire, it always retrieved its losses, and recovered its number of volumes. In this condition it subsisted for many ages, displaying its treasures to the learned and curious, till the seventh century, when it suffered the same fate with its parent, and was burnt by the Saracens when they took that city in the year of our Lord 642. The manner by which this misfortune happened is too singular to be passed over in silence.

John,¹⁰ surnamed the Grammarian, a famous follower of Aristotle, happened to be at Alexandria when the city was taken; and as he was much esteemed by Amrou Ebn-al As, the general of the Saracen troops, he entreated that commander to bestow upon him the Alexandrian library. Amrou replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request; but that he would write to the Khalif, or emperor of the Saracens, for his orders on that head, without which he could not presume to dispose of the library. He accordingly wrote to Omar, the then Khalif, whose answer was, that if those books contained the same doctrine with the Koran, they could not be of any use, because the Koran was sufficient in itself, and comprehended all necessary truths; but if they contained any particulars contrary to that book, they ought to be destroyed. In consequence of this answer, they were all condemned to the flames, without any farther examination; and, for that purpose, were distributed among the public baths: where, for the space of six months, they were used for fuel instead of wood. We may from hence form a just idea of the prodigious number of books contained in that library; and thus was this inestimable treasure of learning destroyed.

The Museum of Bruchion was not burnt with the library which was attached to it. Strabo¹¹ acquaints us, in this description of it, that it was a very large structure near the palace, and fronting the port; and that it was surrounded with a portico, in which the

¹ Plut. in Cæsar, p. 732. in Anton. p. 943. Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16. Dion. Cass. l. xlii. p. 202.

² Quadringenta millia librorum Alexandria arserunt, pulcherrimum regie opulentia monumentum. Alius laudaverit, sicut Livius, qui elegantia regum curaque egregium id opus ait fuisse. Non fuit elegantia illud, aut cura, sed studiosa luxuria: imò ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium, sed in spectaculum comparaverant.—Paterius itaque librorum quantum sit, nihil in apparatus. Senec. de tranquill. anim. c. ix.

³ Abul-Paragius, in hist. Dynast. IX.

⁴ Strab. l. xvii. p. 793.

⁵ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12. Strab. l. xvii. p. 791. Suid. in φάεε.

⁶ See vol. i. in the history of Egypt.

⁷ Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 23 & 84. Plut. de Isid. et Osir. p. 361. Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 31.

⁸ Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16.

⁹ Arrian. in præf. Plut. in Alex. p. 691. Quint. Curt. l. ix. c. 8. Strab. l. xvii. p. 793. Plut. in Moral. p. 1095.

¹⁰ Euseb. in Chron.

¹¹ Galen.

philosophers walked. He adds, that the members of this society were governed by a president, whose station was so honourable and important, that in the time of the Ptolemies, he was always chosen by the king himself, and afterwards by the Roman emperor; and that they had a hall where the whole society ate at the expense of the public, by whom they were supported in a very plentiful manner.

Alexandria was undoubtedly indebted to this Museum for the advantage she long enjoyed of being the greatest school in all that part of the world, and of having trained up a vast number of men who excelled in literature. It is from thence, in particular, that the Church has received some of its most illustrious doctors: as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatolius, Athanasius, and many others; for all these studied in that seminary.

Demetrius Phalerus was probably the first president of this seat of learning; it is certain indeed that he had the superintendency of the library. Plutarch¹ informs us, that it was he who proposed to Ptolemy the establishment of a library of such authors as treated of civil polity and government, assuring him, that these would always supply him with such counsels as none of his friends would presume to offer him. In fact, this is almost the only expedient for introducing truth to princes, and showing them, under borrowed names, their duties as well as their defects. When the king had relished this excellent advice, and measures were taken to procure all such books as were requisite in his first view, it may easily be imagined that Demetrius carried the affair to a much greater length, and prevailed upon the king to collect all sorts of other books for the library we have mentioned. Who could better assist that prince in the accomplishment of so noble and magnificent a plan than Demetrius Phalerus, who was himself a learned man of the first rank, as well as a very able politician?

We have formerly seen what inducements brought Demetrius to the court of this prince.² He was received with open arms by Ptolemy Soter, who heaped a profusion of honours upon him, and made him his confidant. He consulted him, in preference to all his other counsellors, in the most important affairs, and particularly those which

A. M. 3719. related to the succession to the Ant. J. C. 285. crown. This prince, two years before his death, had formed a resolution to abdicate his crown in favour of one of his children. Demetrius endeavoured to dissuade him from that design, by representing to him, that he must no longer expect to enjoy any authority, if he divested himself of his dignity in such a manner, and that it would be dangerous to create himself a master. But when he found him absolutely determined on this abdication, he advised him to regulate his choice by the order prescribed by nature, which was generally followed by all nations: in consequence of which it would be incumbent on him to prefer his eldest son by Eurydice, his first wife. But the influence of Berenice prevailed over this equitable and prudent advice, which, in a short time, proved fatal to its author.

Towards the close of this year

A. M. 3721. died Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, Ant. J. C. 283. in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and two years after his resignation of the empire to his son. He was the most able and worthy man of all his race, and left behind him such examples of prudence, justice, and clemency, as very few of his successors were industrious to imitate. During the space of near forty years, in which he governed Egypt after the death of Alexander, he raised it to such a height of grandeur and power, as rendered it superior to the other kingdoms. He retained upon the throne the same fondness for simplicity of manners, and the same aversion for ostentatious pomp, as he discovered when he first ascended it.—He was accessible to his subjects even to a degree of familiarity. He frequently

ate with them at their own houses; and, when he gave any entertainment himself, he thought it no disgrace to borrow plate from the rich, because he had but very little of his own, and no more than was necessary for his common use. And when some persons represented to him that the regal dignity seemed to require an air of greater opulence,³ his answer was, "That the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching others, not in being rich himself."

SECTION IV.—THE MAGNIFICENT SOLEMNITY AT THE INAUGURATION OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, KING OF EGYPT.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, after his father had abdicated the crown in his favour, entertained the people, when he ascended the throne, with the most splendid festival mentioned in ancient history. Athenæus has left us a long description of it, transcribed from Callixenes, the Rhodian, who compiled a history of Alexandria, and Montauson relates it in his Antiquities. I shall insert the particulars of it in this place, because they are well calculated to give us an idea of the riches and opulence of Egypt. I may add too, that as ancient authors speak very often of sacred pomp, processions, and solemn festivals, in honour of their gods, I thought it incumbent on me to give some idea of them for once, by describing one of the most celebrated solemnities that was ever known. Plutarch, who is perpetually mentioning triumphs among the Romans, has the approbation of his readers for his particular description of that of Paulus Æmilius, which was one of the most magnificent. But if the account I shall now give should appear unseasonable, or too prolix, it may be passed over, without interrupting the series of this history; for I declare beforehand, that the relation will be something tedious.

This pompous solemnity continued a whole day,⁴ and was conducted through the whole extent of the city of Alexandria. It was divided into several parts, and formed a variety of separate processions. Beside those of the king's father and mother, the gods had, each of them, a distinct cavalcade, the decorations of which were descriptive of their history.

Athenæus has related only the particulars of that of Bacchus, by which a judgment may be formed of the magnificence of the rest.

The procession began with a troop of Sileni, some habited in purple, others in robes of a deep red: their employment was to keep off the crowd, and make way.

Next to the Sileni came a band of Satyrs, composed of twenty, in two ranks, each carrying a gilded lamp.

These were succeeded by Victories, with golden wings, carrying vases, in which perfumes were burning, nine feet in height, partly gilt, and partly adorned with the leaves of ivy. Their habits were embroidered with the figures of animals, and every part of them glittered with gold.

After these came a double altar, nine feet in height, and covered with a luxuriant foliage of ivy, intermixed with ornaments of gold. It was also beautified with a golden crown, composed of vine leaves, and adorned on all sides with certain white fillets.

A hundred and twenty youths advanced next, clothed in purple vests; each of them bearing a golden vase of incense, myrrh, and saffron.

They were followed by forty Satyrs, wearing crowns of gold which represented the leaves of ivy; and in the right hand of each was another crown of the same metal, adorned with vine leaves. Their habits were diversified with a variety of colours.

In the rear of these marched two Sileni, arrayed in purple mantles, and white drawers; one of them wore a kind of hat, and carried a golden caduceus in his hand; the other had a trumpet. Between these two was a man, six feet in height, masked and habited like a tragedian. He also carried a golden cornucopia, and was distinguished by the appellation of The Year.

This person preceded a very beautiful woman, as tall as himself, dressed in a magnificent manner, and

¹ Plut. in Apophth. p. 189.

² Plut. in Demetr. p. 292. Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Phal.

³ Plut. in Apoph. p. 121.

⁴ Athen. l. v. p. 197—203.

glittering all over with gold. She held, in one hand, a crown composed of the leaves of the peach-tree, and in the other a branch of palm. She was called Penteteteris.¹

The next in the procession were the Genii of the four seasons, wearing characteristic ornaments, and supporting two golden vases of odours, adorned with ivy leaves. In the midst of them was a square altar of gold.

A band of Satyrs then appeared, wearing golden crowns, fashioned like the leaves of ivy, and arrayed in red habits. Some bore vessels filled with wine, others carried drinking cups.

Immediately after these came Philiscus, the poet and priest of Bacchus, attended by comedians, musicians, dancers, and other persons of that class.

Two tripods were carried next, as prizes for the victors at the athletic combats and exercises. One of these tripods, being thirteen feet and a half in height, was intended for the youths; the other, which was eighteen feet high, was designed for the men.

A car of an extraordinary size followed these. It had four wheels,² was twenty-one feet in length, and twelve in breadth, and was drawn by 180 men. In this car was a figure representing Bacchus, fifteen feet in height, in the attitude of performing libations with a large cup of gold. He was arrayed in a robe of brocaded purple, which flowed down to his feet. Over this was a transparent vest of a saffron colour, and above that a large purple mantle embroidered with gold. Before him was a great vessel of gold, formed in the Lacedæmonian fashion, and containing fifteen measures, called *metretres*.³ This was accompanied with a golden tripod, on which were placed a golden vase of odours, with two cups of the same metal, full of cinnamon and saffron. Bacchus was seated under the shade of ivy and vine leaves, intermixed with the foliage of fruit trees; and from these hung several crowns, fillets, and thyrsi, with timbrels, ribands, and a variety of satiric, comic, and tragic masks. In the same car were the priests and priestesses of that deity, with the other ministers, and interpreters of mysteries, dancers of all classes, and women bearing vases.⁴

These were followed by the Bacchantes, who marched with their hair dishevelled, and wore crowns composed, some of serpents, others of branches of the yew, the vine, or the ivy. Some of these women carried knives in their hands, others grasped serpents.

After these advanced another car, twelve feet in breadth, and drawn by sixty men. In this was the statue of Nyssa, or Nysa,⁵ sitting, twelve feet high, and clothed with a yellow vest embroidered with gold, over which was another Laconic habit. The statue rose by the aid of some machines, without being touched by any person, and after it had poured milk out of a golden cup, it resumed its former seat. Its left hand held a thyrsus adorned with ribands; and it wore a golden crown, on which were represented leaves of ivy, with clusters of grapes, composed of various gems. It was covered with a deep shade, formed by blended foliage, and a gilded lamp hung at each corner of the car.

After this came another car, thirty-six feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth, drawn by 300 men. On this was placed a wine-press, also thirty-six feet long, and twenty-two and a half broad; this was full of the produce of the vintage. Six Satyrs trod the grapes, to the sound of the flute, and sung such airs as corresponded with the action in which they were employed. Silenus was the chief of the band, and streams

of wine flowed from the chariot, throughout the whole procession.

Another car of the same magnitude was drawn by 600 men. This carried a vat of a prodigious size, made of leopards' skins sewed together. The vessel contained 3000 measures, and shed a constant effusion of wine during the procession.

This car was followed by 120 crowned Satyrs and Sileni, carrying pots, flagons, and large cups, all of gold.

This troop was immediately succeeded by a silver vat, containing 600 *metretres*, placed on a car drawn by the same number of men. The vessel was adorned with chased work, and the rim, together with the two handles and the base, were embellished with the figures of animals. The middle part of it was encompassed with a golden crown adorned with jewels.

Next appeared two silver bowls, eighteen feet in diameter, and nine in height. The upper part of their circumference was adorned with studs, and the bottom with several animals, three of which were a foot and a half high, and many more of a lesser size.

These were followed by ten great vats, and sixteen other vessels, the largest of which contained thirty *metretres*, and the least five: there were likewise ten cauldrons, twenty-four vases with two handles, disposed on five salvers; two silver wine-presses, on which were placed twenty-four goblets; a table of massy silver, eighteen feet in length, and thirty more of six feet; four tripods, one of which was of massy silver, and had a circumference of twenty-four feet; the other three that were smaller, were adorned with precious stones in the middle.

Then came eighty Delphic tripods, all of silver, something less than the preceding. They were likewise accompanied with twenty-six ewers, sixteen flagons, and 160 other vessels, the largest of which contained six *metretres*, and the smallest two. All these vessels were of silver.

After these came the golden vessels; four of which, called Laconic, were crowned with vine leaves: there were likewise two Corinthian vases, whose rims and middle circumference were embellished with the figures of animals; these contained eight *metretres*: a wine-press, on which ten goblets were placed: two other vases, each of which contained five *metretres*: and two more that held a couple of measures: twenty-two vessels for preserving liquors cool, the largest of which contained thirty *metretres*, and the least one: four golden tripods of an extraordinary size: a kind of golden basket, intended as a repository for vessels of the same metal; this was enriched with jewels, and was fifteen feet in length; it was likewise divided into six partitions, one above another, adorned with various figures of animals, above three feet in height: two goblets, and two glass bowls with golden ornaments: two salvers of gold, four cubits in diameter, and three others of less dimensions: ten ewers; an altar four feet and a half high; and twenty-five dishes.

After this rich equipage, marched 1600 youths, habited in white vests, and crowned, some of them with ivy, others with branches of the pine. Two hundred and fifty of this band carried golden vases, and 400 of them vases of silver. Three hundred more carried silver vessels, made to keep liquors cool.

After this appeared another troop bearing large drinking vessels, twenty of which were of gold, fifty of silver, and 300 diversified with various colours.

There were likewise several tables, six feet in length, and supporting a variety of remarkable objects. On one was represented the bed of Semelë, on which were disposed several vests, some of golden brocade, others adorned with precious stones.

We must not omit a car thirty-three feet in length, and twenty-one in breadth, drawn by 500 men. In this was the representation of a deep cavern, shrouded with ivy and vine leaves; from which several pigeons, ring-doves, and turtles, issued out and flew about. Little bands were fastened to their feet, that they might be caught by the people around them. Two fountains, likewise, one of milk and the other of wine, flowed out of the cavern. All the nymphs who stood round it wore crowns of gold. Mercury

¹ This word signifies the space of five years, because, at the expiration of every fourth year, the feast of Bacchus was celebrated at the beginning of the next, which was the fifth.

² All the cars of which mention will be made in the sequel of this relation, had also four wheels.

³ This word is frequently used in the present description; it is the name of a Greek measure, which corresponds most with the Roman amphora, but was somewhat larger. It contained nine gallons.

⁴ *Mystica vannus Iacchi. Virg.*

⁵ She is thought to have been the nurse of Bacchus.

was also seen, with a golden caduceus in his hand, and clothed in a splendid manner.

The expedition of Bacchus into the Indies was exhibited in another car, where the god was represented by a statue, eighteen feet in height, and mounted upon an elephant. He was arrayed in purple, and wore a golden crown, intermixed with twining ivy and vine leaves. A long thyrsus of gold was in his hand, and his sandals were of the same metal. On the neck of the elephant was seated a Satyr above seven feet high, with a crown of gold on his head, formed in imitation of pine branches, and blowing a kind of trumpet made of a goat's horn. The trappings of the elephant were of gold, and his neck was adorned with a crown of that metal shaped like the foliage of ivy.

This car was followed by 500 young virgins, adorned with purple vests and golden zones. A hundred and twenty of them, who commanded the rest, wore crowns of gold that seemed to be composed of the branches of pine.

Next to these came 120 Satyrs, armed at all points, some in silver, and others in copper, arms.

To these succeeded five troops of Sileni, and Satyrs with crowns on their heads, mounted on asses, some of whom were entirely harnessed with gold, the rest with silver.

After this troop appeared a long train of chariots, twenty-four of which were drawn by elephants; sixty by he-goats; twelve by lions; six by *oryxes*, a species of goats; fifteen by buffaloes; four by wild asses; eight by ostriches; and seven by stags. In these chariots were little youths habited like charioteers, and wearing hats with broad brims. They were accompanied by others of a less stature, armed with little bucklers, and with long thyrsi, and clothed in mantles embroidered with gold. The boys who performed the office of charioteers, were crowned with branches of pine, and the lesser youths with ivy.

On each side of these were three cars drawn by camels, and followed by others drawn by mules. In these cars were several tents, resembling those of the barbarians, with Indian women, and those of other nations, habited like slaves. Some of these camels carried 300 pounds' weight of incense; others 200 of saffron, cinnamon, iris, and other odoriferous spices.

At a little distance from these marched a band of Æthiopians, armed with pikes. One body of these carried 600 elephants' teeth; another, 2000 branches of ebony; a third, sixty cups of gold and silver, with a large quantity of gold dust.

After these came two hunters carrying gilded darts, and marching at the head of 2400 dogs of the Indian, Hyrcanian, and Molossian breed, besides a variety of other species.

They were succeeded by 150 men supporting trees, to which were fastened several species of birds and deer. Cages were also carried, in which were parrots, peacocks, turkey-hens, pheasants, and a great number of Æthiopian birds. After these appeared 130 sheep of that country; 300 of the Arabian breed; twenty of the island of Eubœa; twenty-six white Indian oxen, eight of the Æthiopian species; also a large white bear; fourteen leopards; sixteen panthers; four lynxes; three small bears; a camelopard,¹ and an Æthiopian rhinoceros.

Bacchus advanced next, seated in a car, and wearing a golden crown embellished with ivy leaves. He was represented as taking sanctuary at the altar of Rhea, from the persecution of Juno. Priapus was placed near him, with a crown of gold formed like the leaves of ivy. The statue of Juno was crowned with a golden diadem; and those of Alexander and Ptolemy wore crowns of fine gold, representing ivy leaves. The image of Virtue was placed near that of Ptolemy, and on her head was a crown of gold made in imitation of olive branches. Another statue, representing the city of Corinth, was also near Ptolemy, with a golden diadem on its head. At a little distance from each of these was a great vase

filled with golden cups, with a large bowl of the same metal, which contained five *metretres*.

This car was followed by several women richly arrayed, and bearing the names of the Ionian, and other Greek cities in Asia; with the islands which had formerly been conquered by the Persians. All this train wore crowns of gold.

In another car was a golden thyrsus, 135 feet in length, and a silver lance ninety feet long.

In this part of the procession were a variety of wild beasts and horses, and twenty-four lions of a prodigious size; and also a great number of cars, in which were not only the statues of kings, but those of several deities.

After these came a chorus of 600 men, among whom were 300 who played on gilded harps, and wore golden crowns. At a small distance from this band marched 2000 bulls, all of the same colour, and adorned with golden frontlets, in the middle of which rose a crown of the same metal. They were also adorned with a collar, and an ægis² hung on the breast of each. All these trappings were of gold.

The procession of Jupiter, and a great number of other deities, advanced next, and after all the rest, that of Alexander, whose statue of massy gold was placed in a car drawn by elephants; on one side of this statue stood Victory, and on the other Minerva.

The procession was graced with several thrones of gold and ivory, on one of which was a large diadem of gold, and on another a horn of the same metal. A third supported a crown; and a fourth a horn of solid gold. On the throne of Ptolemy Soter, the father of the reigning prince, was a golden crown, which weighed 10,000 pieces of gold.³

In this procession were likewise 300 golden vases, in which perfumes were to be burnt; fifty gilded altars, encompassed with golden crowns. Four torches of gold, fifteen feet in height, were fastened to one of these altars. There were likewise twelve gilded hearts, one of which was eighteen feet in circumference, and sixty in height; and another was only twenty-two feet and a half high. Nine Delphic tripods of gold appeared next, six feet in height; and there were six others, nine feet high. The largest of all was forty-five feet high; on which were placed several animals in gold, seven feet and a half high, and its upper part was encompassed with a golden crown, formed of a foliage of vine leaves.

After these were seen several gilded palms, twelve feet in length, together with a caduceus, gilt also, sixty-six feet long; a gilded thunderbolt, in length sixty feet; a gilded temple, sixty feet in circumference; a double horn, twelve feet long; a vast number of gilded animals, several of which were eighteen feet in height. To these were added several deer of a stupendous size, and a set of eagles thirty feet high.

Three thousand two hundred crowns of gold were likewise carried in this procession; together with a consecrated crown, of 120 feet, most probably, in circumference; it was likewise adorned with a profusion of gems, and surrounded the entrance into the temple of Berenice. There was also another golden ægis. Several large crowns of gold were also supported by young virgins richly habited. One of these crowns was three feet in height, and twenty-four in circumference.

In this procession were also carried a golden cuirass, eighteen feet in height; and another of silver, twenty-seven feet high, on which latter was the representation of two thunderbolts of gold, eighteen feet in length; an oaken crown embellished with jewels; twenty golden bucklers; sixty-four complete suits of golden armour; two boots of the same metal, four feet and a half in length; twelve golden basins; a great number of flagons; ten large vases of perfumes for the baths; twelve ewers; fifty dishes, and a large number of tables; all these were of gold. There

¹ A kind of buckler which covered the breast, on the middle of which was embossed the Gorgon's head

² The Attic *Stater*, usually called *χρυσός*, was equal to ten livres of French money; the value therefore of this single crown amounted to 100,000 French livres, which are about 5000*l.* sterling.

³ This animal, whether real or fabulous, is mentioned by Horace: *Diversum confuso genus panthera camelo*,

were likewise five tables covered with golden goblets; and a horn of solid gold, forty-five feet in length. All those golden vessels and other ornaments were in a separate procession from that of Bacchus, which has been already described.

There were likewise 400 chariots laden with vessels, and other works of silver; twenty others filled with golden vessels, and 800 more appropriated to the carriage of aromatic spices.

The troops that guarded this procession were composed of 37,600 foot, and 23,200 horse, all dressed and armed in a magnificent manner.

During the games and public combats, which continued for some days after this pompous solemnity, Ptolemy Soter presented the victors with twenty crowns of gold, and they received twenty-three from his consort Berenice. It appeared, by the registers of the palace, that these last crowns were valued at 2230 talents, and fifty minæ; about 334,400*l.* sterling: from whence some judgment may be formed of the immense sums to which all the gold and silver employed in this splendid ceremonial amounted.

Such was the pageant (shall I call it religious, or rather theatrical and comic?) exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus at his coronation. If Fabricius, the famous Roman, whom I have formerly mentioned, so remarkable for his contempt of gold and silver, had been a spectator of it, I am persuaded that he would not have been able to endure the sight of the procession till it closed, and have no doubt that he would have thought and spoken like the emperor Vespasian, upon an occasion which had some resemblance to this. He and his son Titus made a triumphant entry into Rome, after the capture of Jerusalem; but finding himself fatigued with the excessive length of that pompous procession, he could not conceal his displeasure, and declared that he was justly punished, by that tedious ceremony, for his weakness in desiring a triumph at his advanced age.¹

In this festival given by Ptolemy Philadelphus, no part of it seems to have been conducted with any elegance, or to have had the least air of taste and genius. An amazing profusion of gold and silver was lavished, which makes me recollect a passage in Sallust, the beauty and force of which I have the mortification not to be able to render in our language. Catiline wishes to represent the immoderate luxury of the Romans his contemporaries, who lavished immense sums in the purchase of pictures, statues, wrought plate, and superb buildings. "They draw out (says he) and torment their gold and silver by all imaginable methods." (I must entreat the reader's excuse for this literal translation,) "and yet this excess of prodigality is incapable of exhausting and overcoming their riches,"—*Omniū modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant;² tamen summā lubricā divitiis suas vincere nequeunt.* In such profusion as this did the whole merit of Philadelphus consist on this occasion.

In fact, what is there truly great or admirable in this vain ostentation of riches, and this waste of such immense treasure in a bottomless abyss, after they had cost the people so much fatigue and labour, and perhaps had been amassed by a long series of violent exactions? The spoils of whole provinces and cities were sacrificed to the curiosity of a single day, and displayed to public view only to raise the frivolous admiration of a stupid populace, without conducting to the least real advantage or utility. Nothing ever argued a more profound ignorance of the true use of

riches and solid glory, and of whatever else has any just pretensions to the esteem of mankind.

But what can we say, when we behold a sacred procession, and a solemnity of religion converted into a public school of intemperance and licentiousness, calculated only to excite the most shameful passions in the spectators, and induce an utter depravity of manners; by presenting to their view all the instruments of excess and debauch, with the most powerful allurements to indulge them, and that under the pretext of paying adoration to the gods! What divinities must those be, that would suffer, and even exact, so scandalous a pomp in their worship.

SECTION V.—THE FIRST TRANSACTIONS OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS. THE DEATH OF DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS. SELEUCUS RESIGNS HIS QUEEN AND PART OF HIS EMPIRE TO HIS SON ANTIOCHUS. THE WAR BETWEEN SELEUCUS AND LYSIMACHUS; THE LATTER OF WHOM IS SLAIN IN A BATTLE. SELEUCUS IS ASSASSINATED BY PTOLEMY CERAUNUS, ON WHOM HE HAD CONFERRED A MULTITUDE OF OBLIGATIONS. THE TWO SONS OF ARSINOE ARE MURDERED BY THEIR UNCLE CERAUNUS, WHO ALSO BANISHES THAT PRINCESS. CERAUNUS IS SOON PUNISHED FOR THOSE CRIMES BY THE IRRUPTION OF THE GAULS, BY WHOM HE IS SLAIN IN A BATTLE. THE ATTEMPT OF THAT PEOPLE AGAINST THE TEMPLE OF DELPHI. ANTIGONUS ESTABLISHES HIMSELF IN MACEDONIA.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS,³ after the death of his father, became sole master of all his dominions, which were composed of Egypt, and many provinces dependent on it, that is to say, Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Arabia, Libya, Æthiopia, the island of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the isles called the Cyclades. A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283.

During the life of Ptolemy Soter, Philadelphus had concealed his resentment against Demetrius Phalereus, for the advice he had given his father, when he was deliberating on the choice of a successor. But as soon as he saw himself sole master, he caused that philosopher to be seized, and sent with a strong guard to a remote fortress, where he ordered him to be confined, till he should determine in what manner to treat him. The bite of an aspic put a period to the life of that great man, who merited a better fate.⁴

The testimonies in his favour, which are adduced by Cicero, Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and many others, leave no room to doubt of the probity and wisdom of his government; we therefore shall consider only what has been observed with respect to his eloquence.

The characteristics of his writings, as Cicero observes in several places,⁵ were sweetness, elegance, beauty, grace, and ornament, so that it was easy to distinguish in them the disciple of Theophrastus. He excelled in that species of eloquence, which is called the temperate and florid. His style, in other respects gentle and calm, was adorned and ennobled with bold and shining metaphors, that enlivened the subject of his discourse, though otherwise not enriched in any great degree with noble sentiments, and those beauties that constitute the great and the sublime. He was rather to be considered as a wrestler, formed in the shade and tranquillity, for public games and spectacles, than as a soldier inured to arms by exercise, and quitting his tent to attack an

¹ Theocrit. Idyll. xvii.

² Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Cic. in orat. pro Rabir. Post. n. 23.

³ Demetrius Phalereus in hoc numero haberi potest: disputator subtilis, orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere. *Offic.* l. i. n. 3.

Demetrius Phalereus, eruditissimus ille quidem, sed non tam armis institutus, quam palastrā. Iaque delectabat magis Athenienses, quam inflammabat. Processerat enim in solem et pulverem, non ut ē militari tabernaculo, sed ut ē Theophrasti, doctissimis hominibus, umbraculis—Suavis videri maluit, quam gravis; sed suavitatem, eā quā perunderet animos, non quā perfringeret; et tantum ut memoriam concitaret suam, non (quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeus etiam relinqueret in animis eorum a quibus esset auditus. *De clar. orat.* n. 37 & 33.

¹ Aded nihil ornamentorum extrinsecus cupidè appetivit, ut triumphi die fatigatus tarditate et tædio pompe, non reticere meritis se plecti, qui triumphum—tam ineptè senex concupisset. *Sueton. in Vespas.* c. xii.

² These metaphorical terms *trahunt, vexant, vincere nequeunt*, may possibly be derived from the combats of the Athletæ, wherein, after one of them has thrown his adversary, and imagines himself victorious, he drags him along the arena, in sight of the spectators, twists, shakes, and torments him, without being able to extort a confession from him of his defeat. In this contest, therefore, wherein the Roman author represents luxury and riches as engaged, all the profusion of the former is incapable of exhausting and overcoming her wealth.

enemy. His discourse had, indeed, the faculty of affecting his hearers with something soft and tender, but it wanted energy to inspire that force and ardour that inflame the mind, and only left in it at most an agreeable remembrance of some transient sweetness and graces, not unlike that which we retain after hearing the most harmonious concerts.

It must be confessed, this species of eloquence has its merits, when confined within just bounds; but as it is very difficult and unusual to preserve this due moderation, and to suppress the sallies of a fertile and lively imagination, not always guided by the judgment; this kind of eloquence is apt, therefore, to degenerate, and to become, even from its very beauties, a pernicious delicacy, which at length vitiates and depraves the taste. This was the effect, according to Cicero and Quintilian, who were good judges in this point, of the florid and studied graces peculiar to the style of Demetrius. Athens, till his time,¹ had been accustomed to a noble and majestic eloquence, whose characteristic was a natural beauty without paint and glitter. Demetrius was the first that impaired this manly and solid eloquence, to which he substituted a soft and languishing species, if I may use the expression, that abated the vigour of the mind, and at length rendered false taste predominant.

After the death of Ptolemy, two of Alexander's captains still survived, Lysimachus and Seleucus, who till then, had always been united by interest and friendship, and were engaged to each other by treaties and confederations: as they were now advancing to the period of their days (for each of them had exceeded fourscore years of age,) one would have thought they should have been desirous of ending their lives in the union which had so long subsisted between them: instead of which, they thought only of making war against, and destroying each other. Their quarrel arose on the following occasion.

Lysimachus, after the marriage of his son Agathocles with Lysandra, one of the daughters of Ptolemy, espoused another himself, whose name was Arsinoe, and had several children by her. The different interests of these two sisters led them into all sorts of intrigues,² to form a powerful party in their favour, upon the death of Lysimachus. What are ambitious wives and mothers not capable of attempting! Their opposition was not the mere effect of personal interest, but was chiefly fomented by the disputes of their mothers. Lysandra was the daughter of Eurydice, and Arsinoe of Berenice. The arrival of Ptolemy Ceraunus the brother of Philadelphus, at his court, made Arsinoe apprehensive that his interest would strengthen too much the party of Lysandra, who was his sister by the same mother; and that they would accomplish the destruction of herself, and her own children at the death of Lysimachus. This calamity she was determined to prevent, by sacrificing Agathocles to her suspicions; and she succeeded in her design, by representing him to her husband, as one who had formed a conspiracy against his life and crown, by which she so much incensed him against his own son, that he caused him to be imprisoned and put to death. Lysandra and her children, with her brother Ceraunus, and Alexander, another son of Lysimachus, took sanctuary in the court of Seleucus, and prevailed upon him to declare war against Lysimachus. Several of Lysimachus's principal officers, and even those who had been most devoted to his interest, were struck with so much horror at the murder of his son, that they entirely abandoned him, and retired to the court of Seleucus, where they strengthened the remonstrances of Lysandra by their own complaints. Seleucus was easily induced to undertake this war, for which he was already sufficiently disposed by views of interest.

Before he engaged in this enterprise,³ he resigned his queen Stratonice to his son Antiochus, for a reason I shall soon relate, and consigned to him, at the same time, a considerable part of his empire, reserving to himself no other territories than the provinces between the Euphrates and the sea.

Antiochus was seized with a lingering distemper, of which the physicians were incapable of discovering the cause; for which reason his condition was thought entirely desperate. It is easy to conceive the grief and anxiety of a father who beheld himself on the point of losing his son in the flower of his age, whom he had intended for his successor in his vast dominions, and in whom all the happiness of his life consisted. Erasistratus, the most attentive and most skilful of all the physicians, having carefully considered every symptom with which the indisposition of the young prince was attended, believed at last that he had discovered its true cause, and that it proceeded from love; in which conjecture he was not deceived. It was, however, over difficult to discover the object of this passion, which was the more violent from the secrecy in which it remained. The physician, therefore, to assure himself fully of what he surmised, passed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and when he saw any lady enter, he carefully observed the countenance of the prince, and never discovered the least emotion in him, except when Stratonice came into the chamber, either alone, or with the king her consort; at which times the young prince was, as Plutarch observes, always affected with the symptoms described by Sappho, as so many indications of a violent passion: such, for instance, as a suppression of voice; burning blushes; dimness of sight; cold sweat; a sensible inequality and disorder of pulse; with a variety of the like symptoms. When the physician was afterwards alone with his patient, he managed his inquiries with so much dexterity, as at last drew the secret from him. Antiochus confessed his passion for queen Stratonice his mother-in-law, and declared that he had in vain employed all his efforts to vanquish it: he added, that he had a thousand times had recourse to every consideration that could be represented to his thoughts in such a conjuncture: particularly the respect due from him to a father and sovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the shame of indulging a passion altogether unjustifiable, and contrary to all the rules of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a desire he ought never to be desirous of gratifying; but that his reason, in its present state of distraction, entirely engrossed by one object, would hearken to nothing. And he concluded with declaring, that to punish himself, for desires involuntary in one sense, but criminal in every other, he had resolved to pine to death, by discontinuing all care of his health, and abstaining from every kind of food.

The physician gained a very considerable point, by penetrating into the source of his patient's disorder; but the application of the proper remedy was much more difficult to be accomplished; and how could a proposal of this nature be made to a parent and king? When next Seleucus inquired after his son's health, Erasistratus replied, that his distemper was incurable, because it arose from a secret passion which could never be gratified, as the lady he loved was not to be obtained. The father, surprised and afflicted at this answer, desired to know why the lady was not to be obtained? "Because she is my wife," replied the physician, "and I am not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of another."—"And will you not part with her, then," replied the king, "to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love? Is this the friendship you profess for me?"—"Let me entreat you, my lord," said Erasistratus, "to imagine yourself for one moment in my place; would you resign your Stratonice to his arms? If you, therefore, who are a father, would not consent to such a sacrifice for the welfare of a son so dear to

¹ Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam; et, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hæc ætatem oratorum fuit in quâ naturalis inesset, non fucatus, nitor—Hic (Phalereus) primus inflexit orationem, et eam mollem tenebramque reddidit. *De clar. Orat.* n. 36—38.

² Justin. l. xvii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. Pausan. in Attic. p. 13.

³ Plut. in Demetr. p. 906, 907. Appian. in Syr. p. 126—128.

you, how can you expect another should do it?"—"Would to God," exclaimed Seleucus, "that the cure of my son depended only on my acquiescence, I would resign both Stratonice and my empire to him with all my soul."—"Your majesty, then," replied the physician, "has the remedy in your own hands; for it is Stratonice whom he loves." The father did not hesitate a moment after this declaration, and easily obtained the consent of his consort: and his son and that princess were crowned king and queen of Upper Asia. Julian the apostate relates,¹ in a fragment of his writings still extant, that Antiochus would not espouse Stratonice till after the death of his father.

Whatever traces of reserve, moderation, and even modesty, appear in the conduct of this young prince, his example shows us the misfortune of suffering an unlawful passion, capable of discomposing all the happiness and tranquillity of life, to gain the least entrance into the heart.

Seleucus being now eased of his inquietude,² thought of nothing but marching against Lysimachus. He therefore put himself at the head of a fine army, and advanced into Asia Minor. All the country submitted to him as far as Sardis, which he besieged and took; by which means he became master of all the treasures of Lysimachus.

The latter having passed the Hel-

A. M. 3723. Iespont in order to check the progress of Seleucus, gave him battle in Phrygia,³ but was defeated and slain; in consequence of which Seleucus made himself master of all his dominions. His greatest pleasure on this occasion resulted from his being the only survivor of all the captains of Alexander,⁴ and, by the event of this battle, victorious over conquerors themselves, for that was the expression he thought fit to use, and this advantage was considered by him as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour. The last victory was undoubtedly the best justification of the title of Nicator, or the conqueror, which he had already assumed, and which is usually given him by the historians, in order to distinguish him from the other princes of the name of Seleucus who reigned after him in Syria.⁵

His triumph on this occasion was

A. M. 3724. of no long continuance; for when Ant. J. C. 280. he went, seven months after his victory, to take possession of Macedonia, where he proposed to pass the remainder of his days in the bosom of his native country, he was basely assassinated by Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred innumerable honours and obligations; for he had received him into his court, when he fled from his own country, and had treated him suitably to his rank. He had also carried that prince with him in this expedition; intending, when it should be completed, to employ the same forces for his establishment on the throne of his father in Egypt. But this wretch, insensible of all the favours he had received, had the villany to conspire against his benefactor, and assassinate him.

¹ In Misopog.

² Justin. l. xvii. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 128. Memnonis Excerpta apud Phot. c. ix. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18. Oros. 323. Polyæn. 4—9.

³ Porphyry is the only author who has pointed out the real place where this battle was fought, and which Eusebius, by an evident mistake, calls Κερατρίδιον, instead of Κυρο=ίδιον, the field of Cyrus; mentioned by Strabo, l. xiii. p. 639.

⁴ Læus eâ victoria Seleucus, et quod majus eâ victoriâ putabat, solum se de cohorte Alexandri remansisse, victoribus victorum exitisse, non humanum esse opus, sed divinum munus, gloriabatur: ignarum prorsus, non multò post fragilitatis humanæ se ipsum exemplum futurum. Justin. l. xvii. c. 2.

⁵ [Out of thirty-six generals left by Alexander, Seleucus and Lysimachus were the only two now left alive. Before this fatal battle Lysimachus had seen the death of fifteen of his children, and, as if he had been the last stone of his house to be pulled down, Seleucus, without the smallest opposition, seized all his dominions. In consequence of this victory, Seleucus styled himself the conqueror of conquerors. At the epoch of this engagement, Lysimachus was seventy-four years of age and Seleucus seventy-seven.]

He had reigned twenty years, from the battle of Ipsus, when the title of king was secured to him; and thirty-one, if the commencement of his reign be fixed twelve years after the death of Alexander, when he became master of Asia; from which time the era of the Seleucidæ commences.

A late dissertation of Monsieur de la Nauze gives him a reign of more than fifty years,⁶ by adding to it the nineteen years of his son Antiochus Soter. The author pretends, that Seleucus Nicator did not entirely divest himself of the government, but began with making a partition of his dominions; and that he afterwards re-united them, even in the lifetime of his son. He has produced probable reasons in favour of his opinion; but as I never engage in contests of this nature, I shall confine myself to the chronology of Usher, which has been my usual guide, and which assigns, with Father Petau and Monsieur Vaillant, thirty-one years to the reign of Seleucus Nicator.

This prince had extraordinary qualities; and without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself among the other kings, by his great love of justice, a benevolence and clemency that endeared him to the people, and a peculiar regard to religion. He had likewise a taste for polite literature, and made it a circumstance of pleasure and glory to himself, to send back to the Athenians the library which Xerxes had carried away, and which he found in Persia. He also accompanied that present with the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, whom the Athenians honoured as their deliverers.

The friends of Lysimachus, with those who had served under that prince, at first considered Ceraunus as the avenger of his death, and acknowledged him for their king; but his conduct soon caused them to change their sentiments.

He did not expect to possess the dominions of Lysimachus in peace,⁷ while his sister Arsinoë and the children she had by Lysimachus were living; for which reason he determined to rid himself at once of them and the apprehensions they gave him. The greatest crimes cost the ambitious no remorse. Ceraunus feigned a passion for his sister, and demanded her hand in marriage; and as these incestuous marriages were frequent and allowed in Egypt, Arsinoë, who was well acquainted with the natural disposition of her brother, protracted, as much as possible, the conclusion of that affair, the consequences of which she feared would be fatal to herself and children. But the more she delayed and concealed her repugnance under plausible pretences, the more warmly he pressed her to gratify his passion; and in order to remove all suspicion, he repaired to that temple which the Macedonians held in the greatest veneration, and there, in the presence of one of her confidential friends, whom she had sent to him, he called the tutelary gods of the country to witness, embracing their statues at the same time, and protesting, with the most dreadful oaths and imprecations, that his views, with respect to the marriage he solicited, were perfectly pure and innocent.

Arsinoë placed but little confidence in these promises, though they were uttered before the altars, and had been ratified with the awful seal of religion; but she was apprehensive, at the same time, that persisting in an obstinate refusal would be fatal to her children, for whose welfare she was more solicitous than for her own. She, therefore, consented at last; and the nuptials were celebrated with the greatest magnificence, and with all the indications of the most unaffected joy and tenderness. Ceraunus placed the diadem on the head of his sister, and declared her queen, in the presence of the whole army. Arsinoë felt a real joy, when she beheld herself so gloriously re-established in the privileges of which she had been divested by the death of Lysimachus, her first husband; and she invited her new spouse to reside with her in her own city of Cassandria, to which she first repaired herself, in order to make the necessary preparations for his arrival. The temples, on

⁶ Tom. VII. des Mem. de l'Académie des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres.

⁷ Justin. l. xxiv. c. 2—4.

that occasion, with all the public squares and private houses, were magnificently adorned; and nothing was to be seen but altars and victims ready for sacrifice. The two sons of Arsinoë, Lysimachus, who was then sixteen years of age, and Philip, who was thirteen, both princes of admirable beauty and majestic mien, advanced to meet the king, with crowns on their heads, it being a day of so much solemnity and joy. Ceraunus threw his arms around their necks, and embraced them with as much tenderness as could well be expressed by the fondest of fathers.

The comic part ended here, and was presently succeeded by a bloody tragedy. As soon as he entered the city, he seized the citadel, and ordered the two brothers to be murdered. Those unfortunate princes fled for refuge to the queen, who clasped them in her arms, and vainly endeavoured, by covering them with her body, to save them from the daggers of their murderers, who killed them in the bosom of their mother. Instead of being allowed the sad consolation of rendering the last offices to her children, she was first dragged out of the city, with her robes all rent, and her hair dishevelled, and then banished into Samothrace, with only two female servants to attend her, mournfully considering her surviving the princes her sons, as the completion of all her calamities.

Providence would not suffer such crimes to go long unpunished,¹ but Ant. J. C. 279. called forth a distant people to be the ministers of its vengeance.

The Gauls, finding their own country too populous, sent out a prodigious number of people to seek a new settlement in some other land. This swarm of foreigners came from the extremity of the ocean, and after proceeding along the Danube, arrived at the outlet of the Save, and then divided themselves into three bodies. The first, commanded by Brennus and Acichorius, entered Pannonia, now known by the name of Hungary: the second marched into Thrace, under Cerethrius; and Belgus led the third into Illyrium and Macedonia.

All the nations near whose territories this people approached, were struck with so much terror, that instead of waiting till they were subdued, they despatched ambassadors to the Gauls, and thought themselves exceedingly happy in purchasing a peace with money. Ptolemy Ceraunus,² king of Macedonia, was the only prince who was undismayed at the tidings of this formidable irruption; and running headlong of himself on the punishment the divine vengeance was preparing to inflict upon him for the murders he had perpetrated, he advanced to meet the Gauls with a small body of undisciplined troops, as if it had been as easy for him to fight battles as it was to commit crimes. He had even the imprudence to refuse a supply of 20,000 men, which the Dardanians, a neighbouring people to Macedonia, offered him; and answered with an insulting air, that Macedonia would be much to be pitied, if, after it had conquered all the East by itself alone, it could need the aid of the Dardanians to defend its frontiers; to which he added, with a haughty tone of triumph, that he would face the enemy with the children of those who, under the ensigns of Alexander, had subdued the universe.

He expressed himself in the same imperious strain to the Gauls, who first offered him peace by a deputation, in case he would purchase it; but, conceiving this offer the result of fear, he replied, that he would never enter into any treaty of peace with them, unless they would deliver up some of the principal persons of their nation to him as hostages; and that they must likewise send him their arms, before he would place any confidence in their promises. This answer was received with contempt by the Gauls; and we may from hence observe the methods usually employed by the Deity, in chastising the pride and

injustice of princes: he first deprives them of reason and counsel, and then abandons them to their vain imaginations.

A few days after this event, a battle was fought, wherein the Macedonians were entirely defeated and cut to pieces: Ptolemy, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner by the Gauls; who, after they had cut off his head, fixed it on a lance, and showed it to the enemy in derision. A very inconsiderable number of Macedonians saved themselves by flight, but all the rest were either slain or made prisoners. The Gauls dispersed themselves, after this victory, in order to pillage the adjacent country; upon which Sosthenes, one of the principal persons among the Macedonians, collected some few troops, and taking advantage of the disorder in which they then were, destroyed a great number of their men, and obliged the rest to quit the country.

Brennus then advanced into Macedonia with his troops; but this leader is not to be confounded with that other Brennus who took the city of Rome, about a century before. Upon the intelligence he had received of the first success of Belgus, and the great booty he had acquired, he envied him the spoils of so rich a country, and immediately formed a resolution to have a part. When he received the news of that general's defeat, it only served as a new motive to hasten his march; his impatience to revenge his countrymen uniting with his desire to enrich himself. Authors have not informed us what became of Belgus and his troops; but in all probability he was killed in the second engagement, after which the remains of his army were incorporated into that of Brennus. However that may be, Brennus and Acichorius quitted Pannonia, with an army of 150,000 foot and 15,000 horse, and entered Illyrium, in order to pass into Macedonia and Greece.

During a sedition which happened in their march, a body of 20,000 men drew off from the main army, and marched, under Leonor and Lutarius, whom they chose for their commanders, into Thrace, where they joined those whom Cerethrius had already led into that country; after which they made themselves masters of Byzantium, and the western coasts of the Propontis, and then laid the adjacent country under contribution.

This desertion did not prevent

Brennus and Acichorius from continuing their march; and they drew, A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278. either from Illyrium or their countrymen the Gauls, such numerous reinforcements, as increased their army to 152,000 foot, and 61,200 horse.

The hopes of booty, and some advantageous settlement, caused a vast number of soldiers to join in this expedition, and with this army they marched directly to Macedonia, where they overpowered Sosthenes with their multitudes, and ravaged all the country. It will soon appear by the sequel, that Antigonus reigned in Macedonia after the death of Sosthenes.

The Gauls next advanced to the straits of Thermopylæ, with an intention to enter Greece; but were stopped for some time by the troops who had been posted there, to defend that important pass: till at last they discovered the circuitous path which the army of Xerxes had formerly taken in their passage over these mountains; and the Greeks, to avoid being surrounded by the troops detached against them by the Gauls for that purpose, were obliged to retire and leave them a free passage.

Brennus advanced with the main body of the army towards Delphi, in order to pillage the immense riches of the temple of Apollo, and ordered Acichorius to follow him with the troops under his command; saying, at the same time, with an air of raillery, "that the gods ought in reason to impart some of their riches to men, who had more occasion for them than themselves, and employed them in a better manner." Authors have here taken an opportunity to relate very astonishing and marvellous events;³ for they tell us, that when Brennus approached the temple of Delphi, the skies were blackened with a dreadful

¹ Justin. l. xxiv. et xxv. Pausan. l. x. p. 643—645. Memn. Exc. apud Photium. Elogiæ Diocl. Sic. l. xxii. Callim. hymn. in Delum, et schol. ad eundem. Suidas in Γαλάταις.

² Solus rex Macedoniæ Ptolemæus adventum Gallorum in prædium adividi, hisque cum paucis et incompotis, quasi bella non difficultibus quàm scelera patraarentur, parricidiorum furis agitatatus, occurrit. Justin.

³ Justin. l. xxiv. c. 6—8. Pausan. l. x. p. 652—654. P.

tempest, and that great numbers of his men were destroyed by hail and thunder. To which they add, that this storm was attended by an earthquake, that rent the mountains, and threw down vast fragments of the rocks, which crushed the Gauls by hundreds at a time; and that the remaining troops were seized with such a panic the ensuing night,¹ as caused them to mistake their own men for the enemies, in consequence of which they destroyed one another in such a manner, that before the day grew light enough for them to distinguish each other, above half of the army perished by that means.

The Greeks, whom the danger of a temple so revered among them, had drawn from all parts to preserve it from being plundered, were animated by an event in which heaven itself seemed to declare in their favour, and charged the Gauls with so much impetuosity, that though Acichorius had joined Brennus, they were unable to sustain the shock, and were slaughtered in vast numbers. Though Brennus had received many wounds in several parts of his body, yet none of them were mortal: but when he saw that all was lost, and that the grand design he had formed ended only in the destruction of his army, he was seized with such despair, as made him resolve not to survive his losses. He accordingly sent for all the officers that could be assembled, amidst the confusion which reigned among them, and advised them to kill all the wounded men, and make the best retreat in their power. After this he drank as much wine as he could, plunged his dagger into his bosom, and expired upon the spot.

Acichorius took the command in chief upon himself, and endeavoured to regain the straits of Thermopylae, in order to march out of Greece, and conduct the sad remains of the army into their own country. But as he was obliged to pass through a large extent of the enemy's territories, and to hazard a battle every time he wanted provisions for his troops; and as these were reduced to the necessity of almost always lying on the ground, though it was then the winter season; in a word, as they were constantly harassed from every quarter, by the inhabitants of the countries through which they marched, they were all destroyed, either by famine, cold, distempers, or the sword; and of all that prodigious number of men who engaged in this expedition, not one escaped with life.

Some fabulous exaggerations may possibly be blended with the other circumstances of this event; and chiefly with relation to the sudden tempest that arose when the Gauls approached Delphi, and the immense masses of rock miraculously detached from the mountains to crush the sacrilegious troops. Perhaps the whole might be no more than a thick flight of arrows shot by the enemies, who might likewise roll down upon the Gauls huge stones from the tops of the mountains. Such events are entirely natural and customary in attacks like this, which the priests, whose interests it was to magnify the power of their god, might represent as a prodigy, and as a miraculous interposition; and which the credulity of the people, who are always fond of the marvellous, would readily have credited, without a scrupulous examination into the truth of the account.

On the other hand, we have no sufficient reason to disbelieve any thing which history relates of this event. The enterprise of Brennus was undoubtedly a sacrilegious impiety, and injurious to religion, as well as to the Deity himself; for he spoke and acted in the manner already represented, not from any conviction that those gods were the mere offspring of fable (for he did not think better on that subject than the Greeks themselves,) but from an absolute contempt of a divinity in general. The idea of a God is impressed on the hearts of all men, and they have, through all ages and in all countries, believed it to be their duty to render certain honours to him. The Pagans were deceived in their application of this principle, but all acknowledged the necessity of it. The Deity, therefore, in mere goodness to mankind,

may have caused his vengeance to be displayed from time to time against those, even among the heathens, who testified an open contempt of a Supreme Being, in order to preserve the traces and principles of religion in their minds, by some extraordinary indications of his anger, till it pleased him to afford them clearer lights by the ministration of the Mediator, at the appointed time, to whom was reserved the instruction of mankind in that pure worship which the only true God required from them. We likewise see that the Divine Being, in order to preserve among men a due respect for his providence, and a belief of his peculiar attention to all their actions, has been careful, from time to time, to punish perjuries and other heinous offences in a singular manner, even among the Pagans themselves. By which means the belief of that capital article, the first tie which connects man with God, was maintained amidst all the darkness of Paganism, and the profligacy of manners which then prevailed. But it is now time to return to the Gauls.

Leonor and Lutarus,² who had formed a separate body, and had established themselves on the Propontis, advanced to the Hellespont, and surprised Lysimachia, after which they made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersonesus; but a difference arising between the two chiefs, they separated from each other. Lutarus continued his march along the Hellespont, and Leonor returned to Byzantium with the greatest part of the army.

The latter having afterwards passed the Bosphorus, and the other the Hellespont, they met again in Asia, where a reconciliation being effected between them, they rejoined their forces, and entered into the service of Nicomedes king of Bithynia. This prince, after he had reduced his brother Zypetes by their assistance, and regained the possession of all his father's dominions, assigned to them, for their settlement, that part of Asia Minor which took from them the denomination of Gallo-Grecia, or Galatia. The canonical Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians was written to the descendants of this people; and St. Jerom, about 600 years after the time of which we are now speaking, declared, that they continued to speak in the same language he had heard at Treves.

The remainder of those who continued in Thrace engaged afterwards in the war with Antigonus Gonatas, who reigned in Macedonia, and most of them were then destroyed. Those few who escaped, either passed into Asia, and rejoined their countrymen in Galatia, or dispersed themselves into other regions, where no farther mention is made of them. In this manner ended that terrible inundation of barbarians, which had threatened Macedonia and all Greece with entire destruction.

After the death of Sosthenes,³ who had defeated the Gauls, and reigned for some time in Macedonia, Antiochus, the son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, formed pretensions to that crown, which their fathers had enjoyed, one after the other. Antigonus, who after the fatal expedition of his father into Asia, had reigned ten years in Greece, finding the state of his affairs more favourable than those of his competitor, was the first who ascended the throne, but each of them raised great armies, and contracted powerful alliances, the one to support himself in his new conquests, and the other to dispossess him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having espoused the party of Antigonus on this occasion, Antiochus, when he was preparing to enter Macedonia, was unwilling to leave so powerful an enemy in his rear. Instead, therefore, of passing the Hellespont, he suddenly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were at first so equal, that neither party would presume to attack the other, and continued for some time in that state of inaction; during which a treaty was concerted, in consequence of which Antigonus espoused Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antiochus resigned to him

¹ The ancients thought these kinds of terror were infused into the mind by the God Pan. Other reasons are likewise assigned for that name.

² Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 16. ³ Memnon apud Phot. c. 19.

his pretensions to the throne of Macedonia. In this manner he remained in peaceable possession of it, and transmitted it to his posterity, who enjoyed it for several generations, to the time of Perseus, the last of this race, who was defeated by Paulus Emilius, and divested of his dominions, which the Romans, a few years after, formed into a province of the empire.

Antiochus, having thus disengaged himself from this war, marched against the Gauls, who, after settling in the land granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incursions on all sides, by which they extremely incommoded their neighbours. Antiochus defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered the country from their oppression. This action acquired him the title of Soter, which signifies a deliverer.

SECTION VI.—PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS CAUSES THE BOOKS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE, PRESERVED BY THE JEWS WITH THE UTMOST CARE, TO BE TRANSLATED INTO THE GREEK LANGUAGE, AS AN ORNAMENT TO HIS LIBRARY. THIS IS CALLED THE VERSION OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

The tumult of the wars, which a diversity of interests had kindled among the successors of Alexander throughout the whole extent of their territories, did not prevent Ptolemy Philadelphus from devoting his utmost attention to the noble library which he had founded in Alexandria, wherein he deposited the most valuable and curious books he was capable of collecting from all parts of the world. This prince being informed, that the Jews possessed a work which contained the laws of Moses and the history of that people, formed the design of having it translated out of the Hebrew language into the Greek, in order to enrich his library with that performance. To accomplish this design it became necessary for him to address himself to the high-priest of the Jewish nation; but the affair happened to be attended with great difficulty. There was at that time a very considerable number of Jews in Egypt, who had been reduced to a state of slavery by Ptolemy Soter, during the invasions of Judaea in his time; and it was represented to the king, that there would be no probability of obtaining from that people either a copy, or a faithful translation of their law, while he suffered such a number of their countrymen to continue in their present servitude. Ptolemy, who always acted with the utmost generosity, and was extremely solicitous to enlarge his library, did not hesitate a moment, but issued a decree for restoring all the Jewish slaves in his dominions to their liberty; with orders to his treasurer to pay twenty drachmas¹ a head to their masters for their ransom. The sum expended on this occasion amounted to 400 talents;² whence it appears, that 120,000 Jews recovered their freedom. The king then gave orders for discharging the children born in slavery, with their mothers; and the sum employed for that purpose amounted to above half the former.

These advantageous preliminaries gave Ptolemy hopes that he should easily obtain his request from the high-priest, whose name was Eleazar. He had sent ambassadors to that pontiff, with a very obliging letter on his part, accompanied with magnificent presents. The ambassadors were received at Jerusalem with all imaginable honours, and the king's request was granted with the greatest joy. Upon which they returned to Alexandria with an authentic copy of the Mosaic law, written in letters of gold, given them by the high-priest himself, with six elders of each tribe, that is to say, seventy-two in the whole; and they were authorized to translate that copy into the Greek language.

The king was desirous of seeing these deputies, and proposed to each of them a different question, in order to make a trial of their capacity. He was satisfied with their answers, in which great wisdom appeared, and loaded them with presents, and other

marks of his friendship. The elders were then conducted to the isle of Pharos, and lodged in a house prepared for their reception, where they were plentifully supplied with all necessary accommodations. They applied themselves to their work without losing time, and in seventy-two days completed the volume which is commonly called the Septuagint Version.³ The whole was afterwards read and approved in the presence of the king, who particularly admired the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and dismissed the seventy-two deputies with extremely magnificent presents; part of which were for themselves, others for the high-priest, and the remainder for the temple. Expenses of this nature, though very considerable, never ruin a state, and do a prince great honour.

The author from whom these facts are extracted is Aristæus, who represents himself as one of the officers of the guard to Ptolemy Philadelphus. He adds a number of other circumstances, which I have omitted, because they seem more improbable than those I have inserted. It is pretended that the writers, whether Jews, as Aristobolus, Philo, and Josephus; or Christians, as Justin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hilary, Austin, and some others, who have employed their pens on the subject of the septuagint version, have founded all their relations on the mere veracity of Aristæus, when the work that bears his name is thought to be a spurious piece. Some of these authors have added circumstances which are generally disbelieved, because they have too much of the marvellous in them. Philo declares,⁴ that though their translations were made in separate apartments, yet not the least difference either in the sense, or in the mode of expression which they used, was to be found, but that, on the contrary, they every where coincided even to a single word; from whence he concludes, that these persons were not mere translators, but men inspired by the spirit of God, who guided them on that occasion, and dictated the whole to them, even to the minutest word. Justin, and, after him, the other fathers already mentioned, suppose that each of the seventy-two interpreters performed his version in a separate cell, without the least correspondence with each other, and yet that all their translations were perfectly conformable to each other in every particular.

I have frequently declared my resolution not to enter into any historical disquisitions of this nature, which require much time and learning; and would, therefore, call off my attention too long from my principal object. The reader may consult the learned Prideaux, who has treated this subject at large. All that can be depended upon, and which no one has thought fit to contest, is, that a translation of the sacred books from the Hebrew into the Greek was made in Egypt in the time of the Ptolemies; that we have this translation still extant, and that it is the same that was used in the time of our blessed Saviour, as most of the passages in the original Greek, cited by the sacred writers in the New Testament from the Old, are to be found, word for word, in this version. It still subsists, and continues to be used in the Oriental churches; as it also was by those of the primitive ages, among whom it passed for a canonical translation.

This version, therefore, which rendered the scriptures of the Old Testament intelligible to a vast number of people, became one of the most considerable fruits of the Grecian conquests; and was evidently comprehended in the design which God had in view, when he delivered up all the East to the Greeks, and supported them in those regions, notwithstanding their divisions and jealousies, their wars, and the frequent revolutions that happened among them. In this manner did God prepare the way for the preaching of the Gospel, which was then approaching, and facilitate the union of so many nations of different languages and manners into one society, and the same worship and doctrines, by the instrumentality of one

³ It is called the Septuagint for the sake of the round number 70, but the sacred books were translated by seventy-two persons.

⁴ Philo de vitâ Mosi. l. ii. p. 653.

¹ About 10s.

² About 60,000*l*.

language, the finest, most copious, and most correct that was ever spoken in the world, and which became common to all the countries that were conquered by Alexander.

SECTION VII.—THE VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF PYRRHUS: FIRST, INTO ITALY; WHERE HE FIGHTS TWO BATTLES WITH THE ROMANS. THE CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF CINEAS. SECONDLY, INTO SICILY; AND THEN INTO ITALY AGAIN. HIS THIRD ENGAGEMENT WITH THE ROMANS, WHEREIN HE IS DEFEATED. HIS EXPEDITION INTO MACEDONIA, OF WHICH HE MAKES HIMSELF MASTER FOR SOME TIME, AFTER HAVING OVERTHROWN ANTIGONUS. HIS EXPEDITION INTO PELOPONNESUS. HE FORMS THE SIEGE OF SPARTA, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS. IS SLAIN AT THAT OF ARGOS. THE DEPUTATION FROM PHILADELPHUS TO THE ROMANS, AND FROM THE ROMANS TO PHILADELPHUS.

PYRRHUS,¹ when he returned into Epirus, after he had entirely abandoned Macedonia, might have passed his days in tranquillity among his subjects, and enjoyed the sweets of peace, by governing his people agreeably to the rules of justice. But a disposition so active and impetuous as his own, in conjunction with a restless and ardent ambition, was incapable of being at rest itself, or suffering others to be so. This indisposition of mind was, in reality, a real disease, a raging fever, which knew no intermission. In a word, he grew insupportable to himself, and was continually flying from himself in pursuit of foreign objects, and in following from country to country, a felicity no where to be found. He therefore seized, with joy, the first opportunity that offered for plunging himself into new engagements.

The inhabitants of Tarentum

A. M. 3724. were then at war with the Romans, Ant. J. C. 230. and their own country not furnishing them with generals of sufficient abilities to oppose such formidable enemies, they turned their eyes towards Epirus, and despatched ambassadors thither, not only from themselves, but from all the Greeks in Italy, with magnificent presents for Pyrrhus. They had orders to tell him, that they only wanted a leader of experience and reputation; that they had a competent number of good troops, and by only assembling the forces of the Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, were in a condition to bring an army of 20,000 horse and 350,000 foot into the field. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a proposal so agreeable to his disposition, and so conformable to his character, may be easily imagined. The Epirots, by his example, conceived a warm desire and violent passion for this war.

A Thessalian, named Cineas, was then at the court of Pyrrhus. He was a man of great judgment, and having been the disciple of Demosthenes, was distinguished from all the orators of that time, not only for coming the nearest to the force and eloquence of that great master, but for having been most successful in deriving, from so excellent a school, the solid principles and truest maxims of sound policy. This person was much attached to Pyrrhus, who had employed him on embassies to several cities with whom he had negotiations to transact. Cineas, through the whole course of these employments, confirmed, by his conduct, the truth of this expression of Euripides, "that the eloquence of an enemy is no less powerful than his sword;" and Pyrrhus accordingly declared, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence of Cineas, than he himself had conquered by the force of arms. For this reason he entertained the greatest esteem for him, conferred many honours upon him, and employed him in the most important affairs. A man of this character is always an inestimable treasure, and would constitute the happiness of a prince and his people, were his counsels attended to.

Cineas, perceiving that Pyrrhus was preparing to pass into Italy, and finding him one day disengaged

from business, and in a temper not to be offended with innocent liberties, entered into a free conversation with that prince. "Your majesty intends," said he, "to march against the Romans; should the gods vouchsafe to render you victorious, what advantage shall you derive from your conquest?"—"Were the Romans once subdued," replied Pyrrhus, "all Italy would then be ours."—"Supposing ourselves masters of that country," continued Cineas, "how should we proceed next?" Pyrrhus, who did not yet perceive his drift, continued, "Sicily will then present itself to us, and you know the importance of that island."—"But will our expeditions," added Cineas, "end with the conquest of Sicily?"—"No, certainly," replied Pyrrhus, with emotion; "should we stop short in so glorious a career? If the gods are pleased to crown us with success, these would be only preludes to more glorious enterprises. Carthage, with all Africa, Macedonia, my ancient domain, every province in Greece, shall be part of our future conquests."—"And when we have conquered all we can, how shall we dispose of ourselves?"—"Dispose of ourselves! We will live at our ease. We will pass whole days in feasts and agreeable conversation, and think of nothing but enjoying ourselves."—"Ah! my lord," interrupted Cineas, "and what prevents us now from living at our ease, making entertainments, celebrating festivals, and enjoying ourselves to the utmost? Why should we go so far in search of a happiness already in our power, and pay so dear for what we may now enjoy without the least trouble?"

This discourse of Cineas affected Pyrrhus, but did not reform him. He could make no reasonable objection to what he had heard: but his natural ardour, more predominant, more durable, urged him on in pursuit of a phantom of glory, that was always presenting a delusive and glittering outside to his view, and would not permit him to enjoy the least repose, either by night or by day.

Monsieur Paschal has considered the reflection of Cineas, in the 26th chapter of his *Thoughts*; wherein he has explained, in an admirable manner, the origin of all the tumultuous employments of mankind, and of all which the world calls diversion or pastime. "The soul," says that great man, "discovers nothing in herself that can furnish her with contentment. Whatever she beholds there afflicts her when she considers it sedately. This obliges her to have recourse to external employments, that she may lose in them the remembrance of her real state. In this oblivion consists her joy; and, to render her miserable, no more is wanting than to oblige her to enter into, and converse with herself."

He then proceeds to justify the truth of this reflection by a variety of examples; after which he adds the following remarks: "When Cineas told Pyrrhus, who proposed to live at ease when he had conquered a large part of the world, that it would be better for him to hasten his intended happiness, by enjoying that repose which was then in his power, without going in quest of it through such a number of fatigues; he gave him advice that was attended with many difficulties, and which seemed almost as irrational as the design of that ambitious youth. Each of them supposed, that man was capable of being satisfied with himself and his present enjoyments, without filling up the void in his heart with imaginary hopes, which is certainly false. Pyrrhus could not be happy, either before or after he had conquered the world; and perhaps the life of ease recommended to him by his minister would have proved less satisfactory to him, than the hurry of all the wars and expeditions which he meditated."

It is certain, however, that neither the philosopher nor the conqueror were capable of knowing thus thoroughly the heart of man. Pyrrhus, therefore, immediately despatched Cineas to the Tarentines with a detachment of 3000 foot; soon after which a large number of flat-bottomed vessels, galleys, and all sorts of transport-ships, arriving from Tarentum, he embarked on board them twenty elephants, 3000 horse, 20,000 heavy-armed foot, 2,000 archers, and 500 slingers.

All being ready, he set sail; but as soon as he had

¹ Plut. in. Pyrrh. p. 390—397. Pausan. l. i. p. 21, 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 1, 2.

advanced into the open sea, a violent tempest arose from the north, and drove him out of his course.—The vessel in which he was, yielded at first to the fury of the storm, but the exertions of the pilot and mariners were employed so effectually, that he at last gained the coast of Italy, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The other ships were incapable of holding the same course. At last a strong gale sprung up from the land, and the waves beat so violently against the head of the king's ship, that they expected it to founder immediately. Pyrrhus did not hesitate a moment in this extremity, but threw himself into the sea, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who vied with each other to save him at the hazard of their own lives; but the night, which happened to be extremely dark, and the impetuous bursting of the waves upon the coast, from whence they were repelled with a loud roar, made it very difficult for them to assist him, till at last the king, after he had struggled with the winds and waves for a considerable part of the night, was cast the next morning on the shore, the wind being then considerably abated. The long fatigue he had sustained, weakened him to such a degree, that nothing but his courage, always great and invincible, prevented him from sinking under it.

In the mean time the Messapians, on whose coast the waves had cast him, hastened to him with the utmost speed, to tender him all the assistance in their power. They also went to meet some of his ships that had escaped the storm; but the cavalry they found on board were very inconsiderable in number, and the infantry amounted to no more than 2000 men, with two elephants. Pyrrhus, after he had drawn them up in a body, led them directly to Tarentum.

Cineas, as soon as he received intelligence of his approach, advanced to him with his troops. Pyrrhus, when he arrived at Tarentum, was extremely surprised to find the inhabitants solely engaged in pleasures, in which it was their usual custom to indulge, without the least moderation or intermission. And they now took it for granted, that whilst Pyrrhus fought for them, they might quietly continue in their own houses, solely employed in bathing, using exquisite perfumes, feasting, and recreations. Pyrrhus was unwilling to lay them under any constraint, till he had received intelligence that his ships were safe, and till the greatest part of his army had joined him. He treated them like one determined to be their master. He began with shutting up all the public gardens and places of exercise, where the inhabitants usually entertained themselves with news, and regulated all the management of the war as they walked together. He also suspended their feasts and public shows, and was altogether as severe upon the assemblies of newsmongers. In a word, he compelled them to take arms, and behaved at all musters and reviews with inexorable severity to those who had failed in their duty. In consequence of which, several who had never been accustomed to so rigorous a discipline, withdrew from the city: thinking it an insupportable servitude, to be debarred from the full enjoyment of their effeminate pleasures.

Pyrrhus, about this time, received information that Levinus the consul was advancing against him with a powerful army, and that he was then in Lucania, where he burnt and destroyed all the country around him. Though the allies of Pyrrhus had not yet sent him any succours, nevertheless as he thought it very dishonourable to permit the enemy to approach nearer him, and commit their ravages in his sight, he took the field with the few troops he had. But before he engaged in any hostilities, he despatched a herald to demand of the Romans, whether they would consent, before the commencement of the war, to an amicable accommodation of the differences between them and the Greeks of Italy, by referring the whole affair to his judgment and decision? To which Levinus the consul made this reply, "That the Romans neither took Pyrrhus for an arbiter, nor feared him as an enemy.

Pyrrhus, upon receiving this answer, advanced with his troops, and encamped in a plain between the

cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and when he heard that the Romans were very near him, and were encamped on the other side of the river Siris, he mounted his horse, and approached the bank, to take a view of their situation. When he saw the appearance of their troops, their advanced guards, the fine order which was every where maintained, and the judicious disposition of their camp, he was astonished at what he saw; and addressing himself to one of his friends, who was then near him—"Megacles," said he, "the array of these barbarians is by no means barbarous; we shall see whether other circumstances will correspond with this appearance."¹ And already under apprehension for the success of the future, he resolved to await the arrival of the allies: thinking it sufficient, at that time, to post a body of troops on the bank of the river, to oppose the Romans, if they should attempt to pass; but this precaution was then too late, for the Roman infantry had already forded the stream, and the cavalry passed it where they found it practicable. The advanced troops of Pyrrhus, therefore, not finding themselves sufficiently strong, and fearing to be surrounded by their enemies, were obliged to join the main army with great precipitation; so that Pyrrhus, who had arrived there a few moments before, with the rest of his troops, had not time to dispute the passage with the enemy.

As soon as he saw a great number of Roman bucklers glittering on this side of the river, and their cavalry advancing towards him in fine order, he closed his ranks, and began the attack. The lustre and beauty of his arms, which were very magnificent, distinguished him in a particular manner; and his actions made it evident, that the reputation he had acquired did not exceed his merit. For while he engaged in the battle, without sparing his own person, and bore down all before him, he did not lose sight of the duties of general; and amidst the greatest dangers was perfectly cool, despatched his commands with as much tranquillity as if he had been in his palace; and sprung from place to place, to reinstate what was amiss, and sustain those who suffered most.

During the heat of the engagement, one of the Italian horse, with a lance in his hand, singled out Pyrrhus from all the rest of his troops, and followed him with the utmost ardour wherever he went, directing all his own motions by those of the king. And having at last found a favourable opportunity, he aimed a furious stroke at him, but wounded only his horse. At the same time Leonatus of Macedon killed the Italian's horse. Both horses being down, Pyrrhus was immediately surrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus to use more precaution than he had practised before, and obliged him to be more careful of himself; which is an indispensable duty in a general, on whose welfare that of a whole army depends. When he beheld his cavalry give way, he ordered his infantry to advance, and immediately drew it up. Then giving his mantle and arms to Megacles, one of his friends, he put on those of the latter, and vigorously charged the Romans, who received him with great intrepidity. The battle was obstinately disputed on both sides, and the victory long continued doubtful. Authors say, that each army gave way seven times, and as often returned to the charge.

Pyrrhus, by changing his arms, took a proper method for the preservation of his life; though, in the event, it almost proved fatal to him, and was on the point of wresting the victory out of his hands. The enemies threw themselves in throngs about Megacles, whom they took to be the king; and he was at last wounded by a horseman, who hurled him to the ground, after he had torn off his helmet and mantle, which he carried full speed to Levinus the consul; and as he showed them to him, cried out aloud, that he had slain Pyrrhus. These spoils being borne in triumph through all the ranks, filled the whole Ro-

¹ The Greeks considered all other nations as barbarians, and treated them accordingly.

man army with inexpressible joy. All the field resounded with acclamations of victory, while the Grecian troops were struck with consternation and dismay.

Pyrrhus, who perceived the terrible effect of this mistake, flew bareheaded through all the lines, holding out at the same time his hand to the soldiers, and making himself known to them by his voice and gestures. The battle was then renewed, and the elephants were chiefly instrumental in deciding the victory. For when Pyrrhus saw the Romans broken by those animals, and that the horses, instead of approaching them, were so terrified that they ran away with their riders, he immediately led up the Thesalian cavalry against them, while they were in confusion, and put them to flight, after having made a great slaughter of them.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus writes, that near 15,000 Romans were killed in this battle, and that Pyrrhus lost 13,000 of his men. But other historians make the loss less on both sides.

Pyrrhus immediately made himself master of the enemy's camp, which they had abandoned, brought over several cities from their alliance, ravaged all the country around him, and advanced within fifteen leagues of Rome.

The Lucanians and Samnites having joined him after the battle, he severely reproached them for their delay. But his air and aspect made it evident, that he was exceedingly delighted at bottom, that his troops, in conjunction with the Tarentines alone, had defeated so well disciplined and numerous an army of the Romans, without the assistance of his allies.

The Romans, however, were not dejected at the great loss they had sustained; and instead of recalling Levinus, were solely intent on preparations for a second battle. This greatness of soul, which manifested so much steadiness and intrepidity, surprised and even terrified Pyrrhus. He, therefore, thought it prudent to despatch a second embassy, in order to sound their dispositions, and to see if they would not incline to some expedient for an amicable accommodation; and in the mean time returned to Tarentum. Cineas, therefore, being sent to Rome, had several conferences with the principal citizens, and sent presents in the name of the king to them and their wives; but not one would receive them. They all replied, and even their wives, that when Rome should have made a public treaty with the king, it would be time enough to express his satisfaction with regard to them.

When Cineas was introduced to the senate, he acquainted them with the proposals of his master, who offered to deliver up his prisoners to the Romans without any ransom, and to aid them in the conquest of all Italy; requiring, at the same time, no other return but their friendship, and a sufficient security for the Tarentines. Several of the senators seemed inclinable to a peace; and this was no unreasonable disposition. They had lately been defeated in a great battle, and were on the point of hazarding another of much more importance. They had likewise every thing to dread; the forces of Pyrrhus having been considerably augmented by the junction of several of the states of Italy his allies.

The Roman courage, in this conjuncture, seemed to stand in need of the animated spirit of the celebrated Appius Claudius, an illustrious senator, whose great age and loss of sight had obliged him to confine himself to his family, and retire from public affairs. When he understood, by the confused report which was then dispersed through the city, that the senators were disposed to accept the offers of Pyrrhus, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly, which kept a profound silence the moment he appeared. There the venerable old man, whose zeal for the honour of his country seemed to have inspired him with all his ancient vigour, made it evident, by reasons equally solid and affecting, that they were on the point of destroying, by an infamous treaty, all the glory which Rome had hitherto acquired. "Where," said he, with the warmth of a noble indignation, "where is the spirit that suggest-

ed the bold language you once uttered, and whose accents rung through all the world, when you declared, that if the great Alexander himself had invaded Italy, when we were young, and our fathers in the vigour of their age, he never would have gained the reputation of being invincible, but would have added new lustre to the glory of Rome, either by his flight or death! Is it possible, then, that you now tremble at the mere name of a Pyrrhus, who has passed his days in cringing to one of the guards of that very Alexander, and who now wanders, like a wretched adventurer, from country to country to avoid the enemies he has at home; and who has the insolence to promise you the conquest of Italy, with those very troops who have not been able to secure to him a small tract of Macedonia!" He added many other things of the same nature, which rekindled the Roman bravery, and dispelled the apprehensions of the senators; who unanimously returned this answer to Cineas: "That Pyrrhus should first retire from Italy; after which, if he should find himself disposed for peace, he might send an embassy to solicit it; but that, as long as he continued in arms in their country, the Romans would maintain the war against him with all their forces, though he should even vanquish ten thousand such leaders as Levinus."

It is said, that Cineas, during his continuance at Rome in order to negotiate a peace, took every method, as might be expected from a man of wisdom and address, to inform himself of the manners and customs of the Romans; to scrutinize their public as well as private conduct; to study the form and constitution of their government; and to obtain as exact an account as possible of the forces and revenues of the republic. When he returned to Tarentum, he gave the king a faithful relation of all the discoveries he had made in his conferences with the principal men of Rome, and told him, among other particulars, "That the senate seemed to him an assembly of kings." A just and noble idea of that august body! And with respect to the numerous inhabitants who filled the streets and all parts of the country, he added, "I greatly fear we are fighting with a hydra." Cineas, indeed, had some reason for this remark, for the consul Levinus had at that time an army in the field twice as numerous as the first, and there were left in Rome an infinite number of men, capable of bearing arms, and forming many armies as powerful as that which had been newly levied.

The return of Cineas to Tarentum was immediately succeeded by the arrival of ambassadors sent to Pyrrhus from the Romans, among whom was Fabricius, who, as Cineas informed the king, was highly esteemed at Rome as a very virtuous man, and one well experienced in military affairs, but that his fortune was extremely low. Pyrrhus received them with extraordinary marks of distinction, and treated them with all possible honours. The ambassadors, at their audience, said every thing suitable to the present conjuncture; and as they imagined he might be elated by the victory he had obtained over their troops, they represented to him the vicissitudes and inconsistency of fortune, which no prudence of man could foresee; that the greatest overthrows in the field were incapable of depressing the Roman fortitude, and consequently it could never be alarmed at any little disadvantage; that the examples of so many enemies as they had defeated, should teach Pyrrhus to reflect on the enterprise he was forming; that he would find, at all events, enemies prepared to receive him, and in a capacity to defend themselves. They concluded their remonstrances with leaving it to his choice, either to receive a ransom for their soldiers who were then his prisoners of war, or to exchange them for such of his troops as the Romans had taken from him.

Pyrrhus, after a consultation with his friends, answered the ambassadors to this effect: "Romans, it is with an ill grace you demand the prisoners I have taken from you, to employ them against me, after your refusal of the peace I proposed. If you have

only in view your own real interest and mine, it is not necessary to have recourse to such evasions. Be it your care to end, by an amicable treaty, the war you are maintaining against me and my allies, and I promise to restore you all my prisoners, as well your citizens as your confederates, without the ransom you offer me. If you reject this condition, it is in vain for you to imagine that Pyrrhus will ever be prevailed upon to release so great a number of soldiers."

When he had returned this answer to the ambassadors, he took Fabricius aside, and addressed him in the following manner: "As for you, Fabricius, I am sensible of your merit. I am likewise informed that you are an excellent general, and perfectly qualified for the command of an army; that justice and temperance are united in your character; and that you pass for a person of consummate virtue. But I am likewise acquainted with your poverty; and must confess, that fortune, in this particular alone, has treated you with injustice, by misplacing you in the class of indigent senators. In order, therefore, to supply that sole deficiency, I am ready to give you as much gold and silver as will raise you above the richest citizen of Rome; being fully persuaded, 'that no expense can be more honourable to a prince than that which is employed in the relief of great men, who are compelled by their poverty to lead a life unworthy of their virtue; and that this is the noblest purpose to which a king can possibly devote his treasures.' At the same time, I must desire you to believe, that I have no intention to exact any unjust or dishonourable service from you as a return of gratitude. I expect nothing from you but what is perfectly consistent with your honour, and what will add to your authority and importance in your own country. Let me, therefore, conjure you to assist me with your influence in the Roman senate, which has hitherto assumed an air of too much inflexibility with relation to the treaty I proposed, and has never consulted the rules of moderation in any respect. Make them sensible, I entreat you, that I have given my solemn word to assist the Tarentines and other Greeks who are settled in this part of Italy; and I cannot in honour abandon them, especially as I am now at the head of a powerful army that has already gained me a battle. I must, however, acquaint you, that I am called, by some pressing affairs, to my own dominions; and this is the circumstance which makes me more earnestly wish for peace. As to any other particulars, if my quality as a king causes me to be suspected by the senate, because a number of other princes have openly violated the faith of treaties and alliances, without the least hesitation; become my surety yourself on this occasion; assist me with your counsels in all my proceedings, and command my armies under me. I want a virtuous man and a faithful friend; and you as much need a prince, whose liberalities may enable you to be more useful, and to do more good to mankind. Let us, therefore, consent to render mutual assistance to each other, in all the future events of our lives."

Pyrrhus, having expressed himself in this manner, Fabricius, after a few moments' silence, replied to him in these terms: "It is needless for me to make any mention of the experience I may possibly have in the conduct of public or private affairs, since you have been informed of that from others. With respect also to my poverty, you seem to be so well acquainted with it, that it would be unnecessary for me to assure you I have no money to turn to advantage, nor any slaves from whom I derive the least revenue: that my whole fortune consists in a house of no considerable appearance; and in a little spot of ground that furnishes me with my support. But if you believe my poverty renders my condition inferior to that of every other Roman, and that, while I am discharging the duties of an honest man, I am the less considered because I happen not to be of the number of the rich; permit me to acquaint you, that the idea you conceive of me, is not just, and that whether any other may have inspired you with that opinion, or whether you only suppose so yourself, you are deceived. Though I do not possess

riches, I never did imagine my indigence a prejudice to me, whether I consider myself as a public or private person. Did my necessitous circumstances ever induce my country to exclude me from those glorious employments, that are the noble objects of the emulation of great souls? I am invested with the highest dignities, and see myself placed at the head of the most illustrious embassies. I assist also at the most august ceremonies, and even the most sacred functions of divine worship are confided to my care. Whenever the most important affairs are the subject of deliberation, I hold my rank in councils, and offer my opinion with as much freedom as another. I am upon an equal footing with the richest and most powerful persons in the republic; and if any circumstance causes me to complain, it is my receiving too much honour and applause from my fellow-citizens. The employments I discharge cost me nothing of my own, no more than any other Roman. Rome never reduces her citizens to a ruinous condition, by raising them to the magistracy. She gives all necessary supplies to those whom she employs in public stations, and bestows them with liberality and magnificence. Rome, in this particular, differs from any other cities, where the public is extremely poor, and private persons immensely rich. We are all in a state of affluence as long as the republic is so, because we consider her treasures as our own. As the rich and the poor are equally admitted to her employments, according as she judges them worthy of confidence, she places all her citizens upon an equality, and knows no distinction between them but that of merit and virtue. As to my own private affairs, I am so far from repining at my fortune, that I think I am the happiest of men when I compare myself with the rich, and find a certain satisfaction, and even pride, in that fortune. My little field, poor and unfertile as it is, supplies me with whatever I want, when I am careful to cultivate it as I ought, and to lay up the fruits it produces. What can I want more? Every kind of food is agreeable to my palate, when seasoned by hunger: I drink with delight when I thirst, and I enjoy all the sweetness of sleep when fatigued with toil. I content myself with a habit that covers me from the rigours of winter; and of all the various kinds of furniture necessary for the same uses, the meanest is, in my opinion, the most commodious. I should be unreasonable, and unjust, were I to complain of fortune, whilst she supplies me with all that nature requires. As to superfluities, I confess she has not furnished me with any; but then she has not inspired me with the least desire to enjoy them. Why should I then complain? It is true, the want of this abundance renders me incapable of relieving the necessitous, which is the only advantage the rich may be envied for enjoying. But when I impart to the republic, and my friends, some portion of the little I possess, and render my fellow-citizens all the services I am capable of performing; in a word, when I discharge all the duties incumbent on me, to the best of my ability, wherein can my conscience condemn me? If riches had ever been the least part of my ambition, I have so long been employed in the administration of the republic, that I have had a thousand opportunities of amassing great sums, and even by irreproachable methods. Could any man desire one more favourable than that which occurred to me a few years ago? The consular dignity was conferred upon me, and I was sent against the Samnites, the Brutii, and the Lucanians, at the head of a numerous army. We ravaged a large tract of land, and defeated the enemy in several battles: we took many flourishing and opulent cities by assault; I enriched the whole army with their spoils; I returned every citizen the money which he had contributed to the expense of the war; and after I had received the honours of a triumph, I still brought 400 talents into the public treasury. After having neglected so considerable a booty, of which I had full power to appropriate any part to myself; after having despised such immense riches so justly acquired, and sacrificed the spoils of the enemy to the love of glory, in imitation of Valerius Publicola, and

many other great men, whose disinterested generosity of mind has raised the glory of Rome to so illustrious a height; would it now become me to accept of the gold and silver you offer me? What idea would the world entertain of me? And what an example should I set to my fellow citizens? How could I bear their reproaches? how even their looks, at my return? Those awful magistrates, or censors, who are appointed to inspect our discipline and manners with a vigilant eye, would they not compel me to be accountable before all the world, for the presents you solicit me to accept? You shall keep them, if you please, your riches to yourself, and I my poverty and my reputation."

I take it for granted, that the historian furnished Pyrrhus and Fabricius with these speeches, but he has only painted their sentiments, especially those of the latter, in strong colours. For such was the character of the Romans in those glorious ages of the republic. Fabricius¹ was really persuaded, that there was more glory and grandeur in being able to despise all the gold of a king, than there was in reigning over an empire.

Pyrrhus being desirous the next day to surprise the Roman ambassador,² who had never seen an elephant, ordered the captain of those animals to arm the largest of them, and lead him to the place where he would be in conversation with Fabricius; the officer was then to place him behind a hanging of tapestry, that he might be ready to make his appearance at a certain signal. This was accordingly executed; and the sign being given, the tapestry was drawn aside, and presented to view the enormous animal, who stretched out his trunk over the head of Fabricius, and shook the apartment with a most terrible cry. Fabricius, instead of discovering the least surprise or consternation, turned very calmly to Pyrrhus, and said to him with a smile, "Neither your gold yesterday, nor your elephant to-day, can move me."

Whilst they were sitting at table in the evening, the conversation turned upon a variety of subjects; and after some conference on the affairs of Greece, and the several philosophers of note, Cineas introduced the doctrines of Epicurus, and related the particular opinions of his disciples, with reference to the gods, and the government of the world; declaring, that they represented pleasure as the end and sovereign good of man, and declined all dignities and employments, as destructive to happiness. To this he added, that they never ascribed to the Divinity either love, or hatred, or wrath; but maintained, that he was entirely regardless of mankind; and that they consigned him to a life of tranquillity, in which he passed all ages void of occupation, and plunged in an endless variety of delights and pleasures. The soft and voluptuous lives of the Tarentines might probably occasion this discourse. Whilst Cineas was going on with this subject, Fabricius, to whom such a doctrine was altogether new, cried out as loud as he was able, "Great Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites follow this doctrine, as long as they shall make war with the Romans."

Who of us moderns, were we to judge of the manners of the ancients by those which prevail in our age, would expect to hear the conversation between great warriors, at table, turn, not only on political systems, but points of erudition; for at that time, philosophical inquiries were considered as the principal part of learning? Are not such discourses as these, seasoned with improving reflections, and enlivened with sprightly replies, equal at least to those conversations, which frequently continue from the beginning to the end of the entertainment, and are passed without much expense of genius, in exclamations, worthy of Epicureans, on the delicacy of the provisions, and the admirable flavour of the wines and other liquors?

Pyrrhus, struck with admiration at the greatness of soul which he discovered in the Roman ambassa-

dor, and charmed with his manners and his wisdom, became more impatient than ever to contract an alliance with his city. He therefore took him apart, and conjured him a second time, to mediate an accommodation between the two states, and consent to reside at his court, where he should hold the first rank among all his friends and captains. "I would not advise you to persist in that request," replied Fabricius, whispering in his ear, and smiling; "and you seem to be but little acquainted with your own interest; for if those who now honour and admire you, should once happen to know me, perhaps they might be more desirous of having me for their king than yourself."

The prince, instead of being offended at this reply, esteemed him the more for making it; and would intrust the prisoners to none but him, that he might be certain they would be sent back to him, after they had embraced their relations and friends, and celebrated the Saturnalia, in case the senate should continue averse to a peace. They were accordingly sent to him at the expiration of the festival, the senate having ordered every prisoner to return to Pyrrhus, upon pain of death.

The command of the army being conferred on Fabricius the following year, an unknown person came into his camp, with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take Pyrrhus off by poison, if the Romans would promise him a recompense proportionable to the great service he should render them, by putting an end to so destructive a war without any danger to themselves. Fabricius, who always retained the same probity and justice,³ even in time of war, which furnishes so many pretexts for departing from them; and who knew there were some rights, which ought to be preserved inviolable even with enemies themselves, was struck with a just horror at such a proposal: and as he would not suffer the king to conquer him with gold, he thought it would be infamous in himself to conquer the king by poison. After some conference, therefore, with his colleague Emilius, he wrote a letter to Pyrrhus, to caution him against that black treachery. His letter was conceived in these terms:

CAIUS FABRICIUS AND QUINTUS EMILIUS, CONSULS:
TO KING PYRRHUS, HEALTH.

"You seem to form a wrong judgment both of friends and enemies; and this will be your own opinion, when you have read the letter which has been written to us. For you will then be sensible, that you are carrying on a war against people of virtue and honour, at the same time that you repose confidence in traitors and the worst of men. The information we now send you, results more from our affection for ourselves than for you; for we were unwilling that your death should give the world occasion to defame us, and to imagine that we had recourse to treachery, through despair of terminating this war happily by our valour."

Pyrrhus having received this letter, and ascertained the truth of the information it contained, caused his physician to be punished, and sent back all his prisoners to the consul without ransom, as a testimonial of his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans. He likewise again deputed Cineas to attempt to negotiate a peace; but the Romans, who would not accept either a favour from their enemy, or a recompense for not committing the most execrable piece of injustice, though they did not refuse to accept the prisoners, yet returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites, as an equivalent; but as to the treaty of pacification, they would not permit Cineas to mention it, till Pyrrhus had returned to Epirus in the same fleet that landed him and his troops in Italy. But as his affairs made a second battle neces-

¹ Fabricius Pyrrhi regis aurore repulit, majusque regno
'udicavit regias opes posse contemnere. *Senec. Epist.* 120.

² Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 395-397.

³ Ejusdem animi fuit, auro non vini, veneno non vincere.
Admirati sumus ingenium virum, quem non regis, non contra regem promissa flexissent; boni exempli tenacem; quæ diffidillimum est, in bello innocentem; qui aliquid esse crederet etiam in hoste nefas; qui in summa paupertate quam sibi decus fecerat, non aliter refugit divitiis quam venenum. *Senec. Epist.* 120.

sary, he assembled his army, and attacked the Romans near the city of A-culum.

The troops fought with great obstinacy on both sides, and the victory continued doubtful till the close of the battle. Pyrrhus, at the beginning of the action, having been driven into places where cavalry could not act, and against a river very difficult, as well in regard to its banks as to marshes on the sides of it, was treated very rudely by the enemy, and lost a great number of his men. But having at last disengaged himself from that disadvantageous situation, and regained the plain, where he could make use of his elephants, he advanced against the Romans with the greatest impetuosity, his ranks being all in good order and well closed; and as he met with a vigorous resistance, the slaughter became very great, and he himself was wounded. He, however, brought forward his elephants so judiciously, that they broke through the Roman infantry in several quarters, notwithstanding which they still maintained their ground. The two armies, fired with implacable rage, exerted the utmost efforts that bravery could inspire, and did not cease fighting till night parted them. The loss was almost equal on both sides, and amounted to 15,000 men in the whole. The Romans were the first who retreated, and gained their camp, which was near the field of battle. The advantage therefore seemed to remain with Pyrrhus, who continued longest in the field; but when one of his officers came to congratulate him on his victory, "if we gain such another," replied he, "we are inevitably ruined." And as he had really lost his best troops and bravest officers, he was very sensible of his inability to bring another army into the field against the Romans, whose very defeat inspired them with new vigour and ardour to continue the war.¹

Whilst he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind,² and had the mortification to see himself in a manner destitute of all resource, and incapable of recurring to any honourable expedient to disengage himself from an enterprise which he had too inconsiderately undertaken, a dawn of hope and good fortune inspired him with

A. M. 3726. new resolution. A deputation was sent to him, at that critical juncture, from Sicily, with a commission to deliver Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines, into his possession; and to implore the assistance of his arms to drive the Carthaginians from their island, and deliver them from their tyrants. Several couriers from Greece also arrived at his camp at the same time, to inform him that Ceraunus had been killed in a battle with the Gauls, in Macedonia, and that this kingdom seemed to invite him to ascend the throne.

Pyrrhus then found himself in a new perplexity. A moment before he was destitute of all hope, and now it flowed so fast upon him, that he was at a loss to determine which offer he ought to prefer. But after a long deliberation, and when he had maturely weighed the reasons that offered themselves on both sides, he resolved for Sicily, which would open him a passage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory. In consequence of this resolution, he immediately despatched Cineas to treat with the cities, and to give them assurances of his speedy arrival; he then embarked for Sicily, after he had left a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the repugnance of the inhabitants, who had the mortification to see themselves abandoned by Pyrrhus, and reduced at the same time to a state of slavery by his troops.

When he arrived in Sicily, he immediately became master of Syracuse, which was delivered up to him by Sostratus,³ who then governed that city, and by Thenon, who commanded in the citadel. He also received from them money out of the public treasury, and about 200 ships, which facilitated his con-

quest of all Sicily. His insinuating and affable behaviour at his first arrival, gained him the hearts of all the people; and as he had then an army of 30,000 foot and 2,500 horse, with a fleet of 200 sail, he dispossessed the Carthaginians of their settlements in that island, and obliged them to evacuate the city of Eryx, which was the strongest of all their places there, and the best furnished with people for its defence: he also defeated, in a great battle, the inhabitants of Messina, who were called *Mamertines*,⁴ whose frequent eruptions infested all Sicily, and he entirely demolished all their fortresses.

The rapid progress of his arms terrified the Carthaginians, who were now divested of all their acquisitions in Sicily, except the single city of Lilybæum; and they sent to purchase peace and his friendship with money and ships. But as he aspired to much greater things, he answered them, that the only method to obtain what they desired, would be to abandon Sicily, and consent to let the Libyan sea be the boundary between them and the Greeks. He now thought of nothing but great projects for himself and his family. He intended to bestow Sicily on his son Helenus, as a kingdom to which he had a right by birth, this prince being his son by the daughter of Agathocles; and he proposed to give his son Alexander the kingdom of Italy, which he looked upon as a certain conquest.

A continued series of prosperity, and the numerous forces under his command, had raised his hopes so high at that time, that he thought of nothing but accomplishing the great views that had drawn him into Sicily; the first and principal of which was the conquest of Africa. He had a sufficient number of vessels for that great expedition, but wanted mariners; in order, therefore, to obtain them, he obliged the cities to furnish him with men, and severally punished those who neglected to obey his orders.

In consequence of these proceedings, his power was soon changed into an insolent and tyrannical sway, which first drew upon him the hatred of the family and friends of Agathocles, whom he deprived of all the wealth they had received from that prince, and bestowed it upon his own creatures. In the contempt of the customs of that country,⁵ he also conferred the first dignities, and the government of cities, on his guards and centurions, whom he continued in the magistracy as long as he thought proper, and without any regard to the time prescribed by the laws. And so to all judicial proceedings, with respect to private property, and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary sentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whose sole views were to enrich themselves by sordid gain, and live in all manner of luxury, profusion and debauchery.

A conduct so oppressive and different from that by which he at first had so well succeeded, could not fail to alienate the affections of the people from him; and when he became sensible that he was universally hated, and that the Sicilians, exasperated at his odious government, were solicitous to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garrisons as he knew were at his devotion, under pretext that the Carthaginians were preparing to invade him. He also seized the most illustrious citizens of each city, and caused them to be put to death, after he had charged them with treasonable conspiracies against him. Of this number was Thenon, the commander of the citadel; and all the important services he had rendered the king of Epirus, did not suffice to exempt him from so cruel a policy; though it was allowed that he had contributed more than any other person to reduce Sicily under Pyrrhus. He also intended to have Sostratus seized, but as he had some suspicion of what was designed against him, he found means to quit the city. A prince hazards all things

¹ Per damna, per cedes, ab ipso

Ducit opes animæque ferro. *Horat.*

² Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 397, 398. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 2 & l. xviii. c. 3.

³ He is called Sostratus, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,

⁴ The word signifies *martial*, because they were a very warlike people. They originally came from Italy, and having made themselves masters of Messina, into which they had been received, they retained their own name there, though that of the city was not changed.

⁵ Dionys. Halic. in Excerpt. p. 541.

when he loses the affection of his people, which is the strongest tie that unites them to their sovereign. This barbarous and unjust treatment of the two principal citizens of Syracuse, who had conducted most to the progress of his power in that island, rendered him entirely odious and insupportable to the Sicilians. Such was the character of Pyrrhus: the vigour and impetuosity of his conduct in the enterprises he undertook, facilitated his conquest of kingdoms and provinces, but he wanted the art of preserving them. The aversion which the cities conceived against him was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, in order to destroy him.

At this juncture, when he beheld nothing but new insurrections and revolts kindling all around, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, which informed him that they had been dispossessed of all their lands, and were then shut up in their cities, where it would be impossible for them to sustain the war, unless he would hasten to their assistance. These letters arrived at a proper time for affording him an honourable pretext for his departure, and preventing it from appearing a flight from Sicily, as if he despaired of succeeding any longer in that island.

As he was embarking at Syracuse,² the Carthaginians attacked him in a such a manner, as obliged him to fight, in the very port, against those barbarians, where he lost several of his ships. This, however, did not prevent him from sailing to Italy with those that remained; but upon his arrival there he found a great body of Mamertines, who had passed over thither before him, to the number of near 10,000 men, and greatly incommoded his march, by frequently harassing his troops and making repeated attacks upon his rear guard.

Livy³ and Dionysius of Halicarnassus tell us one circumstance not very much to the honour of Pyrrhus's memory. At Locris was a celebrated temple, consecrated to Proserpine, and held in the greatest veneration by all the inhabitants of that country, as well as by strangers, and no one had ever presumed to violate it, though it was certain that immense treasures were deposited within it. Pyrrhus, who then wanted money extremely, was not so scrupulous, but carried off all the riches of the goddess, and lodged them in his ships. The next day, if the story may be credited, his fleet was shattered by a violent tempest, and all the vessels that were laden with these rich and sacred spoils, were cast upon the coast of Locris. This proud prince, says Livy, being convinced, by this cruel disaster, that the gods were not imaginary beings, caused all the treasures to be replaced in the temple with the utmost devotion. The goddess, however, was not appeased by this involuntary restitution; and the author who relates this event, represents this impious sacrilege as the cause of all the future calamities which happened to Pyrrhus, and particularly of the unfortunate death which put an end to his enterprises.

Pyrrhus, after he had suffered by this tempest, arrived at Tarentum A. M. 3730. this tempest, arrived at Tarentum Ant. J. C. 274. with 20,000 foot and 3000 horse; and when he had reinforced them with the best troops he could find in that city, he advanced, by long marches, against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

These people retained a secret resentment against Pyrrhus, for deserting them when he undertook his expedition into Sicily; for which reason he was joined by very few of their troops. This, however, did not prevent him from dividing his army into two bodies: one of which he sent into Lucania, to oppose the consul who was there at that time, and to render him incapable of assisting his colleague; the other he led himself against Manius Curius, the other consul,

who had intrenched himself in a very advantageous post near the city of Beneventum, where he waited for the succours that were advancing to him from Lucania.

Pyrrhus hastened to attack this last, before the other had joined him; and with this view he selected his best troops, with such of the elephants as were strongest, and of the most service in the field; after which he began his march about the close of the evening, in order to surprise the consul in his camp. The enemy, however, discovered him the next morning as he was descending the mountains, and Manius having marched out of his intrenchments with a body of troops, fell upon the first he met. These he soon put into confusion, and obliged them to have recourse to flight, which spread a universal terror among the rest, great numbers of whom were slain, and even some of the elephants taken.

This success emboldened Manius to draw all his troops out of their intrenchments, in order to combat in the open plain. One of his wings had the advantage, at the beginning of the battle, and pushed the enemies with great vigour; but the other was overthrown by the elephants, and driven back to their camp. In this emergency, he sent for the troops he had left behind him, to guard the intrenchments, and who were all fresh and under arms. These forces advanced in the critical moment, and with their pikes and darts compelled the elephants to turn their backs, and fall upon their own battalions; which created such confusion and disorder, that the Romans at last obtained a complete victory, which, in some sense, was of no less value to them than the conquest of all nations. For the intrepidity they discovered in this engagement, and the gallant actions they performed in all the battles they fought with such an enemy as Pyrrhus, increased their reputation, as well as their fortitude and confidence in their own bravery, and caused them to be considered as invincible. This victory over Pyrrhus rendered them indisputable masters of all Italy between the two seas; and this acquisition was soon succeeded by the wars with Carthage, in which, having at last subdued that potent rival, they no longer beheld any power capable of opposing them.

In this manner did Pyrrhus find himself fallen from all the high hopes he had conceived, with relation to Italy and Sicily, after he had consumed six whole years in those wars, and entirely ruined his own affairs. It must be acknowledged, however, that he preserved an invincible fortitude of mind, amidst all these disgraces; and his experience in military affairs, with his valour and intrepidity, caused him always to pass for the first of all the kings and generals of his time. But whatever he acquired by his great exploits, he soon lost by his vain hopes: for his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained, rendered him incapable of preserving and securing what was already in his possession. This disposition of his made Antigonus compare him to a man who had lucky throws on the dice, but played his men very ill.

He at length returned to Epirus,⁴ with 8000 foot and 500 horse; but as his revenues were not sufficient for the subsistence of these troops, he was industrious to find out some new war for their support; and having received a reinforcement of some Gauls who joined him, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, then reigned. His intention was only to ravage the country, and carry off a great booty; but when he had once made himself master of several cities without any difficulty, and had also seduced 2000 of Antigonus's soldiers over to his party, he indulged the most exalted hopes; marched against Antigonus himself; attacked him in the defiles, and put his whole army into disorder. A large body of other Gauls, who formed the rear-guard of Antigonus, courageously sustained his efforts for some time, and the encounter became very warm, but most of them were at last cut to pieces; and those who commanded the elephants, being surround-

¹ Ut ad devincenda regna invictus habebatur, ita devictis acquisitisque eleclerit carebat; tantò melius studebat acquirere imperia quàm retinere. *Justin.* l. xiv. c. 4.

² Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 399. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xliii. c. 3.

³ Liv. l. xxix. n. 18. Dionys. Halicarn. in Excerpt. p. 542.

⁴ Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400. Pausan. l. i. c. 23. Justin. l. xxv. c. 3.

ded by his troops, surrendered themselves prisoners, and delivered up the elephants. The Macedonian phalanx was all that now remained; but the troops who composed this corps were struck with terror and confusion at the defeat of their rear-guard. Pyrrhus perceiving that they seemed to refuse fighting him, stretched out his hand to the commanders and other officers, calling them each by their name, and by this expedient drew over to himself all the infantry of Antigonus, who was obliged to have recourse to flight, in order to preserve some of the maritime places in their obedience to him.

Pyrrhus was exceedingly animated by this victory, as may be judged by the following inscription on the spoils which he consecrated to the Itonian Minerva.¹ "Pyrrhus, king of the Molossians, consecrates to the Itonian Minerva, these bucklers of the fierce Gauls, after he had defeated the whole army of Antigonus. Let no one be surprised at this event. The descendants of Æacus are still as they originally were, perfectly brave and valiant."

Pyrrhus, after this victory, made himself master of all the cities of Macedonia, and having taken possession of Ægæ,² he treated the inhabitants with great severity, and garrisoned the city with part of his Gauls, a people the most insatiable and rapacious after money of any. The moment they took possession of the city, they began with plundering the tombs of the Macedonian kings, whose remains were deposited there, carried off all their riches enclosed in those monuments, and with sacrilegious insolence scattered the ashes of those princes in the air. Pyrrhus lightly passed over this infamous action, either because the important affairs he then had upon his hands engaged his whole attention; or that his pressing occasion for the service of these barbarians, rendered him unwilling to alienate their affection from him, by too strict an inquiry into this proceeding, which would make it necessary for him to punish the delinquents; and so criminal a connivance lowered him very much in the esteem of the Macedonians.

Though his affairs were not established on so secure a foundation A. M. 3732. as to give him just reasons to be Ant. J. C. 272. void of apprehension, he conceived new hopes, and engaged in new enterprises.³ Cleonymus the Spartan came to solicit him to march his army against Lacedæmonia, and Pyrrhus lent a willing ear to that proposal. This Cleonymus was of the royal race. Cleomenes, his father, who was king of Sparta, had two sons, Acrotatus and Cleonymus. The former, who was the eldest, died before his father, and left a son named Areus. After the death of Cleomenes, a dispute, with relation to the sovereignty, arose between Areus and Cleonymus; and as this latter seemed to be a man of a violent and despotic disposition, the contest was decided in favour of Areus. Cleonymus, when he was far advanced in years, espoused a very beautiful woman, whose name was Chelidonis, the daughter of Leotychidas. This young lady conceived a violent passion for Acrotatus, the son of king Areus, who was very amiable, finely shaped, and in the flower of his youth. This circumstance rendered her marriage not only a very melancholy, but dishonourable affair to her husband Cleonymus, who was equally transported with love and jealousy; for his disgrace was public, and every Spartan was acquainted with the contempt which his wife entertained for him. Animated, therefore, with a burning impatience to avenge himself at once on his partial citizens and his faithless wife, he prevailed on Pyrrhus to march against Sparta, with an army of 25,000 foot, 2000 horse, and twenty-four elephants.

These great preparations for war made it immediately evident, that Pyrrhus was more intent to conquer Peloponnesus for himself, than to make Cleony-

mus master of Sparta. This, indeed, he strongly disavowed in all his discourse; for when the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to him, during his residence at Megalopolis, he assured them that no hostilities were intended by him against Sparta, and that he only came to restore liberty to those cities which Antigonus possessed in that country. He even declared to him that he designed to send his youngest children to Sparta, if they would permit him so to do, that they might be educated in the manners and discipline of that city, and have the advantage above all other kings and princes, of being trained up in so excellent a school.

With these flattering promises he amused all such as presented themselves to him in his march; but those persons must be very thoughtless and imprudent who place any confidence in the language of politicians, with whom artifice and deceit pass for wisdom, and sincerity for weakness and want of judgment. Pyrrhus had no sooner advanced into the territories of Sparta, than he began to ravage and plunder all the country around him.

He arrived, in the evening, before Lacedæmon; Cleonymus desired him to attack the city without a moment's delay, that they might take advantage of the confusion of the inhabitants, who had no suspicion of a siege, and of the absence of king Areus, who was gone to Crete to assist the Gortynians. The helots and friends of Cleonymus were so confident of success, that they were then actually preparing his house for his reception, firmly persuaded he would sup there that very night with Pyrrhus. But this prince, who looked upon the conquest of the city as inevitable, deferred the assault till the next morning. That delay saved Sparta, and showed that there are favourable and decisive moments which must be seized immediately, and which, once neglected, never return.

When night came, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the expediency of sending their wives to Crete, but were opposed by them in that point: one among them, in particular, whose name was Archidamia, rushed into the senate with a drawn sword, and after she had uttered her complaints, in the name of the rest, demanded of the men who were there assembled, "What could be their inducement to entertain so bad an opinion of them, as to imagine they could consent to live after the destruction of Sparta?"

The same council gave direction for opening a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, in order to oppose their approaches to the city, by placing troops along that work; but as the absence of their king, and the surprise with which they were then seized, prevented them from raising a sufficient number of men to form a front equal to that of the enemy, and engage them in the open field, they resolved to shut themselves up as securely as possible, by adding to each extremity of the ditch another kind of intrenchment, formed by a barricade of carriages sunk in the earth up to the axle-trees of the wheels, that by being thus firmly fixed they might check the impetuosity of the elephants, and prevent the cavalry from assaulting them in flank.

While the men were employed in this work, their wives and daughters came to join them, and after they had exhorted those who were appointed for the encounter to take some repose, while the night lasted, they proceeded to measure the length of the trench, and took the third part of it for their own share in the work, which they completed before day. The trench was nine feet in breadth, six in depth, and 900 in length.

When day appeared, and the enemies began to be in motion, those women presented arms to all the young men, and as they were retiring from the trench they had made, they exhorted them to behave in a gallant manner; entreating them, at the same time, to consider how glorious it would be for them to conquer in the sight of their country, or to breathe their last in the arms of their mothers and wives, after they had proved themselves worthy of Sparta by their valour. As for Chelidonis, she withdrew to her chamber, and prepared a cord, which she intended should be the fatal instrument of her death, to

¹ Minerva was called Itonia, from Itonus, the son of Amphiclytus, and she had two temples dedicated to her under this name; one in Thessaly, near Larissa, which was the same with that in the passage before us: the other was in Beotia, near Coronara.

² A city of Macedonia, on the river Haliacmon.

³ Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400—403. Pausan. l. i. p. 23, 24, & l. iii. p. 168. Justin. l. xlv. c. 4.

prevent her from falling into the hands of her husband, if the city should happen to be taken.

Pyrrhus, in the meantime, advanced at the head of his infantry, to attack the Spartans in front, who waited for him on the other side of the trench, with their bucklers closely joined together. The trench was not only very difficult to be passed, but the soldiers of Pyrrhus could not even approach the edge of it, nor maintain a good footing, because the earth, which had been newly thrown up, easily gave way under them. When his son Ptolemy saw this inconvenience, he drew out 2000 Gauls, with a select band of Chaonians, and filed off along the trench to the place where the carriages were disposed, in order to open a passage; but these were ranged so thick, and sunk to such a depth in the earth, as rendered his design impracticable. The Gauls endeavoured to surmount this difficulty by disengaging the wheels, in order to draw the carriages into the adjoining river.

The young Acrotatus was the first who saw the danger, and immediately hurried through the city with 300 soldiers. Having taken a large compass, he poured upon the rear of Ptolemy's troops, without being discovered in his approach, because he advanced through hollow ways. Upon this sudden attack, as their ranks were broken, and their troops thrown into disorder, they crowded and pressed upon each other, and most of them rolled into the ditch, and fell around the chariots. In a word, after a long encounter, which cost them a vast quantity of blood, they were repulsed, and obliged to have recourse to flight. The old men and most of the women, stood on the other side of the trench, and beheld with admiration the undaunted bravery of Acrotatus. As for him, covered with blood, and exulting in his victory, he returned to his post amidst the universal applause of the Spartan women, who extolled his valour, and envied, at the same time, the glory and happiness of Chelidonis: an evident proof that the Spartan ladies were not extremely delicate on the subject of conjugal chastity.

The battle was still hotter along the edge of the ditch, where Pyrrhus commanded, and which was defended by the Lacedæmonian infantry: the Spartans fought with great intrepidity, and several among them distinguished themselves very much: particularly Phyllius, who after having opposed the enemy for a considerable time, and killed, with his own hand, all those who attempted to force a passage where he fought; finding himself, at last, faint with the many wounds he had received, and the large quantity of blood he had lost, called to one of the officers who commanded at the post, and after having resigned his place to him, he retired a few paces, and fell down dead amidst his countrymen, that the enemies might not be masters of his body.

Night obliged both parties to discontinue the engagement; but the next morning it was renewed by break of day. The Lacedæmonians defended themselves with new efforts of ardour and bravery, and the women would not forsake them, but were always at hand to furnish arms and refreshments to such as wanted them, and also to assist in carrying off the wounded. The Macedonians were indefatigable in their endeavours to fill up the ditch with vast quantities of wood, and other materials, which they threw upon the arms and dead bodies; and the Lacedæmonians redoubled their efforts to prevent their effecting that design.

But all on a sudden, Pyrrhus, who had forced himself a passage at the place where the chariots had been disposed, was seen pushing forwards full speed to the city. Those who defended this post uttered loud cries, which were answered by dismal shrieks from the women, who ran from place to place in the utmost consternation. Pyrrhus still advanced, and bore down all who opposed him. He was now within a small distance of the city, when a shaft from a Cretan bow pierced his horse, and made him so furious, that he ran with his master into the very midst of the enemies, and fell dead with him to the ground. Whilst his friends crowded about him to extricate him from the danger he was in, the Spartans advanced

in great numbers, and with their arrows repulsed the Macedonians beyond their trench.

Pyrrhus then caused a general retreat to be sound ed, in expectation that the Lacedæmonians, who had lost a great number of men, and were most of them wounded, would be inclined to surrender the city, which was then reduced to the last extremity, and seemed incapable of sustaining a new attack. But at the very instant when every thing seemed desperate, one of the generals of Antigonus arrived from Corinth, with a very considerable body of foreign troops; which had scarce entered the city before king Areus appeared with 2000 foot, which he had brought from Crete.

These two reinforcements, which the Lacedæmonians received the same day, did but animate Pyrrhus the more, and add new ardour to his ambition. He was sensible that it would be more glorious for him to take the city in spite of its new defenders, and in the very sight of its king; but, after he had made some attempts, and was convinced that he should gain nothing but wounds he desisted from his enterprise, and began to ravage the country, with an intention to pass the winter there; but he was diverted from his design by a new ray of hope, which soon drew him off to another quarter.

Aristeas and Aristippus,¹ two of the principal citizens of Argos, had A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271. excited a great sedition in that city. The latter of these was desirous of supporting himself by the favour and protection of Antigonus; and Aristeas, in order to frustrate his design, immediately invited Pyrrhus to espouse his party. The king of Epirus, always fond of new pursuits, considered his victories as so many steps to greater advantages; and thought his defeats furnished him with indispensable reasons for entering upon a new war, to repair his losses. Neither good nor ill success, therefore, could inspire him with a disposition for tranquillity; for which reason he had no sooner given audience to the courier of Aristeas, than he began his march to Argos. King Areus formed several ambuscades to destroy him by the way, and having possessed himself of the most difficult passes, cut to pieces the Gauls and Molossians who formed his rear-guard. Ptolemy, who had been detached by Pyrrhus, his father, to succour that guard, was killed in the engagement, upon which his troops disbanded and fled. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, commanded by Eualcus, an officer of great reputation, pursued them with so much ardour, that he insensibly advanced to a great distance from his infantry, who were incapable of keeping up with him.

Pyrrhus being informed of his son's death, which affected him with the keenest sorrow, immediately led up the Molossian cavalry against the pursuers; and throwing himself among their thickest troops, made such a slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, as in a moment covered him with blood. He was always intrepid and terrible in battles; but on this occasion, when grief and revenge gave a new edge to his courage, he even surpassed himself, and effaced the lustre of his conduct in all former battles, by the superior valour and intrepidity which he now displayed. He continually sought Eualcus in the throng, and having at last singled him out, he spurred his horse against him, and struck him through with his javelin, after having been in great danger himself. He then sprung from his horse, and made a terrible slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, whom he overthrew in heaps upon the dead body of Eualcus. This loss of the bravest officers and troops of Sparta, proceeded altogether from the temerity of those who, after they had gained a complete victory, suffered it to be wrested out of their hands, by pursuing those that fled with a blind and imprudent eagerness.

Pyrrhus having thus celebrated as it were the funeral solemnities of Ptolemy by this great battle, and mitigated his affliction in some measure by satiating his rage and vengeance in the blood of those who had slain his son, continued his march to Argos; and

¹ Plut. in Pyrrh. 403—406. Pausan. l. i. p. 24. Justin. l. xiv. c. 5.

upon his arrival there, was informed that Antigonus possessed the heights upon the borders of the plain. He formed his camp near the city of Nauplia, and sent a herald the next morning to Antigonus, with an offer to decide their quarrel by a single combat; but Antigonus contented himself with replying, "That if Pyrrhus was grown weary of life, there were abundance of methods for putting an end to it."

The inhabitants of Argos despatched ambassadors at the same time to both these princes, to entreat them to withdraw their troops, and not reduce their city into subjection to either of them, but allow it to continue in a state of friendship with both. Antigonus readily consented to this proposal, and sent his son as a hostage to the Argives. Pyrrhus also promised to retire; but as he offered no security for the performance of his word, they began to suspect his sincerity, and indeed with sufficient reason.

As soon as night appeared he advanced to the walls, and having found a gate left open by Aristæas, he had time to pour his Gauls into the city, and to seize it without being perceived. But when he would have introduced his elephants, he found the gate too low; which obliged him to cause the towers to be taken down from their backs, and to be replaced, when those animals had entered the city. All this could not be effected, amidst the darkness, without much trouble, noise, and confusion, and without a considerable loss of time, which caused them to be discovered. The Argives, when they beheld the enemy in the city, fled to the citadel, and to those places that were best calculated for their defence, and sent a deputation to Antigonus to urge him to advance with speed to their assistance. He accordingly marched that moment, and caused his son, with the other officers, to enter the city at the head of his best troops.

In this very juncture of time, king Aræus also arrived at Argos, with 1000 Cretans, and as many Spartans as had made most haste. These troops, when they had all joined each other, charged the Gauls with the utmost fury, and put them into disorder. Pyrrhus hastened to sustain them, but in the tumult and confusion which were occasioned by the darkness of the night, it was impossible for him to make himself either heard or obeyed. When day appeared he was not a little surprised to see the citadel filled with enemies; and as he then imagined all was lost, he thought of nothing but a timely retreat. But as he had some apprehension with respect to the city gates, which were much too narrow, he sent orders to his son Helenus, whom he had left without, with the greatest part of the army, to demolish part of the wall, that his troops might have a free passage out of the city. The person to whom Pyrrhus gave this order in great haste, having misunderstood his meaning, delivered a quite contrary message, in consequence of which Helenus immediately drew out his best infantry, with all the elephants he had left, and then advanced into the city to assist his father, who was preparing to retire the moment the other entered the place.

Pyrrhus, as long as the place afforded him a sufficient extent of ground, appeared with a resolute mien, and frequently faced about and repulsed those who pursued him; but when he found himself engaged in the narrow street which led to the gate, the confusion, which already was very great, became infinitely increased by the arrival of the troops whom his son brought to his assistance. He frequently called aloud to them to withdraw, in order to clear the street, but in vain, for as it was impossible for his voice to be heard, they still continued to advance. And to complete the calamity in which they were involved, one of the largest elephants sunk down across the middle of the gate, and filled up the whole extent in such a manner, that they could neither advance nor retire. The confusion occasioned by this accident became then inexpressible.

Pyrrhus observing the disorder of his men, who broke forward, and were driven back like the waves of the sea, took off the glittering crest which distinguished his helmet, and caused him to be known, and then, confiding in the goodness of his horse, he

sprung into the throng of the enemies who pursued him; and while he was fighting with an air of desperation, one of the adverse party advanced up to him, and pierced his cuirass with a javelin. The wound however was neither great nor dangerous, and Pyrrhus immediately turned upon the man from whom he received it, and who happened to be only a private soldier, the son of a poor woman of Argos. The mother beheld the combat from the top of a house, as did also the rest of the women.

The moment she saw her son engaged with Pyrrhus, she almost lost her senses, and was chilled with horror at the danger to which she beheld him exposed. Amidst the impressions of her agony, she caught up with both hands a large tile, and threw it down upon Pyrrhus. The mass fell directly upon his head, and his helmet being too weak to ward off the blow, his eyes were immediately covered with darkness, his hands dropped the reins, and he sunk down from his horse without being then observed. But he was soon discovered by a soldier, who put an end to his life by cutting off his head.

The noise of this accident was immediately spread in all parts. Alcioneus, the son of Antigonus, took the head from the soldier, and rode away with it full speed to his father, at whose feet he threw it; but met with a very ill reception for having acted in a manner so unbecoming his rank. Antigonus, recollecting the fate of his grandfather Antigonus, and that of Demetrius his father, could not refrain from tears at so mournful a spectacle, and caused magnificent honours to be rendered to the remains of Pyrrhus. After having made himself master of his camp and army, he treated his son Helenus, and the rest of his friends, with great generosity, and sent them back to Epirus.

One cannot refuse the title of a great captain to Pyrrhus, as he was so particularly esteemed by the Roman ambassadors; and especially if we consider the glorious testimony given in his favour by a person the most worthy of belief, with regard to the merit of a warrior, and the best qualified to form a competent judgment on that head. Livy reports,¹ from an historian whom he cites, without, however, pretending to vouch for its authenticity, that Hannibal, when he was asked by Scipio, whom he thought to be the most able and consummate general, placed Alexander in the first rank, Pyrrhus in the second, and himself only in the third.

The same general also characterized Pyrrhus, by adding, "That he was the first who taught the art of encamping; that no one was more skilful in choosing his posts, and drawing up his troops; that he had a peculiar art of conciliating affection, and attaching people to his interest; and this to such a degree, that the people of Italy were more desirous of having him for their master, though a stranger, than to be governed by the Romans themselves, who for so many years had held the first rank in that country."

Pyrrhus might possibly be master of all these great qualities; but I cannot comprehend why Hannibal should represent him as the first who taught the art of encamping. Were not several Grecian kings and generals masters of this art before him? The Romans, indeed, learned it from him, and Hannibal's evidence must extend no farther. However, these extraordinary qualities alone are not sufficient to constitute a great commander; he even did not display them on several occasions. He was defeated by the Romans near Asculum, merely from having chosen his ground ill. He failed in his attempt on Sparta, by deferring the attack for a few hours. He lost Sicily, by not conciliating the people; and was himself killed at Argos, for venturing too rashly into an enemy's city. We might also enumerate a variety of other errors committed by him, with reference even to military affairs.

Is it not entirely inconsistent with the rank and duty of a great general, and especially of a king, to be always exposing his person, without the least precaution, like a private soldier; to charge in the foremost ranks like a common adventurer; to be more vain

¹ Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14.

of a personal action, which only shows strength and intrepidity, than of that wise and attentive conduct, so essential to a general vigilant for the safety of all, and who never confounds his own merit and functions with those of a private soldier? We may even observe the same defects to have been very apparent in the kings and generals of this age, who undoubtedly were led into it by the false lustre of Alexander's successful temerity.

May it not also be said, that Pyrrhus was deficient in not observing any rule in his military enterprises, and in plunging blindly into wars, without reflection, without cause, through natural constitution, passion, habit, and mere incapacity to continue in a state of tranquillity, or pass any part of his time to his satisfaction, unless he was tilting with all the world? The reader will, I hope, forgive my making use of that expression, since a character of this nature seems, in my opinion, very much to resemble that of the heroes and knights errant of romances.

But no fault is more obvious in Pyrrhus's character, nor must have shocked my readers more, than his forming his enterprises without the least thought, and abandoning himself, without examination, to the least appearances of success; frequently changing his views, on such slight grounds, as discover no consistency of design, and even little judgment; in a word, beginning every thing, and ending nothing. His whole life was a continued series of uncertainty and variation; and while he suffered his restless and impetuous ambition to hurry him, at different times, into Sicily, Italy, Macedonia, and Greece, he was no where so little as in Epirus, the land of his nativity and his hereditary dominions. Let us then allow him the title of a great captain, if valour and intrepidity alone are sufficient to deserve it; for in these qualities no man was ever his superior. When we behold him in his battles, we think ourselves spectators of the vivacity, intrepidity, and martial ardour, of Alexander; but he certainly had not the qualities of a good king, who, when he really loves his people, makes his valour consist in defending them, his happiness in making them happy, and his glory in procuring them peace and security.

The reputation of the Romans
A. M. 3730. beginning now to spread through
Ant. J. C. 274. foreign nations, by the war they
had maintained for six years against

Pyrrhus, whom at length they compelled to retire from Italy, and return ignominiously to Epirus: Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to desire their friendship;¹ and the Romans were charmed to find it solicited by so great a king.

An embassy was also sent from

A. M. 3731. Rome to Egypt the following year,²
Ant. J. C. 273. in return to the civilities of Ptolemy. The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurgus, Cn. Fabius Pictor, with Numerius, his brother, and Q. Ogulnius. The disinterestedness which they displayed, sufficiently indicated the greatness of their souls. Ptolemy gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold; which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour he intended them; but they went the next morning and placed them on the head of the king's statues erected in the public squares of the city. The king having likewise tendered them very considerable presents, at their audience of leave, they received them as they before accepted of the crowns; but before they went to the senate, to give an account of their embassy, after their arrival at Rome, they deposited all these presents in the public treasury, and made it evident, by so noble a conduct, that persons of honour ought, when they serve the public,³ to propose no other advantage to themselves, than the credit of acquitting themselves well of their duty. The republic, however, would not suffer itself

to be exceeded in generosity of sentiments. The senate and people came to a resolution that the ambassadors, in consideration of the services they had rendered the state, should receive a sum of money equivalent to that they had deposited in the public treasury. This, indeed, was an amiable contest between generosity and glory; and one is at a loss to know, to which of the antagonists to ascribe the victory. Where shall we now find men who devote themselves in such a manner to the public good, without any interested expectations of a return; and who enter upon employments in the state, without the least view of enriching themselves? But let me add too, where shall we find states and princes, who know how to esteem and recompense merit in this manner? We may observe here, says an historian,⁴ three fine models set before us, in the noble liberality of Ptolemy, the disinterested spirit of the ambassadors, and the grateful equity of the Romans.

SECTION VIII.—ATHENS BESIEGED AND TAKEN BY ANTIGONUS. THE JUST PUNISHMENT INFLICTED ON SOTADES, A SATIRIC POET. THE REVOLT OF MAGAS FROM PHILADELPHUS. THE DEATH OF PHILETERUS, FOUNDER OF THE KINGDOM OF PERGAMUS. THE DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS SOTER. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON ANTIOCHUS, SURNAMED THEOS. THE WISE MEASURES TAKEN BY PTOLEMY FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF COMMERCE. AN ACCOMMODATION EFFECTED BETWEEN MAGAS AND PHILADELPHUS. THE DEATH OF THE FORMER. THE WAR BETWEEN ANTIOCHUS AND PTOLEMY. THE REVOLT OF THE EAST AGAINST ANTIOCHUS. PEACE RESTORED BETWEEN THE TWO KINGS. THE DEATH OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

THE Greeks, after they had been subjected by the Macedonians, and rendered dependent on their authority, seem, by losing their liberty, to have also lost that courage and greatness of soul, by which they had been till then so eminently distinguished from other people. They appear entirely changed, and to have lost all similitude to their ancient character. Sparta, that was once so bold and imperious, and in a manner possessed of the sovereignty of all Greece, patiently bowed down her neck, at last, beneath a foreign yoke; and we shall soon behold her subjected to domestic tyrants, who will treat her with the utmost cruelty. We shall see Athens, once so jealous of her liberty, and so formidable to the most powerful kings, running headlong into slavery, and, as she changes her masters, successively paying them the homage of the basest and most obsequious adulation. Each of these cities will, from time to time, make some efforts to reinstate themselves in their ancient liberties, but all feeble, and without success.

Antigonus Gonatas,⁵ king of Macedonia, became very powerful, A. M. 3736.
some years after the death of Pyrrhus, and thereby formidable to the states of Greece: the Lacedæmonians, therefore, entered into a league with the Athenians against him, and engaged Ptolemy Philadelphus to accede to it. Antigonus, in order to frustrate the confederacy which these two states had formed against him, and to prevent the consequences that might result from it, immediately began hostilities with the siege of Athens; but Ptolemy soon sent a fleet thither, under the command of Patroclus, one of his generals; while Areus, king of Lacedæmon, put himself at the head of an army, to succour that city by land. Patroclus, as soon as he arrived before the place, advised Areus to attack the enemy, and promised to make a descent, at the same time, in order to assault them in the rear. This counsel was very judicious, and could not have failed of success, had it been carried into execution; but Areus, who wanted provisions for his troops, thought it more advisable to return to Sparta. The fleet, therefore, being incapable of acting alone, sailed back to Egypt, without doing any thing. This is the usual inconvenience to which troops of different

¹ Liv. Epist. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii.

² Ibid. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Dion. in Excerpt.

³ De publico scilicet ministerio nihil cuiquam præter laudem bene administrati officii accedere debere judicantes. Val. Max.

⁴ Valerius Maximus.

⁵ Justin. l. xxvi. c. 2. Pausan. in Lacon. p. 108, et in Attic. p. 1.

nations are exposed, when they are commanded by chiefs who have neither any subordination nor good intelligence between them. Athens, thus abandoned by her allies, became a prey to Antigonus, who put a garrison in it.

Patroclus happened, in his return, to stop at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, where he met with Sotades, a poet universally decried for the unbounded licentiousness both of his verses and his manners. His satiric poetry never spared either his best friends, or the most worthy persons; and even the sacred characters of kings were not exempted from his malignity. When he was at the court of Lysimachus, he affected to blacken the reputation of Ptolemy by atrocious calumnies; and when he was entertained by the latter, he traduced Lysimachus in the same manner. He had composed a virulent satire against Ptolemy, wherein he inserted many cutting reflections on his marriage with Arsinoë, his own sister; and he had fled from Alexandria to save himself from the resentment of that prince. Patroclus thought it his duty to make an example of a wretch who had affronted his master in such an insolent manner. He accordingly caused a weight of lead to be fastened to his body, and then ordered him to be thrown into the sea. The generality of poets who profess satire, are a dangerous and detestable race of men, who have renounced all probity and sense of shame, and whose quill, dipped in the bitterest gall, respects neither rank nor virtue.

The affairs of Ptolemy were greatly perplexed by a revolt excited in Egypt,² by a prince from whom he never suspected having any thing of that nature to fear. Magas, governor of Cyrenaica, and Libya, having set up the standard of rebellion against Ptolemy his master and benefactor, caused himself to be proclaimed king of those provinces. Ptolemy and he were brothers by the same mother; for the latter was the son of Berenice and Philip, a Macedonian officer, who was her husband before she was espoused by Ptolemy Soter. Her solicitations, therefore, obtained for him this government when she was advanced to the honours of a crown, upon the death of Ophellas, as I have formerly observed. Magas had so well established himself in his government by long possession, and by his marriage with Apame, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, that he endeavoured to render himself independent; and as ambition knows no bounds, his pretensions rose still higher. He was not contented with wresting from his brother the two provinces he governed, but formed a resolution to dethrone him. With this view he advanced into Egypt, at the head of a great army, and, in his march towards Alexandria, made himself master of Paretonium, a city of Marmarica.

The intelligence he received of the revolt of the Marmaridæ in Libya, prevented him from proceeding any farther in this expedition; and he immediately returned to regulate the disorders in his provinces. Ptolemy, who had marched an army to the frontiers, had now a favourable opportunity of attacking him in his retreat, and entirely defeating his troops; but a new danger called him likewise to another quarter. He detected a conspiracy which had been formed against him, by 4000 Gauls, whom he had taken into his pay, and who intended no less than to drive him out of Egypt, and seize it for themselves. In order, therefore, to frustrate their design, he found himself obliged to return to Egypt, where he drew the conspirators into an island in the Nile, and shut them up so effectually there, that they all perished by famine, except those who chose rather to destroy one another, than languish out their lives in that miserable manner.

Magas, as soon as he had calmed the troubles which occasioned his return, renewed his designs on Egypt, and, in order to succeed

more effectually, engaged his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, to enter into his plan. It was then resolved, that Antiochus should attack Ptolemy on one side, while Magas invaded him on the other; but Ptolemy, who had secret intelligence of this treaty, anticipated Antiochus in his design, and gave him so much employment in all his maritime provinces, by repeated descents, and the devastations made by the troops he sent into those parts, that this prince was obliged to continue in his own dominions, to concert measures for their defence; and Magas, who had relied upon a diversion to be made in his favour by Antiochus, thought it not advisable to enter upon any action, when he perceived his ally had not made the effort on which he depended.

Phileterus,³ who founded the kingdom of Pergamus, died the following year, at the age of four-score. He was a eunuch, and had been originally a servant of Docimus, an officer in the army of Antigonus; who having quitted that prince to enter into the service of Lysimachus, was followed by Phileterus. Lysimachus, finding him a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and intrusted him with the government of the city of Pergamus, in which his treasures were deposited. He served Lysimachus very faithfully in this post for several years; but his attachment to the interests of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lysimachus, who was destroyed by the intrigues of Arsinoë the younger, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, as I have formerly related; and the affliction he testified at the tragical death of that prince, caused him to be suspected by the young queen; and she accordingly took measures to destroy him. Phileterus, who was sensible of her intentions, resolved upon a revolt, and succeeded in his design, by the protection of Seleucus; after which he supported himself in the possession of the city and treasures of Lysimachus; being favoured in his views by the troubles which arose upon the death of that prince, and that of Seleucus, which happened seven months after. He conducted her affairs with so much art and capacity, amidst all the divisions of the successors of those two princes, that he preserved the city, with all the country around it, for the space of twenty years, and formed it into a state, which subsisted for several generations in his family, and became one of the most potent states of Asia. He had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, the former of whom, who was the eldest, had a son named also Eumenes, who succeeded his uncle, and reigned twenty-two years.

In this year began the first Punic war, which continued for the space of twenty-four years, between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

Nicomedes,⁴ king of Bithynia,⁵ having built a city near the place where Astacus, which Lysimachus had destroyed, formerly stood, cal-

³ Strabo. l. xiii. p. 623, 624. Pausan. in Att. p. 13 & 18.

⁴ Pausan. Eliac. l. i. p. 310. Euseb. in Chron. Trebell. Pollio in Gallien. Ammian. Marcell. l. xii. c. 9. Memn. c. xxi. Strab. l. xii. p. 624.

⁵ Bithynia was anciently denominated Mysia, Mygdonia, and Ibebycia, as well as Bithynia. It enjoyed its own kings for more than 200 years, when the last of them left it as a legacy to the Romans. It was then re-conquered by Mithridates, king of Pontus; reduced to its former subjection by Lucullus and Cotta; and, after the defeat of Domitius Calvinus, again conquered by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, who kept it till his overthrow at Zela by Cæsar; and from that time it remained a Roman province, and was included by Constantine in the diocese of Pontus, when he made a new division of the empire. Under Valentinian, Bithynia was divided into two provinces, of which Nice and Nicomedia were the respective capitals, and so continued till it became subject to the Turkish princes of the house of Seljouk, from whom it was recovered in the 12th century, but finally lost to the Greek empire in the reign of the younger Andronicus. It is now included in the great province of Anatolia, or Anadolie, and governed by a Pasha of three tails, who resides at Nicomedia.

Bithynia is a romantic and beautiful country, intersected with lofty mountains and fertile valleys, abounding in fine forests, and well watered by the two large streams of the Sangarius and Parthenius, with their numberless tributary

¹ Athen. l. xiv. p. 620, 621.

² Pausan. in Att. p. 12, 13.

led it Nicomedia, from his own name. Great mention is made of it in the history of the Lower Empire, because several of the Roman emperors resided there.

Antiochus Soter was desirous to improve the death of Phileterus to his own advantage, and take that opportunity to seize his dominions; but Eumenes, his nephew and successor, raised a fine army for his defence, and obtained such a complete victory over him near Sardis, as not only secured him the possession of what he already enjoyed, but enabled him to enlarge his dominions considerably.

Antiochus¹ returned to Antioch after this defeat, where he ordered² A. M. 3743. after this defeat, where he ordered² Ant. J. C. 261. one of his sons to be put to death for raising a commotion in his absence, and caused the other, whose name was the same as his own, to be proclaimed king; shortly after which he died, and left him all his dominions. This young prince was his son by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who, from his mother-in-law, became his consort, in the manner I have before mentioned.

Antiochus the son,³ when he came to the crown, was espoused A. M. 3744. to Laodice, his sister, by the father's side. He afterwards assumed the surname of Theos, which signifies God, and distinguishes him, at this day, from the other kings of Syria who were called by the name of Antiochus. The Milesians were the first who conferred it upon him to testify their gratitude for delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus, governor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was not only master of Egypt, but of Coele-syria, and Palestine, with the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria in Asia Minor. Timarchus revolted from his sovereign, and chose Miletus for the seat of his residence. The Milesians, in order to free themselves from this tyrant, had recourse to Antiochus, who defeated and killed him. In acknowledgment for which they rendered him divine honours, and even conferred upon him the title of *God*. With such impious flattery was it usual to treat the reigning princes of those ages!⁴ The Lemnians had likewise bestowed the same title on his father and grandfather, and did not scruple to erect temples to their honour; and the people of Smyrna were altogether as obsequious to his mother Stratonice.

Berosus,⁵ the famous historian of Babylon, flourished in the beginning of this prince's reign, and dedicated his history to him. Pliny informs us, that it contained the astronomical observations of 480 years. When the Macedonians were masters of Babylon, Berosus made himself acquainted with their language, and went first to Cos, which had been rendered famous as the birth-place of Hippocrates, and there established a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From Cos he proceeded to Athens, where, notwithstanding the utility of his art, he acquired so much reputation by his astrological predictions, that the citizens erected a statue to him, with a tongue of gold,⁶ in the Gymnasium, where the youths performed all their exercises. Josephus and Eusebius have transmitted to us some excellent fragments of this history, that illustrate several passages in the Old Testament, and without which it would be impossible to trace any exact succession of the kings of Babylon.

Ptolemy being solicitous to enrich his kingdom, conceived an expedient to draw into it all the ma-

ritime commerce of the East; which, till then, had been in the possession of the Tyrians, who transacted it by sea, as far as Elath; and from thence by land to Rhinocorura, and from this last place by sea again, to the city of Tyre. Elath and Rhinocorura were two sea-ports; the first on the eastern shore of the Red Sea, and the second at the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, and near the mouths of the river of Egypt.

Ptolemy,⁷ in order to draw this commerce into his own kingdom, thought it necessary to found a city on the western shore of the Red Sea, from whence the ships were to set out. He accordingly built it almost on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of his mother Berenice; but the port not being very commodious, that of Myos-Hornos was preferred as being very near, and much better; and all the commodities of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia were landed here. From thence they were conveyed on camels to Coptus, where they were again shipped, and brought down the Nile to Alexandria, which transmitted them to all the West, in exchange for its merchandise, which was afterwards exported to the East. But as the passage from Coptus to the Red Sea lay across the deserts, where no water could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houses to lodge the caravans; Ptolemy, in order to remedy this inconvenience, caused a canal to be opened along the great road, and to communicate with the Nile that supplied it with water. On the edge of this canal houses were erected, at proper distances, for the reception of passengers, and to supply all necessary accommodations for them and their beasts of burden.

Useful as all these labours were, Ptolemy did not think them sufficient; for, as he intended to engross all the traffic between the East and West into his dominions, he thought his plan would be imperfect, unless he could protect what he had facilitated in other respects. With this view, he caused two fleets to be fitted out, one for the Red Sea, and the other for the Mediterranean. This last was extremely fine,⁸ and some of the vessels which composed it much exceeded the common size. Two of them, in particular, had thirty benches of oars; one twenty; four rowed with fourteen; two with twelve; fourteen with eleven; thirty with nine; thirty-seven with seven; five with six, and seventeen with five. The number of the whole amounted to 112 vessels. He had as many more, with four and three benches of oars, beside a prodigious number of small vessels. With this formidable fleet he not only protected his commerce from all insults; but kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, as Cilicia, for instance, with Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, as far as the Cyclades.

Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing very aged and infirm, caused overtures of accommodation to be tendered to his brother Ptolemy, with the proposal of a marriage between Berenice, his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of Egypt, and a promise to give her all his dominions for her dowry. The negotiation succeeded, and a peace was concluded on those terms.

Magas,⁹ however, died before the execution of the treaty, having abandoned himself to pleasure, and particularly to excess at his table, which greatly impaired his health. His widow Apame, whom Justin calls Arsinoe, resolved, after his death, to break off her daughter's marriage with the son of Ptolemy, as it had been concluded without her consent. With this view, she employed persons in Macedonia to invite Demetrius, the uncle of king Antigonus Gonatas, to come to her court, assuring him, at the same time, that her daughter and crown should be his. Demetrius arrived there in a short time; but as soon as Apame

streams. The former still flows, as in the days of Strabo, between flowery meadows and smiling slopes, in general 100 yards wide, very deep and rapid.

¹ Trog. in Prologo. l. xxvi.

² M. de la Nauze affirms, that there is an error in this abridgment of Trogus Pompeius. The reader may consult tom. VII. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions.

³ Polyen. Strateg. l. iiii. c. 50. Appian. in Syriac. p. 130. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

⁴ Athen. l. vi. p. 255.

⁵ Tatian. in Orat. con. Græc. p. 471. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Vitruv. 9. 7.

⁶ Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

⁷ Strab. xvii. p. 815. Plin. l. vi. c. 23.

⁸ Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. Athen. l. v. p. 203.

⁹ Athen. l. xlii. p. 550. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 3.

beheld him, she contracted a violent passion for him, and resolved to espouse him herself. From that moment he neglected the daughter to attach himself to the mother; and as he imagined that her favour raised him above all things, he began to treat the young princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in such an insolent and imperious manner, that they formed a resolution to destroy him. Berenice herself conducted the conspirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they stabbed him in his bed, though Apame employed all her efforts to save him, and even covered him with her own body. Berenice, after this, went to Egypt, where her marriage with Ptolemy was consummated, and Apame was sent to her brother Antiochus Theos, in Syria.

This princess had the art to exasperate her brother so effectually against Ptolemy,¹ that she at last spirited him up to a war, which continued for a long space of time, and was productive of fatal consequences to Antiochus, as will be evident in the sequel.

Ptolemy did not place himself at the head of his army,² his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign and the inconveniences of a camp; for which reason he left the war to the conduct of his generals. Antiochus, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of all the forces of Babylon and the East, with a resolution to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. History has not preserved the particulars of what passed in that campaign, or perhaps the advantages obtained on either side were not very considerable, and the event not worthy of much notice.

Ptolemy did not forget to improve his library,³ notwithstanding the war, and continually enriched it with new books. He was exceedingly curious in pictures and designs by great masters. Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, was one of those who collected for him in Greece; and he had the good fortune to gratify the taste of that prince for those works of art to such a degree, that Ptolemy entertained a friendship for him, and presented him with twenty-five talents, which he expended in the relief of the necessitous Sicyonians, and the redemption of such of them as were detained in captivity.

While Antiochus was employed in his war with Egypt, a great insurrection was fomented in the East, and his distance at that time rendered him incapable of taking the necessary steps to check it with sufficient expedition. The revolt, therefore, daily gathered strength, till it at last became incapable of remedy. These troubles gave birth to the Parthian empire.

The cause of these commotions proceeded from Agathocles,⁴ governor of the Parthian dominions for Antiochus. This officer attempted to offer violence to a youth of the country, whose name was Tiridates; upon which Arsaces, the brother of the boy, a person of low extraction but of great courage and honour, assembled some of his friends, in order to deliver his brother from the brutality intended him. They accordingly fell upon the governor, killed him on the spot, and then fled for safety with several persons whom they had drawn together for their defence against the pursuit to which such a bold proceeding would inevitably expose them. Their party grew so numerous, by the negligence of Antiochus, that Arsaces soon found himself strong enough to drive the Macedonians out of that province, and assume the government himself. The Macedonians had always continued masters of it, from the death of

Alexander: first under Eumenes, then under Antigonus, next under Seleucus Nicator, and lastly under Antiochus.

Much about the same time,⁵ Theodotus also revolted in Bactriana, and from a governor, became king of that province; he subjected the thousand cities it contained, while Antiochus was amusing himself with the Egyptian war; and strengthened himself so effectually in his new acquisitions, that it became impossible to reduce him afterwards. This example was followed by all the other nations in those parts, each of whom threw off the yoke at the same time; by which means Antiochus lost all the eastern provinces of his empire beyond the Tigris. This event happened, according to Justin, when L. Manlius Vulso, and M. Atilius Regulus,⁶ were consuls at Rome: that is to say, the fourteenth year of the first Punic war.

The troubles and revolts in the East made Antiochus at last desirous to disengage himself from the war with Ptolemy.⁷ A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between them; and the conditions of it were, that Antiochus should divorce Laodice, and espouse Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy; that he should also disinherit his issue by the first marriage, and secure the crown to his children by the second. Antiochus, after the ratification of the treaty, repudiated Laodice, though she was his sister by the father's side, and had brought him two sons: Ptolemy then embarked at Pelusium, and conducted his daughter to Seleucia, a maritime city, near the mouth of the Orontes, a river of Syria. Antiochus came thither to receive his bride, and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence. Ptolemy had a tender affection for his daughter, and gave orders to have regular supplies of water from the Nile transmitted to her; believing it better for her health than any other water whatever, and therefore he was desirous she should drink none but that. When marriages are contracted from no other motives than political views, and are founded on such unjust conditions, they are generally attended with calamitous and fatal events.

These particulars of the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy had been foretold by the prophet Daniel. I shall here repeat the beginning of this prophecy, which has already been explained elsewhere, that the reader may at once behold and admire the prediction of the greatest events in our history, and their literal accomplishment at the appointed time.

"I will now show thee the truth."⁸ These words were spoken to Daniel, on the part of God, by the man clothed in linen. "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; namely, Cyrus, who was then upon the throne; his son Cambyses; and Darius, the son of Hystaspes. "And the fourth shall be far richer than they all: And by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece." The monarch here meant was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a very formidable army.

"And a mighty king shall stand up,⁹ that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will." In this part of the prophecy we may easily trace Alexander the Great.

"And when he shall stand up,¹⁰ his kingdom shall be broken (by his death), and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those;" namely, beside the four greater princes. We have already seen the vast empire of Alexander parcelled out into four great kingdoms; ¹¹ with-

⁵ Justin. & Strab. *ibid.*

⁶ In the Fasti he is called C. Atilius.

⁷ Hieron. in Dan. xi. Polyann. strat. l. viii. c. 50. Athen. l. ii. p. 45.

⁸ Dan. xi. 2.

⁹ Ver. 3.

¹⁰ Ver. 4.

¹¹ Tum Maximum in terris Macedonum regnum nomenque, inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt laetrantes viribus. Liv. l. xiv. n. 9.

¹ Hieron. in Daniel.

² Strab. l. xvii. p. 789. Hieron. in Daniel.

³ Plut. in Arat. p. 1031.

⁴ Arrian. in Parth. apud Phot. Cod. 53. Syncell. p. 284. Justin. l. xii. c. 4. Strab. l. xi. p. 515.

out including those foreign princes who founded other kingdoms in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, Heraclea, and on the Bosphorus. All this was present to Daniel.

This prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage we have already mentioned.

"The king of the South shall be strong;¹ and one of his princes; and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement; but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm: but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times."

It will be necessary to observe, that Daniel, in this passage, and throughout all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of Egypt and Syria, because they were the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of God.

"The king of the South shall be strong."² This *king of the South* was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, king of Egypt; and the *king of the North* was Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria. And, indeed, such was their exact situation with respect to Judæa, which has Syria to the north, and Egypt to the south.

According to Daniel, the king of Egypt, who first reigned in that country after the death of Alexander, was Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls the *king of the South*, and declares that *he shall be strong*. The exactness of this character is fully justified by what we have seen in his history: for he was master of Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, Arabia, Palestine, Coele-Syria, and most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor; with the island of Cyprus: as also of several isles in the *Ægean sea*, which is now called the *Archipelago*, and even some cities of Greece, as Sicyon and Corinth.

The prophet,³ after this, mentions another of the four successors to this empire, whom he calls *Princes or Governors*. This was Seleucus Nicator, the king of the North; of whom he declares, that he "should be more powerful than the king of the South, and his dominion more extensive;" for this is the import of the prophet's expression, "he shall be strong above him, and have dominion." It is easy to prove, that his territories were of greater extent than those of the king of Egypt; for he was master of all the East, from mount Taurus to the river Indus; and also of several provinces in Asia Minor, between mount Taurus and the *Ægean sea*; to which he added Thrace and Macedonia, a little before his death.

Daniel then informs us, "of the coming of the daughter of the king of the South, to the king of the North, and mentions the treaty of peace which was concluded on this occasion between the two kings."⁴ This evidently points out the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and the peace concluded between them in consideration of this alliance; every circumstance of which exactly happened according to the prediction before us. The sequel of this history will show us the fatal events of this marriage, which was also foretold by the prophet.

In the remaining part of the chapter he relates the most remarkable events of future times, under these two races of kings, to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jewish nation. I shall be careful, as these events occur in the series of this history, to apply the prophecy of Daniel to them, that the reader may observe the exact accomplishment of each prediction.

In the meantime, I cannot but recognize in this place, with admiration, the divine origin of the Scriptures, which relate in so particular and circumstantial a manner, a variety of singular and extraordinary facts, above 300 years before they were transacted. What an immense chain of events extends from the prophecy to the time of its accomplishment; by the breaking of any single link, the whole would be disconcerted! With respect to the marriage alone,

what hand, but that of the Almighty, could have conducted so many different views, intrigues, and passions, to the same point? What knowledge but his could, with so much certainty, have foreseen such a number of distinct circumstances, subject not only to the freedom of will, but even to the irregular impressions of caprice? And what man but must adore that sovereign power which God exercises, in a secret but certain manner, over kings and princes, whose very crimes he renders subservient to the execution of his sacred will and the accomplishment of his eternal decrees; in which all events, both general and particular, have their appointed time and place fixed beyond the possibility of failing, even those which depend the most on the choice and liberty of mankind!

As Ptolemy was curious,⁵ to an uncommon degree, in the statues, designs, and pictures of excellent masters, as well as in books; he saw, during the time he continued in Syria, a statue of Diana, in one of the temples, with which he was highly pleased. Antigonus made him a present of it, at his request, and he carried it into Egypt. Some time after his return, Arsinoe was seized with an indisposition, and dreamed that Diana appeared to her, and acquainted her, that Ptolemy was the occasion of her illness, by his having taken her statue out of the temple where it was consecrated to her divinity. Upon this the statue was sent back, as soon as possible, to Syria, in order to be replaced in the proper temple. It was also accompanied with rich presents to the goddess, and a variety of sacrifices were offered up to appease her displeasure; but they were not succeeded by any favourable effect. The queen's distemper was so far from abating, that she died in a short time, and left Ptolemy inconsolable at her loss; and more so, because he imputed her death to his own indiscretion, in having removed the statue of Diana out of the temple.

This taste for statues, pictures, and other rare curiosities of art, may be very commendable in a prince, and other great men, when indulged to a certain degree; but when a person abandons himself to it entirely, it degenerates into a dangerous temptation, and frequently prompts him to notorious injustice and violence. This is evident by what Cicero relates of Verres, who practised a kind of piracy in Sicily, where he was prætor, by stripping private houses, and even the temples, of all their finest and most valuable curiosities. But though a person should have no recourse to such heinous methods, it is still very shocking and offensive, says Cicero, to say to a person of distinction, worth, and fortune, "Sell me this picture, or that statue,"⁶ since it is in effect declaring, "You are unworthy to have such an admirable piece in your possession, which suits only a person of my rank and taste." I mention nothing of the enormous expenses into which a man is drawn by this passion; for these exquisite pieces have no price but what the desire of possessing them sets upon them, and that we know has no bounds.⁷

Though Arsinoe was older than Ptolemy, and too far advanced in years to have any children when he espoused her, he however retained a constant and tender passion for her to the last, and rendered all imaginable honours to her memory after her death. He gave her name to several cities, which he caused to be built, and performed a number of other remarkable things, to testify how well he loved her.

Nothing could be more extraordinary than the design he formed of erecting a temple to her,⁸ at Alexandria, with a dome rising above it, the concave part of which was to be lined with adamant, in order

¹ Liban. Orat. xi.

² Superbum est et non ferendum, dicere prætorem in provinciâ homini honesto, locupleti, splendido: Vende mihi vasâ celata. Hoc est enim dicere: Non est dignus tu, qui habeas quæ tam bene facta sunt. Mææ dignitatis ista sunt. Cic. Orat. de signis, n. 45.

³ Etenim, qui modus est cupiditatis, idem est æstimationis. Difficile est enim finem facere pretio, nisi libidini fœderis. Cic. Orat. de signis, n. 14.

⁴ Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14.

¹ Dan. xi. 5, 6, ² Ver. 5. ³ Ver. 5. ⁴ Ver. 6.

to keep an iron statue of the queen suspended in the air. This design was the invention of Dinocrates, a famous architect in those times; and the moment he proposed it to Ptolemy, that prince gave orders for beginning the work without delay. The experiment however, remained imperfect, for want of sufficient time; for Ptolemy and the architect dying within a very short time after this resolution, the project was entirely discontinued. It has long been said, and even believed, that the body of Mahomet was suspended in this manner, in an iron coffin, by a loadstone fixed in the vaulted roof of the chamber where his corpse was deposited after his death; but this is a mere vulgar error, without the least foundation.

Ptolemy Philadelphus survived A. M. 3757. his beloved Arsinoe but a short Ant. J. C. 247. time.¹ He was naturally of a tender constitution, and the luxurious manner of life he led contributed to the decay of his health. The infirmities of old age, and his affliction for the loss of a consort whom he loved to adoration, brought upon him a languishing disorder, which ended his days in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. He left two sons and a daughter,² whom he had by his first wife Arsinoe, the daughter of Lysimachus, a different person from the last mentioned queen of that name. His eldest son Ptolemy Euergetes, succeeded him in the throne; the second bore the name of Lysimachus, his grandfather by the mother's side, and was put to death by his brother for engaging in a rebellion against him. The name of the daughter was Berenice, whose marriage with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, has already been related.

SECTION IX.—CHARACTER AND QUALITIES OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

Ptolemy Philadelphus had certainly great and excellent qualities; and yet we cannot propose him as a perfect model of a good king, because those qualities were counterpoised by defects altogether as considerable. He dishonoured the early part of his reign, by his resentment against a man of uncommon merit, I mean Demetrius Phalerens, because he had given some advice to his father, contrary to the interest of Philadelphus, but entirely conformable to equity and natural right. His immense riches soon drew after them a train of luxury and effeminate pleasures, the usual concomitants of such high fortunes, which contributed not a little to enervate his mind. He was not very industrious in cultivating the military virtues; but we must acknowledge at the same time, that a remissness of this nature is not always a misfortune to a people.

He, however, made an ample compensation for this neglect, by his love of the arts and sciences, and his generosity to learned men. The fame of his liberalities invited several illustrious poets to his court, particularly Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus; the last of whom gives him a very high character in some of his *Idyllia*. We have already seen his extraordinary taste for books; and that he spared no expense in the augmentation and embellishment of the library founded by his father, from whence both those princes have derived as much glory as could have redounded to them from the greatest conquests. As Philadelphus had abundance of wit, and his happy natural disposition had been carefully cultivated by able masters, he always retained a peculiar taste for the sciences, but in such a manner as suited the dignity of a prince; since he never suffered them to engross his whole attention, but regulated his propensity to those grateful amusements by prudence and moderation. In order to perpetuate this taste in his dominions, he erected public schools and academies at Alexandria, where they long flourished in great reputation. He loved to converse with men of learning, and as the greatest masters in every kind of science were envious to obtain his favour, he extracted from each of them (if I may use that expression) the flower and quintessence of the sciences in

which they excelled. This is the inestimable advantage which princes and great men possess; and happy are they when they know how to use the opportunity of acquiring, in agreeable conversations, a thousand things, not only curious, but useful and important, with respect to government.

This intercourse of Philadelphus with learned men, and his care to give due honour to the arts, may be considered as the source of those measures he pursued, through the course of his long reign, to make commerce flourish in his dominions; in which attempt no prince ever succeeded more effectually than himself. The greatest expenses, in this particular, could never discourage him from persisting in what he proposed to accomplish. We have already observed, that he built whole cities in order to protect and facilitate his intended traffic; that he opened a very long canal through deserts destitute of water; and maintained a very numerous and complete navy in each of the two seas, merely for the defence of his merchants. His principal point in view was to secure to strangers all imaginable safety, convenience, and freedom, in his ports, without fettering trade in any degree, or endeavouring to turn it from its proper channel, in order to make it subservient to his own particular interest; as he was persuaded, that commerce was like some springs, that soon cease to flow, when diverted from their natural course.

These were views worthy a great prince, and a consummate politician, and their lasting effects were infinitely beneficial to his kingdom. They have even continued to our days, strengthened by the principles of the first establishment, after a duration of above 2000 years; opening a perpetual flow of new riches, and new commodities of every kind, into all nations; drawing continually from them a return of voluntary contributions; uniting the East and West by the mutual supply of their respective wants; and establishing on this basis a commerce that has constantly supported itself from age to age without interruption. Those great conquerors and celebrated heroes, whose merit has been so highly extolled, not to mention the ravages and desolation they have occasioned to mankind, have scarce left behind them any traces of the conquests and acquisitions they have made for aggrandizing their empires; or at least those traces have not been durable, and the revolutions to which the most potent states are obnoxious, divest them of their conquests in a short time, and transfer them to others. On the contrary, the commerce of Egypt, established thus by Philadelphus, instead of being shaken by time, has rather increased through a long succession of ages, and become daily more useful and indispensable to all nations. So that, when we trace it up to its source, we shall be sensible that this prince ought to be considered not only as the benefactor of Egypt, but of all mankind in general to the latest posterity.

What we have already observed, in the history of Philadelphus, with respect to the inclination of the neighbouring people to transplant themselves in crowds into Egypt, preferring a residence in a foreign land to the natural affection of mankind for their native soil, is another glorious panegyric on this prince; as the most essential duty of kings, and the most grateful pleasure they can possibly enjoy, amidst the splendours of a throne, is to gain the love of mankind, and to make their government desirable. Ptolemy was sensible, as an able politician, that the only sure expedient for extending his dominions without any act of violence, was to multiply his subjects and attach them to his government, by their interest and inclination; to cause the land to be cultivated in a better manner; to make arts and manufactures flourish; and to augment, by a thousand judicious measures, the power of a prince and his kingdom, whose real strength consists in the multitude of his subjects.

CHAPTER II.

SECTION I.—ANTIOCHUS THEOS IS POISONED BY HIS QUEEN LAODICE, WHO CAUSES SELEUCUS CALLINICUS TO BE DECLARED KING. SHE ALSO DES-

¹ Athen. l. xii. p. 549.

² Canon. Ptolem. Astron.

TROYS BERENICE AND HER SON. PTOLEMY Euergetes AVENGES HER DEATH, BY THAT OF LAODICE, AND SEIZES PART OF ASIA. ANTIOCHUS HIERAX, AND SELEUCUS HIS BROTHER, UNITE AGAINST PTOLEMY. THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS GONATAS, KING OF MACEDONIA. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON DEMETRIUS. THE WAR BETWEEN THE TWO BROTHERS, ANTIOCHUS AND SELEUCUS. THE DEATH OF EUMENES, KING OF PERGAMUS. ATTALUS SUCCEEDS HIM. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE BY ARSACES. ANTIOCHUS IS SLAIN BY ROBBERS. SELEUCUS IS TAKEN PRISONER BY THE PARTHIANS. CREDIT OF JOSEPH THE NEPHEW OF ONIAS, WITH PTOLEMY. THE DEATH OF DEMETRIUS, KING OF MACEDONIA. ANTIOCHUS SEIZES THE THRONE OF THAT PRINCE. THE DEATH OF SELEUCUS.

AS soon as Antiochus Theos had received intelligence of the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus,¹ his father-in-law, he di-

Ant. J. C. 246. vored Berenice, and recalled Laodice and her children. Laodice, who knew the variable disposition and inconstancy of Antiochus, and was apprehensive that the same levity of mind would induce him to return to Berenice again, resolved to improve the present opportunity to secure the crown for her son. Her own children were disinherited by the treaty made with Ptolemy; by which it was also stipulated, that the issue Berenice might have by Antiochus should succeed to the throne, and she then had a son. Laodice, therefore, caused Antiochus to be poisoned, and when she saw that he was dead, she placed in his bed a person named Artemon, who very much resembled him both in his features and the tone of his voice, to act the part she had occasion for. He acquitted himself with great dexterity; taking great care, in the few visits that were paid him, to recommend his dear Laodice and her children to the lords and people. In his name were issued orders, by which his eldest son Seleucus Callinicus was appointed his successor. His death was then declared, upon which Seleucus peaceably ascended the throne, and enjoyed it for the space of twenty years. It appears by the sequel, that his brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, had the government of the provinces of Asia Minor, where he commanded a very considerable body of troops.

Laodice, not believing herself safe as long as Berenice and her son lived, concerted measures with Seleucus to destroy them also; but Berenice being informed of their design, escaped with her son to Daphne, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by Seleucus Nicator. But being at last betrayed by the perfidy of those who besieged her there by the order of Laodice, first her son and then herself, with all the Egyptians who had accompanied her to that retreat, were murdered in the blackest and most inhuman manner.

This event was an exact accomplishment of what the prophet Daniel had foretold with relation to this marriage. "The king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement;² but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in those times." I am not surprised that Porphyry, who was a professed enemy to Christianity, should represent those prophecies of Daniel as predictions made after the several events to which they refer; for could they possibly be clearer if he had even been a spectator of the acts he foretold?

What probability was there that Egypt and Syria, which, in the time of Daniel constituted part of the Babylonian empire, as tributary provinces, should each of them be governed by kings who originally sprung from Greece? Yet the prophet saw them established in those dominions above 300 years be-

fore. He beheld these two kings in a state of war and saw them afterwards reconciled by a treaty of peace ratified by a marriage. He also observed, that it was the king of Egypt, and not the king of Syria, who cemented the union between them by the gift of his daughter. He saw her conducted from Egypt to Syria, in a pompous and magnificent manner; but was sensible that this event would be succeeded by a strange catastrophe. In a word, he discovered that the issue of this princess, notwithstanding all the express precautions in the treaty for securing their succession to the crown, in exclusion of the children by a former marriage, were so far from ascending the throne, that they were entirely exterminated; and that the new queen herself was delivered up to her rival, who caused her to be destroyed, with all the officers who conducted her out of Egypt into Syria, and who, till then, had been her strength and support. 'Great God! how worthy are thy oracles to be believed and revered.' *Testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis.*

While Berenice was besieged and blocked up in Daphne, the cities of Asia Minor, which had received intelligence of her treatment, were touched with compassion at her misfortune: in consequence of which they formed a confederacy, and sent a body of troops to Antioch for her relief. Her brother Ptolemy Euergetes was also as expeditious as possible to advance thither with a formidable army; but the unhappy Berenice and her children were dead before any of these auxiliary troops could arrive. When they therefore saw that all their endeavours to save the queen and her children were rendered ineffectual, they immediately determined to revenge her death in a remarkable manner. The troops of Asia joined those of Egypt, and Ptolemy, who commanded them, was as successful as he could desire in the satisfaction of his just resentment. The criminal proceeding of Laodice, and of the king her son, who had made himself an accomplice in her barbarity, soon alienated the affection of the people from them; and Ptolemy not only caused Laodice to suffer death, but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia; after which he passed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as far as Babylon and the Tigris; and if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition which obliged him to return to Egypt, he would certainly have subdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire: He, however, left Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had gained on this side of mount Taurus; and Xanthippus was intrusted with those that lay beyond it; Ptolemy then marched back to Egypt, laden with the spoils he had acquired by his conquests.

This prince carried off 40,000 talents of silver,³ with a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, and 2,500 statues, part of which were those Egyptian idols that Cambyses, after his conquest of that kingdom, had sent into Persia. Ptolemy gained the hearts of his subjects by replacing those idols in their ancient temples, when he returned from this expedition; for the Egyptians, who were more devoted to their superstitious idolatry than all the rest of mankind, thought they could not sufficiently express their veneration and gratitude to a king, who had restored their gods to them in such a manner. Ptolemy derived from this action the title of Euergetes, which signifies a *benefactor*, a title infinitely preferable to all appellations which conquerors have assumed from a false idea of glory. An epithet of this nature is the true characteristic of kings, whose solid greatness consists in the inclination and ability to improve the welfare of their subjects; and it were to be wished, that Ptolemy had merited this title by actions more worthy of it.

All this was also accomplished exactly as the prophet Daniel had foretold, and we need only cite the text, to prove what we advance.⁴ "But out of a branch of her root (intimating the king of the South, who was Ptolemy Euergetes, the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus) shall one stand up in his estate, who shall come with an army, and shall enter into the for-

¹ Hieron. in Daniel. Plin. l. vii. c. 12. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 14. Sulin. c. 1. Justin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

² Dan. xi. 6.

³ About six millions sterling.

⁴ Dan. xi. 7-9.

tress of the king of the North (Seleucus Callinicus), and shall deal against them, and shall prevail. And shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver, and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the North. So the king of the South shall come into his kingdom (that is the kingdom of Seleucus), and shall return into his own land; namely, into Egypt.

When Ptolemy Euergetes set out on this expedition, his queen Berenice, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he would be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair, if he should return in safety. This was most probably a sacrifice of the ornament she most esteemed; and when she at last saw him return with so much glory, the accomplishment of her promise was her immediate care; in order to which she caused her hair to be cut off, and then dedicated it to the gods in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had founded in honour of his beloved Arsinoë on Zephyrion, a promontory in Cyprus, under the name of the Zephyrian Venus. This consecrated hair being lost soon after by some unknown accident, Ptolemy was extremely offended with the priests for their negligence; upon which Conon of Samos, an artful courtier, and also a mathematician, being then at Alexandria, took upon him to affirm, that the locks of the queen's hair had been conveyed to heaven; and he pointed out seven stars near the lion's tail, which till then had never been part of any constellation; declaring, at the same time, that those were the hair of Berenice. Several other astronomers, either to make their court as well as Conon, or that they might not draw upon themselves the displeasure of Ptolemy, gave those stars the same name, which is still used to this day. Callimachus, who had been at the court of Philadelphus, composed a short poem on the hair of Berenice, which Catullus afterwards translated into Latin, which version is come down to us.

Ptolemy, in his return from this expedition, passed through Jerusalem, where he offered a great number of sacrifices to the God of Israel, in order to render homage to him, for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria; by which action he evidently discovered his preference of the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel were shown to that prince, and he might conclude, from what they contained, that all his conquests and successes were owing to that God who had caused them to be foretold so exactly by his prophets.

Seleucus had been detained for

A. M. 3759. some time in his kingdom,³ by the Ant. J. C. 245. apprehension of domestic troubles; but when he received intelligence that Ptolemy was returning to Egypt, he set sail with a considerable fleet to reduce the revolted cities. His enterprise was, however, ineffectual; for, as soon as he advanced into the open sea, his whole navy was destroyed by a violent tempest; as if heaven itself, says Justin,⁴ had made the winds and waves the ministers of his vengeance on this parricide. Seleucus, and some of his attendants, were almost the only persons who were saved, and it was with great difficulty that they escaped naked from the general wreck. But this dreadful stroke, which seemed intended to overwhelm him, contributed, on the contrary, to the re-establishment of his affairs. The cities of Asia which had revolted, through the horror they conceived against him, after the murder of Berenice and her children, no sooner received intelligence of the great loss he had now sustained, than they imagined him sufficiently punished; and as their hatred was then changed into compassion, they all declared for him anew.

This unexpected change having

A. M. 3760. reinstated him in the greatest part Ant. J. C. 244. of his dominions, he was industri-

ous to raise another army to recover the rest. This effort, however, proved as unsuccessful as the former; his army was defeated by the forces of Ptolemy, who cut off the greatest part of his troops. He fled to Antioch, with as small a number of men as had been left him when he escaped from the shipwreck at sea: as if, says a certain historian, he had recovered his former power only to lose it a second time with the greater mortification, by a fatal vicissitude of fortune.⁵

After this second blow, the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia, in Asia Minor, were induced, by mere affection for Seleucus, to form a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him with all their forces. They were greatly attached to his family, from whom they probably had received many extraordinary favours: they had even rendered divine honours to his father, Antiochus Theos, and also to Stratonice, the mother of this latter. Callinicus retained a grateful remembrance of the regard these cities had testified for his interest, and afterwards granted them several advantageous privileges. They caused the treaty we have mentioned to be engraven on a large column of marble, which still subsists, and is now in the area before the theatre at Oxford. This column was brought out of Asia, by Thomas Earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the reign of Charles the First, and, with several other antique marbles, presented to the university of Oxford by his grandson, Henry Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles the Second. All the learned world ought to think themselves indebted to noblemen who are emulous to adorn and enrich universities in such a generous manner; and I wish that in this respect the same zeal had been testified for that of Paris, the mother of all the rest, and whose antiquity and reputation, in conjunction with the abilities of her professors, and her attachment to the sacred persons of kings, have rendered her worthy of being favoured in a peculiar manner by princes and great men. The establishment of a library in this illustrious seminary would be an immortal honour to the person who should lay the foundation of such a work.

Seleucus, in the extremities to which he was reduced, had made application to his brother Antiochus, whom he promised to invest with the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia Minor that were contiguous to Syria, provided he would join him with his troops, and act in concert with him. The young prince was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and though he was but fourteen years of age,⁶ yet, as he had all the ambition and malignity of mind that appear in men of an advanced age, he immediately accepted the offers made him, and advanced in quest of his brother, not with any intention to secure to him the enjoyment of his dominions, but to seize them for himself. His avidity was so great, and he was always so ready to seize for himself whatever came in his way, without the least regard to justice, that he acquired the surname of Hierax,⁷ which signifies a bird that pounces on all he finds, and thinks every thing good upon which he lays his talons.

When Ptolemy received intelligence that Antiochus was preparing Ant. J. C. 243. to act in concert with Seleucus against him, he reconciled himself with the latter, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, that he might not have both these princes for his enemies at the same time.

Antigonus Gonatas died much about this period, at the age of Ant. J. C. 242. eighty or eighty-three years; after he had reigned thirty-four years in

³ Quasi ad ludibrium tantum fortunæ natus esset, nec propter aliud opes regni receperisset, quam ut amitteret. Justin.

⁶ Antiochus. cum esset annos quatuordecim natus, supra ætatem regni avidus, occasione non tam pio animo, quam offerebatur, arripuit; sed, latronis more, totum fratri eripere cupiens, puer sceleratam virilemque sedit audaciam. Unde Hierax est cognominatus: quin, non hominis sed accipitris litur, in alienis eripendis vitam sectatur. Justin.

⁷ A kite.

¹ Hygini Pect. Astron. l. ii. Nonnus Pect. in Hist. Synag. Catullus de comâ B. rôn.

² Joseph. contra Appion. l. ii.

³ Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

⁴ Velut diis ipsis parricidium vindicantibus.

Macedonia, and forty-four in Greece. He was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and made himself master of Cyrenaica and all Libya. Demetrius first married the sister of Antiochus Hierax;¹ but Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, engaged him after the death of her husband Alexander, who was likewise her brother, to espouse her daughter Phthia. The first wife, being unable to support this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother Antiochus, and earnestly pressed him to declare war against her faithless husband: but his attention was then taken up with other views and employments.

In fact, Antiochus still continued his military preparations, as if he designed to assist his brother, in pursuance of the treaty between them; but his real intention was to dethrone him,² and he concealed the virulent disposition of an enemy under the name of a brother. Seleucus penetrated his scheme, and immediately passed mount Taurus, in order to check his progress. Antiochus found his pretext on the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia Minor,³ as a compensation for assisting his brother against Ptolemy; but Seleucus, who then saw himself disengaged from that war without the aid of his brother, did not conceive himself obliged to perform that promise. Antiochus resolving to persist in his pretensions, and Seleucus refusing to allow them, it became necessary to decide the difference by arms. A battle was accordingly fought near Ancyra, in Galatia, wherein Seleucus was defeated, and escaped with the utmost difficulty from the enemy. Antiochus was also exposed to great dangers, notwithstanding his victory. The troops to whose valour he was chiefly indebted for it, were a body of Gauls whom he had taken into his pay, most probably some of those who had settled in Galatia. These traitors, upon a confused report that Seleucus had been killed in the action, had formed a resolution to destroy Antiochus, persuading themselves that they should be absolute masters of Asia, after the death of those two princes. Antiochus, therefore, was obliged, for his own preservation, to distribute all the money of the army among them.

Eumenes,⁴ prince of Pergamus, being desirous of taking advantage of this conjuncture, advanced with all his forces against Antiochus and the Gauls, in full expectation to ruin them both, in consequence of their division. The imminent danger to which Antiochus was then exposed, obliged him to make a new treaty with the Gauls, wherein he stipulated to renounce the title of their master, which he had before assumed, for that of their ally; and he also entered into a league offensive and defensive with that people. This treaty, however, did not prevent Eumenes from attacking them; and as he came upon them in such a sudden and unexpected manner as did not allow them any time to recover after their fatigues, or to furnish themselves with new recruits, he obtained a victory over them, which cost him but little, and laid all Asia Minor open to him.

Eumenes,⁵ after this fortunate event, abandoned himself to intemperance and excess at his table, and died after a reign of twenty years. As he left no children, he was succeeded by Attalus, his cousin-german, who was the son of Attalus, his father's younger brother. This prince was

A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. wise and valiant, and perfectly qualified to preserve the conquests that he inherited. He entirely reduced the Gauls, and then established himself so effectually in his dominions, that he took upon himself the title of king; for though his predecessors had enjoyed all the power, they had never hitherto ventured to assume the title of sovereigns. Attalus, therefore, was the first of his house who took it upon him, and transmitted it, with his dominions, to his posterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation.

Whilst Eumenes, and, after him, Attalus, were seizing the provinces of the Syrian empire in the West, Theodotus and Arsaces were following their example in the East. The latter hearing that Seleucus had been slain in the battle of Ancyra,⁶ turned his arms against Hyrcania, and annexed it to Parthia, which he had already dismembered from the empire. He then erected these two provinces into a kingdom, which in the process of time, became very formidable to the empire of the Romans. Theodotus dying soon after, Arsaces made a league offensive and defensive with his son, who bore the same name, and succeeded his father in Bactria; and they mutually supported themselves in their dominions by this union. The two brothers, notwithstanding these transactions, continued the war against each other, with the most implacable warmth, not considering that while they contended with each other for the empire which their fathers had left them, the whole would be gradually wrested from them by their common enemies.

The treasure and forces of Antiochus being exhausted by the several overthrows and losses he had sustained, he was obliged to wander from one retreat to another, with the shattered remains of his party, till he was at last entirely driven out of Mesopotamia. Finding, therefore, that there was no place in all the empire of Syria, where

he could possibly continue in safety, he retired for refuge to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had espoused. A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230.

Ariarathes, notwithstanding this alliance, was soon weary of entertaining a son-in-law who became a burden to him; for which reason he determined to destroy him. Antiochus, being informed of his design, avoided the danger by a speedy retreat into Egypt; where he rather chose to deliver himself up to Ptolemy, the professed enemy of his house, than to trust a brother whom he had so highly offended. He, however, had reason to repent of this proceeding, for immediately after his arrival in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be seized and imprisoned under a strong guard, and detained him several years in that confinement, till at last he found means to escape by the assistance of a courtizan; but as he was quitting that kingdom he had the misfortune to be assassinated by a band of robbers. A. M. 3773. Ant. J. C. 226.

Ptolemy, in the mean time, devoted the sweets of peace to the cultivation of the sciences in his dominions, and the enlargement of his father's library at Alexandria with all sorts of books: but as a proper collection could not well be made without an able librarian, to whose care it would be likewise necessary to consign them, Euergetes,⁷ upon the death of Zenodotus, who had held that office from the time of Ptolemy Soter, the grandfather of that prince, sent to Athens for Eratosthenes, the Cyrenean, who was then in great reputation, and had been educated by Callimachus, a native of the same country. He was a man of universal learning; but none of his works have been transmitted to us, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their respective reigns, from Menes or Misraim, who first peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the Trojan war. This catalogue contains a succession of thirty-eight kings, and is still to be seen in Syncellus. A. M. 3765. Ant. J. C. 239.

When Seleucus saw himself extricated from the troubles his brother had occasioned, his first cares were employed in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity at home; and when he had accomplished this he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the provinces of the East which had revolted from him. This last attempt, however, was not attended with success; for Arsaces had been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his

¹ Polyb. lib. ii. p. 131. Just. l. xxviii. c. 1.

² Pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hostem, imploratus exhibit.

³ Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

⁴ Ibid. c. 3.

⁵ Athen. l. x. p. 445. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Valer. Excerpt. ex Polyb.

⁶ Justin. l. xli. c. 4.

⁷ Suid. in voc. Ζηνόδοτος.

⁸ Ibid. in voc. Ἀπολλώνιος; et Ἐγερτορίνης.

usurpation. Seleucus, therefore, after many ineffectual endeavours to recover those territories, was obliged to discontinue his enterprise in a dishonourable manner. He, perhaps, might have succeeded better in time, if new commotions, which had been excited in his dominions during his absence, had not compelled him to make a speedy return, in order to suppress them. This furnished Arsaces with a new opportunity of establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts were incapable of shaking it.

Seleucus,¹ however, made a new

A. M. 3774. attempt, as soon as his affairs would
Ant. J. C. 230. admit; but this second expedition proved more unfortunate than the first; for he was not only defeated, but taken prisoner by Arsaces, in a great battle. The Parthians celebrated, for many succeeding years, the anniversary of this victory, which they considered as the first day of their liberty, though in reality it was the first of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than those Parthian kings to whom they were subjected. The Macedonian yoke, if they had continued to submit to it, would have been much more supportable than their oppressive government. Arsaces now began to assume the title of king, and firmly established this empire of the East, which, in process of time, counterpoised the Roman power, and became a barrier which all the armies of that people were incapable of forcing. All the kings who succeeded Arsaces made it an indispensable law, and counted it an honour, to be called by his name; in the same manner as the kings of Egypt retained that of Ptolemy, as long as the race of Ptolemy Soter governed that kingdom. Arsaces raised himself to a throne, from the lowest condition of life, and became as memorable among the Parthians, as Cyrus had been among the Persians, or Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans.² This verifies that passage in holy Scripture, which declares,³ "that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."

Onias,⁴ the high-priest of the

A. M. 3771. Jews, had neglected to send to Pto-
Ant. J. C. 233. lemy the usual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had always paid to the kings of Egypt, as a testimonial of the homage they rendered to that crown. The king sent Athenion, one of his courtiers, to Jerusalem, to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a great sum; and to threaten the Jews, in case of refusal, with a body of troops, who should be commissioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themselves. The alarm was very great at Jerusalem on this occasion, and it was thought necessary to send a deputation to the king, in the person of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was universally esteemed for his prudence, probity, and justice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jerusalem, had conceived a great regard for his character, and as he set out for Egypt before him, he promised to render him all the good offices in his power with the king. Joseph followed him in a short time, and on his way met with several of the most considerable persons of Cœle-syria and Palestine, who were also going to Egypt, with an intention to offer terms for farming the great revenues of those provinces. As the equipage of Joseph was far from being so magnificent as theirs, they treated him with little respect, and considered him as a person of no great capacity. Joseph concealed his dissatisfaction at their behaviour, but drew from the conversation that passed between them, all the information he could desire, with relation to the affair that brought them to court, without seeming to have any particular view in the curiosity which he expressed.

When they arrived at Alexandria, they were in-

formed that the king had taken a progress to Memphis, and Joseph was the only person among them who set out to wait upon that monarch, without losing a moment's time. He had the good fortune to meet him as he was returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in his chariot. The king, who had been highly prepossessed in his favour by Athenion, was extremely delighted to see him, and invited him into his chariot. Joseph, to excuse his uncle, represented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardiness of his disposition, in such an engaging manner, as satisfied Ptolemy, and created in him an extraordinary esteem for the advocate who had so effectually pleaded the cause of that pontiff. He ordered him an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at his table.

When the appointed day came for purchasing, by auction, the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joseph in his journey to Egypt, offered no more than 3000 talents for the provinces of Cœle-syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria. Joseph, who had discovered, in the conversation that passed between them in his presence, that this purchase was worth double the sum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and offered twice as much as they had done. Ptolemy was well satisfied to see his revenues so considerably increased; but being apprehensive that the person who proffered so large a sum, would be in no condition to pay it, he asked Joseph what security he would give him for the performance of his agreement? The Jewish deputy calmly replied, that he had such persons to offer for his security on that occasion, as he was certain his majesty could have no objections to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themselves; and added, that they would be his securities to each other. The king could not avoid smiling at this little pleasantry, which put him into so good a humour, that he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other security than his verbal promise for payment. Joseph acted in that station for the space of ten years, to the mutual satisfaction of the court and provinces. His rich competitors, who had farmed those revenues before, returned home in the utmost confusion, and had reason to be sensible, that a magnificent equipage is a very inconsiderable indication of merit.

King Demetrius died,⁵ about this

time, in Macedonia, and left a son,
A. M. 3772. named Philip, in an early state of mi-
Ant. J. C. 232. nority; for which reason his guardianship was consigned to Antigonus, who, having espoused the mother of his pupil, ascended the throne, and reigned for the space of twelve years. He was magnificent in promises, but extremely frugal in performance, which occasioned his being surnamed *Dodon*.⁶

Five or six years after this period,⁷ Seleucus Callinicus, who for
A. M. 3778. some time had continued in a state
Ant. J. C. 226. of captivity in Parthia, died in that country by a fall from his horse. Arsaces had always treated him as a king during his confinement. His wife was Laodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of his generals, and he had two sons and a daughter by that marriage. He espoused his daughter to Mithridates, king of Pontus, and consigned Phrygia to her for her dowry. His sons were Seleucus and Antiochus, the former of whom, surnamed Ceraunus, succeeded him in the throne.

We are now arrived at the period wherein the republic of the Achæans begins to appear with lustre in history, and is in a condition to sustain wars, particularly against that of the Lacedæmonians. It will, therefore, be necessary for me to represent the present state of those two republics; and I shall begin with that of the Achæans.

¹ Justin. l. xli. c. 4 & 5.

² Arsaces, quæsitò simul constitutoque regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis [fuit] quàm Persiâ Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus.—Justin.

³ Dan. iv. 17.

⁴ Joseph. Antiq. l. xli. c. 3 & 4.

⁵ Justin. l. xviii. c. 3. Dexiphr. Porphr. Euseb.

⁶ This name signifies in the Greek language, *One who will give*, that is to say, a person who promises to give, but never gives what he promises.

⁷ Justin. l. vii. c. 3. Athen. p. 153.

SECTION II.—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE ACHÆANS. ARATUS DELIVERS SICYON FROM TYRANNY. THE CHARACTER OF THAT YOUNG GRECIAN. HE IS ENABLED, BY THE LIBERALITIES OF PTOLEMY LUGERGETES, TO CHECK A SEDITION READY TO BREAK OUT IN SICYON. TAKES CORINTH FROM ANTIGONUS, KING OF MACEDONIA. PREVAILS ON THE CITIES OF MEGARA, TRAZENE, EMPIDAUROS, AND MEGALAPOLIS, TO ACCEDE TO THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE; BUT IS NOT SUCCESSFUL WITH RESPECT TO ARGOS.

THE republic of the Achæans was not considerable at first, either for the number of its troops,¹ the immensity of its riches, or the extent of its territory, but derived its power from the great reputation it acquired for the virtues of probity, justice, love of liberty; and this reputation was very ancient. The Crotonians and Sybarites adopted the laws and customs of the Achæans, for the re-establishment of good order in their cities. The Lacedæmonians and Thebans had such an esteem for their virtue, that they chose them, after the celebrated battle of Leuctra, as umpires of the differences which subsisted between them.

The government of this republic was democratical, that is to say, in the hands of the people. It preserved its liberty to the times of Philip and Alexander; but under those princes, and in the reigns of those who succeeded them, it was either in subjection to the Macedonians, who had made themselves masters of Greece, or else was oppressed by cruel tyrants.

It was composed of twelve cities,² in Peloponnesus, but all together not equal to a single one of considerable rank. This republic did not signalize herself immediately by any thing great and remarkable, because, amongst all her citizens, she produced none of any distinguished merit. The sequel will discover the extraordinary change which a single man was capable of introducing among them by his great qualities. After the death of Alexander, this little state was involved in all the calamities inseparable from discord. The spirit of patriotism no longer prevailed among them, and each city was solely attentive to its particular interest. Their state had lost its former solidity, because they changed their master as often as Macedonia became subject to new sovereigns. They first submitted to Demetrius; after which to Cassander; and last of all to Antigonus Gonatas, who left them in subjection to tyrants of his own establishing, that they might not withdraw themselves from his authority.

A. M. 3724. ccxlvth Olympiad, about the time of the death of Ptolemy Soter, the father of Philadelphus, and the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy, the republic of the Achæans resumed their former customs, and renewed their ancient concord. The inhabitants of Patræ and Dyme laid the foundations of this happy change.

The tyrants were expelled from the cities, which then united as in former times, and constituted no more than one body of a republic: all affairs were decided by a public council: the registers were committed to a common secretary; the assembly had two presidents, who were nominated by the cities in their respective turns; but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one.

The good order which reigned in this little republic, where freedom and equality, with a love of justice and the public good, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew into their community several neighbouring cities, who received their laws, and associated themselves into their privileges. Sicyon was one of the first that acceded in this manner, by means of Aratus, one of its citizens, whom, in the sequel, we shall see acting a very great part, and becoming very illustrious.

Sicyon,¹ which had long groaned under the yoke of her tyrants, had lately attempted to shake it off, by placing Clinias, one of her first and bravest citizens, at her head; and the government already began to flourish and assume a better form, when Abantidas, in order to seize the tyranny into his own hands, found means to get rid of Clinias. Some of his relations and friends he expelled from the city; and took off others by death: he also searched for Aratus, the son of Clinias, who was then but seven years of age, in order to destroy him; but the infant escaped, with some other persons, amid the disorder that filled the house when his father was killed; and as he was wandering about the city, in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered unseen into a house which belonged to the tyrant's sister. This lady was naturally generous, and as she also believed that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulse of some deity, she carefully concealed him; and when night came, caused him to be secretly conveyed to Argos.

Aratus, being thus preserved from so imminent a danger, conceived in his soul from henceforth an implacable aversion to tyrants, which always increased with his age. He was educated with the utmost care, by some hospitable friends of his father at Argos.

The new tyranny of Sicyon had passed through several hands in a short time, when Aratus, who began to arrive at a state of manhood, was solicitous to deliver his country entirely from oppression. He was greatly respected, as well for his birth as his courage, which was accompanied with a gravity superior to his age, and a strong and clear understanding. These qualities, which were well known at that time, caused the exiles from Sicyon to cast their eyes upon him in a peculiar manner, and to consider him as their chief resource, and a person destined to be their future deliverer; in which conjecture they were not deceived.

Aratus, who was then in the twentieth year of his age, formed a confederacy against Nicoteles, who was tyrant at that time; and though the spies, whom the latter sent to Argos, kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he concealed his design so well, he pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that he scaled the walls of Sicyon, and entered the city by night. The tyrant was fortunate enough to secure himself a retreat through subterranean passages; and when the people assembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, a herald cried with a loud voice, that "Aratus, the son of Clinias, invited the citizens to resume their liberty." Upon which the crowd immediately flocked to the palace of the tyrant, and burned it to ashes in a few moments; but not a single man was killed or wounded on either side; the good genius of Aratus not suffering an action of this nature to be polluted with the blood of his citizens; in which circumstance he made his joy and triumph consist. He then recalled all those who had been banished, who were no fewer than 500.

Sicyon then began to enjoy some repose, but Aratus was not fully relieved from inquietude and perplexity. With respect to the situation of affairs without, he was sensible that Antigonus cast a jealous eye on the city, and had meditated expedients for making himself master of it, from the time of its having recovered its liberty. He beheld the seeds of sedition and discord sown within, by those who had been banished, and was extremely apprehensive of their effect. He imagined, therefore, that the safest and most prudent conduct in this delicate juncture, would be to unite Sicyon in the Achæan league, in which he easily succeeded: and this was one of the greatest services he was capable of rendering his country.

The power of the Achæans was indeed but inconsiderable; for, as I have already observed, they were only masters of three very small cities. Their country was neither good nor rich, and they inhabited a coast which had neither ports nor any other mari-

¹ Polyb. l. ii. p. 125—130.

² These twelve cities were Patræ, Dyme, Phare, Tritæa, Leontium, Ægira, Pellene, Ægium, Bura, Co'onia, Olenus, and Helice.

¹ Plat. in Arato. p. 1027—1031.

time stations of security. But with all this mediocrity and seeming weakness, they of all people made it most evident, that the forces of the Greeks could be always invincible when under good order and discipline, and with a prudent and experienced general at the head of them. Thus did those Achæans (who were so inconsiderable in comparison of the ancient power of Greece,) by constantly adhering to good counsels, and continuing strictly united together, without blasting the merit of their fellow-citizens with the malignant breath of envy; not only maintain their liberties, amidst so many potent cities, and such a number of tyrants, but restored freedom and safety to most of the Grecian states.

Aratus, after he had engaged his city in the Achæan league, entered himself among the cavalry, and was not a little esteemed by the generals, for the promptitude and vivacity which he discovered in the execution of their orders: for though he had infinitely contributed to the power and credit of the league, by strengthening it with his own reputation and all the forces of his country, he yet appeared as submissive as the meanest soldier to the general of the Achæans, notwithstanding the obscurity of the city from whence that officer was selected for such an employment. This is certainly an excellent example for young princes and noblemen, when they serve in armies, which will teach them to forget their birth, on those occasions, and to demand respect only from their exact submission to the orders of their commanders.

The conduct and character of Aratus were the constant subject of admiration.¹ He was naturally polite and obliging; his sentiments were great and noble; and he entirely devoted himself to the good of the state, without any interested views. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants, and regulated his friendship and enmity by the public utility. He was qualified, in many particulars, to appear at the head of affairs; his expressions were always proper; his thoughts just; and even his silence judicious. He conducted himself with a complacency of temper, in all differences that arose in any deliberations of moment, and had no superior in the happy art of contracting friendships and alliances. He had a wonderful facility in forming enterprises against an enemy; in masking his designs with impenetrable secrecy, and in executing them happily by his patience and intrepidity. It must, however, be acknowledged, that this celebrated Aratus did not seem to be the same man at the head of an army; nothing could then be discovered in him but dilatoriness, irresolution, and timidity; whilst every prospect of danger was insupportable to him. Not that he really wanted courage and boldness, but these qualities seemed to be benumbed by the greatness of the execution, and he was only timorous on certain occasions and at intervals. It was from this disposition of his, that all Peloponnesus was filled with the trophies of his conqueror, and the monuments of his own defeats. In this manner, says Polybius, has nature compounded different and contrary qualities together, not only in the bodies of men, but even in their minds; and hence it is that we are to account for the surprising diversity we frequently perceive in the same persons. On some occasions they appear lively, heroic, and undaunted; and at others, all their vigour, vivacity, and resolution entirely abandon them.

I have already observed,² that A. M. 3753. those citizens who had been banished, Ant. J. C. 251. gave Aratus great perplexity.

His disquiet was occasioned by their claim to the land and houses which they possessed before their exile; the greatest part of which had been consigned to other persons, who afterwards sold them, and disappeared upon the expulsion of the tyrant. It was reasonable that these exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions after their recall from banishment, and they made application to that effect with all imaginable importunity. On the other hand, the greatest part of what they claimed

had been alienated to fair purchasers, who consequently expected to be reimbursed, before they delivered up such houses and lands to the claimants. The pretensions and complaints on this occasion were vigorously urged on both sides, and Sicyon was in the utmost danger of being ruined by a civil war, which seemed inevitable. Never was any affair more perplexing than this. Aratus was incapable of reconciling the two parties, whose demands were equally equitable, and it was impossible to satisfy them both at the same time, without expending very considerable sums, which he was in no condition to furnish. In this emergency, he could think of no resource but the goodness and liberality of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, which he himself had experienced on the following occasion.

That prince was extremely curious in portraits and other paintings; Aratus, therefore, who was an excellent judge of such performances, collected all the works of the greatest masters which he could possibly procure, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus, and sent them to the king. Sicyon was still in great reputation for the arts, and painting in particular; the true taste of which was preserved there in all its ancient purity. It is even said, that Apelles, who was then admired by all the world, had been at Sicyon, where he frequented the schools of these two painters, to whom he gave a talent (equal to 1000 crowns,) not so much to acquire perfection in the art from them, as in order to obtain a share in their great reputation. When Aratus had reinstated his city in its former liberties, he destroyed all the pictures of the tyrants; but when he came to that of Aristratus, who reigned in the time of Philip, and whom the painter had represented in the attitude of standing in a triumphant chariot, he hesitated a long time whether he should deface it or not; for all the capital scholars of Melanthus had contributed to the completion of that piece, and it had even been touched by the pencil of Apelles. This work was so inimitable in its kind, that Aratus could not avoid being affected with its beauties; but his aversion for tyrants prevailed over his admiration of the picture, and he accordingly ordered it to be destroyed.

The fine taste of Aratus for painting, had recommended him to the good graces of Ptolemy; and he, therefore, thought he might take the liberty to implore the generosity of that prince, in the melancholy situation to which he was then reduced. With this view he embarked for Egypt; but was exposed to many dangers and disappointments, before he could arrive in that kingdom. He had a long audience of Ptolemy, who esteemed him the better the more he knew him; and presented him with 150 talents for the benefit of his city. Aratus carried away forty talents when he set out for Peloponnesus, and the king remitted him the remainder in separate payments.

His fortunate return occasioned universal joy in Sicyon, and he was invested with full power to decide the pretensions of the exiles, and regulate the partitions to be made in their favour. But as a wise politician, who is not anxious to engross the decision of all affairs to himself, and is not afraid of diminishing his reputation by admitting others to share it with him, he firmly refused the honours designed him, and nominated for his coadjutors fifteen citizens of the greatest repute, in conjunction with whom he at last restored harmony and peace among the inhabitants, and refunded to the several purchasers all the sums they had expended for the lands and houses they had actually bought. It has always been observed, that glory pursues those who are industrious to decline it. Aratus, therefore, who thought himself in need of good counsels to assist him in the determination of this important affair (and persons of the greatest merit always entertain the same diffidence of themselves,) had all the honour of this affair. His conduct was infinitely applauded; statues were erected to him, and the people, by public inscriptions, declared him the father of the people, and the deliverer of his country. These are qualities that infinitely transcend those of the most celebrated conquerors.

¹ Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. Polyb. l. iv. p. 277, 278.

² Plut. in Arat. p. 1231-1235.

A success so illustrious gave Antigonus jealousy, and even fear; in consequence of which, at a public entertainment, he artfully enhanced the merit and capacity of this young man by extraordinary praises, possibly with an intention either to gain him over to his own interest, or to render him an object of suspicion to Ptolemy. He insinuated, in terms sufficiently intelligible, that Aratus, having discovered by his own experience, the vanity of the Egyptian pride, intended to attach himself to his service; and that he, therefore, was resolved to employ him in his affairs; he concluded this train of artifice with entreating all the lords of his court, who were then present, to regard him in future as their friend. The particulars of this discourse were soon repeated to Ptolemy, who was not a little surprised and afflicted when he heard them; and he complained to Aratus of this injurious charge: but the latter easily justified himself to that monarch.

Aratus having been elected general of the Achæans, for the first time ravaged Locris, and all the territory of Calydon, and advanced with a body of 10,000 men to succour the Bœotians; but was so unfortunate as not to arrive among them till after the battle of Chæronea,¹ in which they were defeated by the Ætolians.

Eight years after this transaction, he was elected general of the Achæans a second time, and rendered great service to all Greece, by an action which Plutarch considers as equal to any of the most illustrious enterprises of the Grecian leaders.

The isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponnesus; the citadel also of Corinth, distinguished by the name of Acro-Corinth, is situated on a high mountain, exactly in the middle of those two continents, which are there divided from each other by a very narrow neck of land; by which means this fortress, when furnished with a good garrison, cuts off all communication by land and sea, from the inner part of the isthmus, and renders the person who possesses it, with a good body of troops, absolute master of all Greece. Philip called this citadel *the shackles of Greece*, and as such it was an object of desire and jealousy to all the neighbouring states, and especially to kings and princes, who consequently were desirous of seizing it for their own use.

Antigonus, after having for a long time, and with extreme anxiety, sought an opportunity to render himself master of this place, was so fortunate as to carry it by surprise, and made no scruple to congratulate himself as much on this unexpected success, as on a real triumph. Aratus, on the other hand, entertained hopes of wresting this fortress from him, in his turn; and while all his thoughts were employed to that effect, an accidental circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of accomplishing his design.

Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had taken a journey to Sicyon, in order to transact some affairs in that city; and had there contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel of Corinth happened to be the subject of one of their conversations, Erginus told his friend, that as he often went to visit his brother Diocles, who was a soldier of the garrison, he had observed on the steepest side, a small winding path hewn in the rock, which led to a part of the wall of the citadel which was very low. The banker was very attentive to this account, and, with a smile, desired his friend to tell him, whether he and his brother would be disposed to gain a large sum of money, and make their fortunes? Erginus immediately comprehended the bent of this question, and promised to sound his brother Diocles on that head. Some few days after this conversation he returned to the banker, and engaged to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the height of the wall did not exceed fifteen feet, adding at the same

time, that himself and his brother would assist him in executing the rest of his enterprise. Aratus promised, on his part, to give them sixty talents, if the affair should happen to succeed; but as it became requisite to deposit that sum in the hands of the banker, for the security of the two brothers, and as Aratus was neither master of so many talents, nor had any inclination to borrow them, for fear of raising suspicion by that proceeding, and letting his design get wind, he pledged all his gold and silver plate, with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a security for the promised sum.

Aratus had so great a soul, says Plutarch, and such an ardour for great actions, that when he considered with himself, how universally Epaminondas and Phocion had been reputed the most worthy and just men in all Greece, for refusing the presents that had been offered to them; and preferring virtue to all the riches in the world, he was anxious to surpass them, and to refine upon their generosity and disinterested spirit. And indeed there is a wide difference between the mere refusal of presents, and the sacrifice of a person's whole fortune for the service of the public. Aratus parted with all his fortune, and that too without its being known, for an enterprise, wherein he alone was exposed to all the danger. Where is the man, cries Plutarch, amidst the enthusiasm into which this amiable action had wrought him, who can possibly be incapable of admiring so uncommon and surprising an instance of magnanimity! Who, even at this time, can forbear to interest himself in this great exploit, and to combat in imagination by the side of so great a man, who paid so dearly for so extraordinary a danger, and pledged the most valuable part of his fortune, only to procure an opportunity of advancing into the midst of his enemies in the dead of night, when he knew he should be compelled to fight for his own life, without any other security than the hopes of performing a noble action.

It may justly be remarked on this occasion, that the taste for glory, disinterestedness, and the public good, were perpetuated among the Greeks, by the remembrance of those great men who had distinguished themselves in past ages by such glorious sentiments.

This is the great advantage which attends history written like that of the Greeks, and the principal benefit to be derived from it.

The preparations for the enterprise were thwarted by a variety of obstructions, any one of which seemed sufficient to have rendered it ineffectual; but when all these were at last surmounted, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms. He then selected 400 men, most of whom were unacquainted with the design he intended to execute: they were all furnished with scaling-ladders, and he led them directly to the gates of the city by the walls of Juno's temple. The sky was then unclouded, and the moon shone extremely bright, which filled the adventurers with just apprehensions of being discovered. But in a little time a dark fog arose very fortunately from the sea, and shed a thick gloom over all the adjacent parts of the city. All the troops then seated themselves on the ground, to take off their shoes, as well to lessen the noise, as to facilitate their ascent by the scaling-ladders, from which they should not then be so liable to slip. In the mean time, Erginus, with seven resolute young men, habited like travellers, passed through the gate without being perceived, and killed the sentinel and guards who were there upon duty. The ladders were then fixed on the wall, and Aratus ascended with 100 of his boldest troops, giving orders to the rest to follow him as fast as they were able; and having drawn up his ladders, he descended into the city, and marched at the head of his 100 men, towards the citadel, with the utmost joy, as having already succeeded by passing undiscovered.

As they were proceeding in their march, they saw a small guard of four men, with lights in their hands, by whom they were not perceived, because the darkness of the night shrouded them from their view. Aratus and his men shrunk back against some walls and ruins that were near, where they disposed themselves into an ambuscade, from whence they started

¹ Philip, above forty years before this event, had obtained a celebrated victory over the Athenians and Thebans, near the same place.

as the four men were passing by, and killed three of their number. The fourth, who received a deep wound on his head, fled from the place, and cried out as loud as he was able, that the enemies were entered the city. The trumpets in a moment sounded the alarm, and all the inhabitants crowded together at the noise. The streets were already filled with people, who flocked from all quarters, and blazing with innumerable lights which were immediately set up in every part of the city, and also on the ramparts of the castle, whilst every place resounded with confused and undistinguishable cries.

Aratus still continued his progress, notwithstanding the alarm, and endeavoured to climb the steep rocks: he made way, however, at first, very slowly, and with great labour, because he had missed the path that led to the wall through numberless windings, which it was almost impracticable to trace out. While he was thus perplexed, the clouds dispersed, as if a miracle had interposed in his favour: the moon then appeared in its former brightness, and discovered all the intricacies of the path, till he arrived on the spot of ground at the foot of the wall, which had been formerly described to him. The skies were then happily covered with clouds again, and the moon was once more immersed in darkness.

The 300 soldiers whom Aratus had left without, near the temple of Juno, having entered the city, which was then filled with confusion and tumult, and also illuminated with a prodigious number of lights: and not being able to find the path which Aratus had taken, drew up into a close body, under a bending rock which shaded them at the bottom of the precipice, where they waited in the utmost anxiety and distress. Aratus was then skirmishing on the ramparts of the citadel, and the noise of the combatants might easily be heard below; but as the sound was repeated by the echoes of the neighbouring mountains, it was impossible to distinguish the place from whence it proceeded. Those soldiers, therefore, not knowing which way to bend their course, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, having drawn out a considerable number of troops, mounted the ascent with loud shouts, and a great blast of trumpets, with an intention to assault Aratus in his rear, and in his march passed by those 300 men without perceiving them; but when he advanced a little beyond them, they started from the place of their concealment, as if they had been planted expressly in ambuscade, and fell upon him with great resolution, killing all who first came in their way. The rest of the troops, and even Archelaus himself, were then seized with such a consternation, that they fled from their enemies, who continued to attack them in their retreat, till they had all dispersed themselves in the city.

This defeat was immediately succeeded by the arrival of Erginus, who had been sent by those that were fighting on the walls of the citadel, to acquaint them that Aratus was engaged with the enemies, who made a very vigorous defence, and was in great need of immediate assistance. The troops that moment desired him to be their conductor; and as they mounted the rocks, they proclaimed their approach by loud cries, to animate their friends, and redouble their ardour. The beams of the moon, which was then in the full, played upon their armour, and, in conjunction with the length of the way by which they ascended, made them appear more numerous, while the midnight silence rendered the echoes much more strong and audible; by which means their shouts seemed those of a much greater body of men than they really were. When they at last had joined their companions, they charged their enemies with a vigour that soon dispersed them, upon which they posted themselves on the wall, and became absolute masters of the citadel by break of day; so that the sun's first rays saw them victorious. The rest of their troops arrived at the same time from Sicyon; and the Corinthians, after they had willingly thrown open the city gates to receive them, assisted them in making the troops of Antigonus prisoners of war.

Aratus, when he had effectually secured his victory, descended from the citadel into the theatre, which

was then crowded with a vast concourse of people, drawn thither by their curiosity to see him, and to hear him speak. After he had posted his Achæans on each side of the avenues of the theatre, he advanced from the bottom of the stage completely armed, with a countenance completely changed by his want of rest and the long fatigue he had sustained. The bold and manly joy with which this extraordinary success had inspired him, was obscured by the languor his extreme weakness and decay of spirits had occasioned. The moment he appeared in the theatre, all the people were emulous to testify their profound respect and gratitude, by repeated applauses and acclamations. Aratus, in the mean time, shifted his lance from his left to his right hand; and then leaning his body and one knee a little against it, he continued for some time in that posture.

When the whole theatre was at last silent, he exerted all the vigour he had left, and acquainted them, in a long discourse, with the particulars of the Achæan league, exhorted them to accede to it, and at the same time delivered to them the keys of their city, which, till then, had never been in their power from the time of Philip. As to the captains of Antigonus, he restored Archelaus, whom he had taken prisoner, to his liberty; but caused Theophrastus to suffer death, for refusing to quit the city.

Aratus made himself master of the temple of Juno, and of the port of Lechæum, where he seized twenty-five of the king's ships. He also took 500 war horses, and 400 Syrians, whom he afterwards sold. The Achæans kept the citadel, in which they placed a garrison of 400 men.

An action so bold and successful as this could not fail to be productive of very fortunate events. The inhabitants of Megara quitted the party of Antigonus and joined Aratus. Their example was soon followed by the people of Troezen and Epidaurus, who acceded to the Achæan league.

Aratus also brought Ptolemy, king of Egypt, into the confederacy, by assigning the superintendence of the war to him, and electing him generalissimo of their troops by land and sea. This event gained him so much credit and reputation among the Achæans, that as the nomination of the same man to the post of captain-general for a succession of years was expressly prohibited by the laws, Aratus was, however, elected every other year, and he, either by his counsels or personal conduct, enjoyed that command without any discontinuation: for it was evident to all mankind, that neither riches nor the friendship of kings, no, nor even the particular advantages of Sicyon, his native place, nor any other consideration whatever, had the least preference in his mind, to the welfare and aggrandizement of the Achæans. He was persuaded, that all weak cities resemble those parts of the body which thrive and exist only by their mutual union, and infallibly perish when once they are separated; as the sustenance by which they subsist is discontinued from that moment. In like manner cities soon sink into ruin, when the social bands which connect them are once dissolved; but they are always seen to flourish, and improve in power and prosperity, when they become parts of a large body, and are associated by a unity of interest. A common precaution then reigns through the whole, and is the happy source of life, from whence all the vigour that supports them is derived.

All the views of Aratus, and all his enterprises, while he continued in his employment, tended entirely to the expulsion of the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus, and the abolition of all kinds of tyranny; the re-establishment of the cities in their ancient liberty, and the exercise of the laws. These were the only motives which prompted him to oppose the enterprises of Antigonus Gonatas, during the life of that prince.

He also pursued the same conduct with respect to Demetrius,² who succeeded Antigonus, and reigned for the space of ten years.

A. M. 3762.

Ant. J. C. 242

¹ Polyb. l. ii. p. 130.

² Ibid. p. 91—101. Appian. de bellis Illyr. p. 760.

The Ætolians had at first joined Antigonus Gonatas, with an intention to destroy the Achaean league; but embroiled themselves with Demetrius his successor, who declared war against them.

A. M. 3770. The Achæans, forgetting on this occasion the ill treatment they had received from that people, marched to their assistance, by which means a strict union was re-established between them, which became very advantageous to all the neighbouring cities.

Illyria was then governed by several petty kings, who subsisted chiefly by rapine, and exercised a sort of piracy against all the neighbouring countries. Agron, the son of Pleurates, Scerdilides, Demetrius of Pharos, so called from a city of Illyria, subject to him, were the petty princes who infested all the neighbouring parts; and attacked

Corcyra, and the Acarnanians in particular. Teuta reigned after the death of her husband Agron, who had ended his days by intemperance, and left a young son, named Pinxes. These people, harassed in the manner I have mentioned, had recourse to the Ætolians and Achæans, who readily undertook their defence; though their good services were repaid only with ingratitude. The people of Corcyra made an alliance with the Illyrians, soon after this event, and received Demetrius of Pharos, with his garrison, into their city.

The Romans were so offended at the piracies with which this people infested their citizens and merchants, that they sent an embassy to Teuta, to complain of those injurious proceedings. That princess caused one of the ambassadors to be slain, and the other to be thrown into prison, which provoked the Romans to declare war against her, to revenge so outrageous an insult. The two consuls, L. Posthumius Albinus, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, set out with a commission to invade Illyria by land and sea. The people of Corcyra, in concert with Demetrius of Pharos, delivered up to the consul Fulvius the garrison they had received into their city; and the Romans, after they had reinstated Corcyra in its former liberties, advanced into Illyria, and conquered great part of the country; and consigned several cities to Demetrius, as a compensation for his treacherous conduct in their favour.

Teuta, reduced to the utmost extremity, implored peace of the Romans, and obtained it, on her engagement to pay a yearly tribute, and deliver up all Illyria, except a few places which she was permitted to enjoy; but the most beneficial article for the Greeks was, her being restrained from sailing beyond the city of Lissus with more than two small vessels, and even those were not to carry any arms. The other petty kings, who seemed to have been dependent on Teuta, were comprehended in this treaty, though it expressly mentioned none but that princess.

The Romans then caused themselves to be respected in Greece by a solemn embassy, and this was the first time that their power was known in that country. They sent ambassadors to the Ætolians and Achæans, to communicate to them the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. Others were also despatched to Corinth and Athens; and the Corinthians then declared for the first time, by a public decree, that the Romans should be admitted to celebrate the Isthmian games, with the same privileges as the Greeks. The freedom of the city was also granted them at Athens, and they were permitted to be initiated into the great mysteries.

Aratus, after the death of Demetrius, who reigned only ten years, found the dispositions of the people very favourable to his designs. Several tyrants, whom that prince had supported with all his credit, and to whom he paid large pensions, having lost their support by his death, made a voluntary resignation of the authority they had usurped over their citizens; others of them, either intimidated by the menaces of Aratus, or prevailed upon by his promises, followed

their example; and he procured several considerable advantages for them all, that they might have no temptation to repent of their conduct.

Aratus, who beheld with regret the subjection of the people of Argos to the tyrant Aristomachus, undertook their deliverance; and made it a point of honour to restore liberty to that city, as a recompense for the education he had received there; and he had also considered the accession of so potent a city to the Achaean league, as highly advantageous to the common cause; but his measures to this effect were rendered unsuccessful at that time. Aristomachus was soon after slain by his domestics; and before there could be any opportunity to regulate affairs, Aristippus, a tyrant more detestable than his predecessor, seized the supreme power into his own hands, and had the dexterity to maintain himself in that usurpation, even with the consent of the Argives. But looking upon Aratus as a mortal enemy, during whose life he imagined his own would always be in danger, he resolved to destroy him by the assistance of king Antigonus Doson, who agreed to be the minister of his vengeance. He had already prepared assassins in all parts, who only waited for an opportunity of executing their bloody commission. No prince or commander can ever have a more effectual guard, than the firm and sincere affection of those they govern; for, when once the nobility and people have been accustomed not to fear their prince, but to fear for him, innumerable eyes and ears are attentive to all that passes. This Aratus was so happy as to experience in the present conjuncture.

Plutarch, on this occasion, draws a fine contrast between the troubles and anxieties of Aristippus, and the peace and tranquillity of Aratus. That tyrant, says he, who maintained such a body of troops for the security of his person, and who had shed the blood of all those of whom he entertained any dread, was incapable of enjoying a moment's repose, either by night or day. Every circumstance alarmed him; his soul was the seat of terror and anxiety, that knew no intermission; and he even trembled at his own shadow. A dreadful guard continually watched round his house with drawn swords; and as his life was perpetually in their power, he feared them more than all the rest of mankind. He never permitted them to enter his palace, but ordered them to be stationed in the porticoes which surrounded it. He drove away all his domestics the moment he had supped; after which he shut the gate of his court with his own hands, and then retired with his concubine into an upper apartment, which he entered by a trap-door. When this was let down, he placed his bed upon it, and slept, as we may suppose a man to sleep in his condition, whose soul is a perpetual prey to trouble, terror, and apprehension. The mother of his concubine removed, each night, the ladder by which he ascended into his chamber, and replaced it in its former situation the next morning. Aratus, on the other hand, who had acquired perpetual power, not by force of arms, but merely by his virtue and the effect of the laws, appeared in public with a plain robe and a mind void of fear; and whereas, among all those who possess fortresses, and maintain guards, with the additional precaution of arms, gates, and traps, as so many ramparts for their safety, few escape a violent death; Aratus, on the contrary, who always showed himself an implacable enemy to tyrants, left behind him a posterity which subsists, says Plutarch, to this day, and is still honoured and respected by all the world.²

Aratus attacked the tyrant with open force, but acted with very little prudence or resolution in the first engagement, when even one of the wings of his army had defeated the enemy; for he caused a retreat to be sounded very unseasonably, and resigned the victory to the foe, which drew upon him a number of severe reproaches. He however made amends for his fault in a second battle, wherein Aristippus

¹ Plut. in Arat. p. 1033—1041.

² Polycrates, to whom Plutarch addresses the life of Aratus, was one of his descendants, and had two sons, by whom the race was still continued, after having already subsisted 350 years after the death of Aratus.

and above 1500 of his men lost their lives. Aratus, though he had obtained so signal a victory, and without losing one man, was however unable to make himself master of the city of Argos, or restore liberty to the inhabitants; as Agias, and the young Aristonichus, had thrown themselves with a body of the king's troops into the place.

He succeeded better with respect to the city of Megalopolis, where Lysias had usurped the supreme power. This person had none of the violent and inhuman characteristics of tyrants, and had seized the sovereignty from no other inducement than a false idea of the happiness and glory which he imagined inseparable from supreme power; but he resigned the tyranny, either through fear, or a conviction of his error, upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and caused his city to accede to the Achaean league. That league was affected to such a degree by so generous an action, that they immediately chose him for their general; and as he at first was envious of surpassing Aratus, he engaged in several enterprises which seemed unnecessary at that juncture, and among the rest, declared war against the Lacedaemonians. Aratus employed his utmost influence to oppose him in those measures, but his endeavours were misinterpreted as the effects of envy. Lysias was elected general a second time, and then a third, and each of them commanded alternately. But when he was observed to act in opposition to his rival on all occasions, and, without the least regard to decency, was continually repeating his injurious treatment of a virtue so solid and sincere as that of Aratus; it became evident that the zeal he affected was no more than a plausible outside, which concealed a dangerous ambition; and they deprived him of the command.

As the Lacedaemonians will, for the future, have a considerable share in the wars sustained by the Achaeans, it seems necessary to give a brief account of the condition of that people in this place.

SECTION III.—AGIS KING OF SPARTA ATTEMPTS TO REFORM THE STATE, AND ENDEAVOURS TO REVIVE THE ANCIENT INSTITUTIONS OF LYCURGUS, IN WHICH HE PARTLY SUCCEEDS; BUT FINDS AN ENTIRE CHANGE IN SPARTA, AT HIS RETURN FROM A CAMPAIGN IN WHICH HE HAD JOINED ARATUS AGAINST THE AETOLIANS. HE IS AT LAST CONDEMNED TO DIE, AND EXECUTED ACCORDINGLY.

WHEN the love of wealth had crept into the city of Sparta,¹ and had afterwards introduced luxury, avarice, indolence, effeminacy, profusion, and all those pleasures which are generally the inseparable attendants of riches; and when these had broken down all the strong barriers which the wisdom of Lycurgus had formed with the view of excluding them for ever; Sparta beheld herself fallen from her ancient glory and power, and was reduced to an abject and humble state, which continued to the reign of Agis and Leonidas, of whom we are now to treat.

Agis, the son of Eudamidas, was of the house of the Eurytionidae, and the sixth descendant from Agesilaus, who made an expedition into Asia. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of the family of the Agidae, and the eighth prince that reigned in Sparta, after Pausanias, who defeated Mardonius in the battle of Plataea.

I have already related the dispute that arose in Sparta between Cleonymus and Areus,² in regard to the sovereignty, which was obtained by the latter; and he afterwards caused Pyrrhus to raise the siege of Lacedaemon. He was succeeded by his son Acrotatus, who reigned seven or eight years, and left a young son named Areus, from his grandfather. This prince was under the tuition of Leonidas, but died in a short time; upon which Leonidas rose from the regency to the throne.

Though all the Spartans had been depraved and perverted by the general corruption into which the government was fallen, this depravity and remoteness from the ancient manners of that people was most conspicuous in the conduct of Leonidas; who had resided for several years in the palaces of the satrapae, and had for many years made his court to Seleucus; he had even espoused a wife in Asia, contrary to the laws of his country, and had afterwards employed his utmost endeavours to introduce all the pomp and pride of princes into a free country, and a government founded on moderation and justice.

Agis was the reverse of this character. He was then in the twentieth year of his age, and though he had been educated amidst riches,³ and the luxury of a house remarkable for being equally voluptuous and haughty, he, from the first, renounced all those insinuating pleasures; and instead of testifying the least regard for the splendid vanities of dress, he made it his glory to appear in a plain habit, and to re-establish the public meals, baths and all the ancient discipline of Sparta. He even declared openly, "That he should not value being king, if it were not for the hopes of reviving the ancient laws and discipline of Sparta." These noble sentiments were a demonstration that Agis had formed a true notion of regal power; the most essential duty and true glory of which are derived from the establishment of good order in all the branches of a state, by giving due force to customs established by wise laws.

This discipline began to be disregarded the moment Sparta had ruined the Athenian government, and began to abound in gold. The same partition, however, of lands, which had been made by Lycurgus, and the number of hereditary possessions established by him, having been preserved through all successions of descent, and each father transmitting his part in the same manner as he had received it himself; this order and equality, which had been preserved without interruption, suspended in some measure the ill effects of those other abuses which then prevailed. But as soon as this prudent institution began to be struck at, by a law which permitted every man to dispose of his house and patrimony, in his own lifetime, or bequeath them by will to whom he pleased after his death; this new law effectually sapped the best foundation of the Spartan polity. Epitades, one of the Ephori, introduced this law to avenge himself on one of his sons, whose conduct had displeased him.

It is indeed surprising, that a whole state should so easily be induced to change such an ancient and fundamental custom as this, merely to gratify the resentment of one man. The pretext for this change was undoubtedly the augmentation of paternal authority in their several families; since it was not then possessed of any motives that could ensure filial respect; the children of that community having nothing to hope or fear, as they received all alike the fortune they could expect, immediately from the state, and with an absolute independency on their parents. This domestic inconvenience, in which every father thought himself concerned, and which seemed to regard good order in all families, created strong impressions in those who had the greatest share in the administration, and rendered them incapable of considering the much greater inconveniences which would inevitably result from this change, and whose pernicious effects were soon felt by the state.

This proceeding is sufficient to convince us how dangerous it is to change the ancient laws,⁴ on the basis of which a state, or community, has long subsisted; and what precautions ought to be taken against bad impressions which may arise through particular inconveniences, from which the wisest institutions cannot be exempted: how much prudence, penetra-

¹ Plut. in Agid. p. 796—801.

² Josephus relates, that Areus king of Lacedaemon sent letters to Quins the high-priest of the Jews, in which he acknowledged an affinity between that people and the Lacedaemonians. The origin of this affinity is not easily to be distinguished, nor is it less difficult to reconcile the time of Areus with that of Onias.

VOL. II.—12

³ Plutarch informs us that his mother Agesistrata, and his grandmother Archidamia, possessed more gold and silver than all the other Lacedaemonians together.

⁴ *Ad eo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est; veteribus nisi quæ usus evidenter arguit, stari malunt.*—*Lic. l. xxxiv. n. 54.*

tion into future events, and experience, are necessary to those who take upon them to balance and compare the advantages and defects of ancient customs, with any new regulations which are proposed to be substituted in their stead.

It may be justly affirmed, that the ruin of Sparta was occasioned by this new law, which authorized the alienation of hereditary estates. The great men were daily enlarging their fortunes, by dispossessing the heirs of the estates which belonged to them; in consequence of which, all patrimonial possessions were soon engrossed by a very inconsiderable number of persons; poverty prevailed through the whole city, and sunk the people into a mean and disgraceful indolence of mind; by extinguishing that ardour for virtue and glory, which, till then, had rendered the Spartans superior to all the other states of Greece, and by infusing into the hearts of the people an implacable envy and aversion for those who had unjustly divested them of all their possessions.

The number of native Spartans in that city was reduced to about 700; and not many more than 100 of these had preserved their family estates. All the rest were a populace overwhelmed by poverty, destitute of revenues, and excluded from a participation in honours and dignities: these acted with reluctance and indifference in wars against a foreign enemy, because they were sensible the rich would be the only gainers by their victories; in a word, they were constantly waiting for an opportunity to change the present situation of affairs, and withdraw themselves from the oppressions they sustained.

Such was the state of Sparta A. M. 3756. when Agis entertained the design Ant. J. C. 248. of redressing the flagrant abuses which then prevailed; at the same time that Aratus was employing his endeavours for the deliverance of his country. The enterprise was noble, but extremely hazardous. He observed, contrary to his expectation, that all the young men were disposed to enter into his views, while the generality of those in years, in whose minds corruption had taken the deepest root, trembled at the very name of Lycurgus and reformation. He began by conciliating his uncle Agesilaus, a man of great eloquence and reputation, but strongly possessed with the love of riches; which was the very circumstance that rendered him the more favourable to the designs of Agis. He was ready to sink under a load of debts, and hoped to discharge them without any expense to himself, by changing the form of government.

Agis then endeavoured, by his means, to bring over his own mother, who was the sister of Agesilaus. Her power was very great in the city, by the large party of friends, and the vast number of her slaves and debtors; and her credit gave her an extraordinary influence in the most important affairs. When Agis had opened his design to her, she was struck with consternation on the first glance, and employed all the arguments she could invent to dissuade him from it; but when Agesilaus joined his own reflections with those of the king, and had made his sister comprehend the advantages that would accrue to Sparta from the execution of such a design, and represented to her the glory which her family would for ever derive from it, this lady, as well as those of her sex with whom she was most intimate, being then animated by the noble ambition of the young prince, immediately changed their sentiments, and were so struck with the beauty of the project, that they themselves pressed Agis to enter upon the execution of it as soon as possible. They likewise sent to all their friends, and exhorted them to concur with him in that affair.

Application was also made by them to the other ladies of the city, as they were very sensible that the Lacedæmonians had always expressed the greatest deference to their wives, whom they allowed to exercise more authority, in all transactions of state, than they themselves assumed in their private and domestic affairs. Most of the riches of Sparta were at that time in the hands of the women, and this proved a great obstruction to the designs of Agis. They unanimously opposed his scheme, rightly fore-

seeing, that the plain manner of life he was endeavouring to re-establish, and on which so many commendations were bestowed, would not only be destructive to all their luxurious pleasures, but divest them of all the honours and power they derived from their riches.

Amidst the consternation which this proposal gave them, they addressed themselves to Leonidas, and conjured him, as his age gave him an ascendancy over Agis, to employ his whole authority in dissuading his colleague from the accomplishment of his plan. Leonidas was very inclinable to support the rich, but as he dreaded the indignation of the people, who were desirous of this change, he could not presume to oppose Agis in an open manner, but contented himself by crossing his designs by indirect measures. He had a private conference with the magistrates, wherein he took the liberty to calumniate Agis, as a person who was offering to the poor the property of the rich, with a partition of lands, and a general abolition of debts, as a compensation to them for the tyranny he was preparing to usurp; in consequence of which proceedings, instead of forming citizens for Sparta, he was only raising a body of guards for the security of his own person.

Agis, in the mean time, having succeeded so far as to cause Lysander, who concurred with him in his views, to be elected one of the Ephori, brought into the council a decree which he himself had drawn up, the principal articles of which were these: 1. All debtors were to be discharged from their debts. 2. All the lands which extended from the valley of Pelene to mount Taygetus, and the promontory of Malea, and likewise to Selasia, should be parcelled out into 4,500 lots. 3. The lands which lay beyond those limits should be divided into 15,000 lots. 4. The latter portions were to be distributed to those inhabitants of the adjacent parts, who were in a condition to bear arms. 5. Those lands, which lay within the limits already mentioned, should be reserved for the Spartans, whose due number, which was then considerably diminished, should be recruited out of such of the neighbouring people and strangers, as had received a liberal education, and were then in the flower of their age, and not disqualified for that class by any bodily defect. 6. All these should, at the times of repast, be disposed into fifteen halls, distinguished by the name of *Phiditia*; the least of which should contain 200, and the largest 400: and lastly, they were all to observe the same manner of life and discipline as their ancestors.

This decree being opposed by the senators whose sentiments differed from those of Agis, Lysander caused the people to be assembled, and in the strongest terms exhorted the citizens to consent to it. He was seconded by Mandroclides, a young Spartan, whose heart glowed with zeal for the public welfare; and he represented to the people, with all the energy he could possibly express, every motive that could most affect them: the respect they owed to the memory of their illustrious legislator Lycurgus; the oath their ancestors had taken, in the names of themselves and all their posterity, to preserve those sacred institutions in the most inviolable manner; the glory and honour Sparta had enjoyed, during the time she strictly adhered to them; and the infamous degeneracy into which she had sunk, ever since they had been disregarded by her: he then set forth the miserable condition of the Spartans, those ancient masters of Greece, those triumphant conquerors of Asia, those mighty sovereigns by sea and land, who once had made the Great King tremble on his throne, but were now divested of their property, their lands, and houses, by the insatiable avarice of their own citizens, who had reduced them to the lowest extremes of poverty and shameful indigence; and, what might be considered as the completion of all their calamities, had exposed them to the insult and contempt of those to whom it was their right to prescribe laws. He then concluded, with entreating them not to be so far influenced by their obsequiousness to a handful of men, who even trampled them

† This was the usual appellation of the Persian monarchs.

under their feet like so many despicable slaves, as to behold, with eyes of indifference, the dignity of their city entirely degraded and lost, but to recall to their remembrance those ancient oracles, which had more than once declared, that the love of riches would prove fatal to Sparta, and occasion its total ruin.

King Agis then advanced into the middle of the assembly, and declared, after a concise discourse, (for he thought his example would have more efficacy than any words he could utter,) that he was determined to deliver up, into the common stock, all his effects and estate, which were very considerable, consisting of large tracts of arable and pasture lands, besides 600 talents in specie;† and that his mother and grandmother, together with the rest of his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would do the same.

The magnanimity of their young prince astonished all the people, who, at the same time, were transported with joy that they at last were so happy as to behold a king worthy of Sparta. Leonidas then dropped the mask, and opposed him to the utmost of his power for as he knew it would otherwise be necessary for him to make the same offer they had heard from Agis, so he was sensible, that his citizens would not think themselves under the same obligations to him as they were to his colleague, but that when every one should have equally contributed his whole fortune to the common stock, he alone would engross all the honour of that action, who had first set the example. He therefore demanded aloud of Agis, whether he did not think that Lycurgus was a just and able man, and one who had zealously consulted the welfare of his country? Agis having replied, that he had always considered him as such; "Where do you find them," retorted Leonidas, "that Lycurgus ever ordained an abolition of debts, or gave the freedom of Sparta to strangers? Since, on the contrary, it was his firm persuasion, that the city would never be safe till all strangers were expelled from its walls." Agis answered, "That he was not surprised that such a person as Leonidas, who had been brought up in foreign countries, and had married into the family of a Persian grandee, should be so little acquainted with Lycurgus, as not to know that he had swept away all actual and possible debts, by banishing gold and silver from the city: that, with respect to strangers, his precautions were intended against none but those who could not accommodate themselves to the manners and discipline he had established: that these were the only persons he expelled from the city, not by any hostilities against their persons, but from the mere apprehension, that their method of life, and corruption of manners, might insensibly inspire the Spartans with the love of luxury and effeminacy, and an immoderate passion for riches."

He then produced several examples of poets and philosophers, particularly Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, who, although foreigners, had been highly esteemed and honoured at Sparta, because they taught the same maxims as Lycurgus had established.

This discourse won all the common people over to the party of Agis, but the rich men ranged themselves under Leonidas, and entreated him not to abandon them: they likewise addressed themselves to the senators, who had the principal power in this affair, as they alone were qualified to examine all proposals, before they could be received and confirmed by the people; and their solicitations were so effectual, that those who had opposed the decree of Agis, carried their point by one voice: upon which Lysander, who still continued in his employment, immediately determined to proceed against Leonidas, in virtue of an ancient law, by which "each descendant from Hercules was prohibited from espousing any foreign woman; and which made it death for any Spartan to settle among strangers." Sufficient proofs of delinquency in these particulars were produced against Leonidas, and Cleombrotus was prevailed upon, at the same time, to assist in the pro-

secution, and demand the crown, as being himself of the royal race, and the son-in-law of Leonidas.

Leonidas was so confounded at this proceeding, and so apprehensive of the event, that he took sanctuary in the temple of Minerva, called *Chalciceos*; upon which the wife of Cleombrotus, quitting her husband, became a suppliant with her father. Leonidas was summoned to appear; but as he refused to comply, he was divested of his royalty, and it was then transferred to his son-in-law Cleombrotus.

Lysander quitted his employment about this period, the usual time for holding it being then expired. The new Ephori took this opportunity to commence a prosecution against him and Mandroclides, for having voted for the abolition of debts, and a new distribution of lands, contrary to the laws. Lysander and Mandroclides, finding themselves in danger of being condemned, persuaded the two kings, that if they would only be united with each other, they would have no cause to be disquieted by any decrees of the Ephori, who were privileged indeed to decide between them when they were divided in their sentiments, but had no right to interpose in their affairs, when they concurred in the same opinions.

The two kings taking advantage of this expedient, entered the assembly, where they compelled the Ephori to quit their seats, and substituted others in their stead, one of whom was Agesilaus. They then caused a band of young men to arm themselves, and gave orders for releasing the prisoners; in a word, they rendered themselves very formidable to their enemies, who now expected to be put to the sword: but not one person was killed on this occasion; and when Agis even knew that Agesilaus intended to cause Leonidas to be assassinated on his retreat to Tegrea, he ordered him safely to be conducted thither by a sufficient guard.

When the affair was on the point of being absolutely concluded without any opposition, so great was the terror which then prevailed, it was suddenly obstructed by a single man. Agesilaus had one of the largest and best estates in the whole country, and at the same time was deeply involved in debt: but as he was incapable of paying his creditors, and had no inclination to incorporate his estate into the common property, he represented to Agis, that the change would be too great and violent, and even too dangerous, should they attempt to carry their two points at the same time; namely, the abolition of debts, and the distribution of lands: whereas, if they began with conciliating the landed proprietors, by the annihilation of debts, they would afterwards more quietly and readily consent to the partition of lands. This specious reasoning misled Agis, and even Lysander himself was won over to this expedient by the artifices of Agesilaus; in consequence of which all contracts and obligations were taken from the several creditors, and carried into the public square, where they were piled into a large heap, and burned to ashes. As soon as the flames mounted into the air, the rich men and bankers, who had lent their money, returned home extremely dejected, and Agesilaus cried with an insulting air, "That he had never seen so fine and clear a fire before."

The people immediately after this transaction, demanded a distribution of the lands, and each of the kings gave orders for its accomplishment; but Agesilaus still continued to start fresh difficulties, and found out a variety of new pretences, to prevent the execution of that affair; by which means he gained time, till Agis was obliged to take the field at the head of an army. For the Achæans, who were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, had sent to demand their assistance against the Ætolians, who threatened an irruption through the territories of the Megareans into Peloponnesus.

Aratus, who was then general of the Achæans, had already assembled his troops to oppose the enemy, and had also written to the Ephori, who, upon receipt of his letters, immediately sent Agis to their assistance. This prince set out with all possible expedition, and the soldiers testified an incredible joy at their marching under his command. The generality of them were young men in very low circum-

† Equal to 600,000 crowns.

stances of life, who now saw themselves discharged from all their debts, and free, and also in expectation of sharing the lands at their return from this expedition; for which reasons they testified the utmost affection for Agis. The cities were charmed to see these troops pass through Peloponnesus, without committing the least disorder: and so quietly, that the sound of their march was hardly to be distinguished. The Greeks were entirely surprised, and made the following reflection: "What admirable discipline and order must formerly have been observed by the armies of Lacedæmon, when they were commanded by Agesilans, Lysander, or the ancient Leonidas; since they even now display so much awe and respect for their general, though younger than any soldier in his camp!"

Agis joined Aratus near Corinth, at the very time when he was deliberating in a council of war, whether he should hazard a battle, and in what manner he should dispose his troops. Agis declared for a battle, and thought it not advisable to allow the enemies a passage into Peloponnesus; but added at the same time, that he intended to act as Aratus should judge proper, as he was the older officer of the two, and general of the Achæans; whereas he himself was only general of the auxiliary troops, and was not come thither to exercise any command over the league, but only to engage the enemy in conjunction with them for whose assistance he had been sent. The officers of Aratus, instead of treating him with as much deference as Agis had expressed, took the liberty to reproach him in sharp terms, for his disinclination to a battle; ascribing that to timidity, which in reality was the effect of prudence. But the vain fear of false infamy did not make him abandon his prudent schemes for the public good. He justified his conduct by the memoirs he writ on that occasion; wherein he observes, that as the husbandmen had already carried in their harvest, and gathered in all the fruits of the season, he judged it more advisable to let the enemy advance into the country, than to hazard an unnecessary battle at that juncture, when the welfare of the whole league lay at stake. When he had determined not to enter upon an action, he dismissed his allies, after he had bestowed the greatest commendations upon them; and Agis, who was astonished at his conduct, set out for Sparta with his troops.

The Ætolians entered Peloponnesus without any obstruction,¹ and in their march seized the city of Pellene, where their troops, who were intent on nothing but plunder, immediately dispersed themselves up and down, without the least order, and began to contend with each other for the spoils. Aratus, informed of these proceedings, would not suffer so favourable an opportunity to escape him. He was no longer the same man, and, without losing a moment's time, or waiting till all his troops had joined him, he advanced with those he then had against the enemy, who were become weak even by their victory, attacked them in the very place they had so lately taken, and forced them to abandon it, with the loss of 700 men. This action did him great honour, and changed the injurious reproaches which had been uttered against him, and which he had patiently suffered, into the highest applauses and pangs.

Several states and princes having now entered into a confederacy against the Achæans, Aratus endeavoured to contract a friendship and alliance with the Ætolians, in which he easily succeeded; and not only a peace was concluded between them, but he also effectually negotiated an offensive and defensive league between the two nations of Ætolia and Achæa.

Agis² when he arrived at Sparta, A. M. 3760. found a great change in the state Ant. J. C. 244. of affairs. Agesilans, who was one of the Ephori, being no longer restrained by fear as formerly, and entirely intent upon the gratification of his avarice, committed the greatest violence and injustice. When he found himself universally detested, he raised and maintained a body

of troops, who served him as a guard when he went to the senate; and he caused a report to be spread, that he intended to continue in his office the succeeding year. His enemies, in order to elude the calamities with which they were threatened, caused Leonidas to be sent for in the most public manner from Tegrea, and replaced him upon the throne, to the general satisfaction of the people, who were greatly irritated to see themselves abused in the hopes they had entertained of the partition of the lands, which had never been carried into execution.

Agesilans saved himself by the assistance of his son, who was universally beloved; and the two kings took sanctuary: Agis in the temple of Minerva, called Chalciceos, and Cleombrotus in that of Neptune. As Leonidas seemed to be most exasperated against the latter, he left Agis, and advanced at the head of a band of soldiers into the temple where Cleombrotus had fled for refuge. He then reproached him with great warmth for assuming the regal power in violation of the ties of affinity between them, and for expelling them from his own country in so ignominious a manner. Cleombrotus, who had nothing to answer to these reproaches, continued seated in a profound silence, and with an aspect that sufficiently testified his confusion. His wife Chelonis stood near, with her two children at her feet. She had been equally unfortunate as a wife and daughter, but was equally faithful in each of these capacities, and had always adhered to the unfortunate. She had accompanied her father Leonidas during his exile, and now returned to her husband, whom she tenderly embraced, and at the same time became a supplicant for him to her father.

All those who were then present melted into tears at so moving a sight, and were struck with admiration at the virtue and tenderness of Chelonis, and the amiable force of conjugal love. This unfortunate princess pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled tresses, "Believe me, O my father," said she, "this habit of wo which I now wear, this dejection which appears in my countenance, and this affliction into which you see me sunk, are not the effects of that compassion I entertain for Cleombrotus: but the remains of my grief for the calamities you have sustained in your flight from Sparta. On what, alas! shall I now resolve? While you reign for the future in Sparta, and triumph over the enemies who opposed you, shall I continue to live in the desolate state to which you now see me reduced? Or is it my duty to array myself in robes of royalty and magnificence, when I behold the husband I received from you in the flower of my youth, on the point of perishing by your hands? Should he be unable to disarm your resentment, and move your soul to compassion, by the tears of his wife and children, permit me to assure you, that he will be punished with more severity for his imprudence, than was even intended by yourself, when he shall see a wife who is so dear to him expiring at his feet; for you are not to think, that in my present condition I will ever consent to survive him. What appearance shall I make among the Spartan ladies, after my inability to inspire my husband with compassion for my father, and to soften my father into pity for my husband? What indeed shall I appear to them, but a daughter and a wife, always afflicted and contemned by her nearest relations!" Chelonis, at the conclusion of these mournful expressions, reclined her cheek on the head of Cleombrotus, while with her eyes that spoke their sorrow in their tears, she cast a languid look on those who were present.

Leonidas, after a few moments' discourse with his friends, ordered Cleombrotus to rise, and immediately quit Sparta; but earnestly importuned his daughter to continue there, and not forsake a father, who gave her such a peculiar proof of tenderness, as to spare, at her request, the life of her husband. His solicitations were, however, ineffectual, and the moment Cleombrotus rose from his seat, she placed one of her children in his arms, and clasped the other in her own; and, when she had offered up her prayers to the goddess, and kissed her altar, she became a voluntary exile with her husband. How extremely

¹ Plat. in Arat. p. 1041.

² Plat. in Agid. p. 802—804.

affecting was this spectacle! and how worthy the admiration of all ages is such a model of conjugal love! If the heart of Cleombrotus, says Plutarch, had not been entirely depraved by vain glory, and a boundless ambition to reign, he would have been sensible, that even banishment itself, with so virtuous a companion, was a felicity preferable to the condition of a sovereign.

When Leonidas had expelled Cleombrotus from Sparta, and substituted new Ephori instead of the former, whom he had deposed, he bent all his endeavours to insnare Agis; and began with persuading him to quit the asylum to which he had retired, and to reign in conjunction with himself. In order to which he assured him, that his citizens had pardoned all past proceedings, because they were sensible that his youth and inexperience, with his predominant passion for glory, had laid him open to the insinuations of Agesilaus. But as Agis suspected the sincerity of those expressions, and persisted in his resolution to continue in the temple, Leonidas no longer attempted to deceive him with plausible pretences. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus, who had frequently visited the young prince, continued their assiduities to him, and sometimes conducted him from the temple to the baths, and from thence conveyed him in safety to the temple; for each of them was his intimate friend.

This fidelity, however, was of no long continuance. Amphares had lately borrowed of Agesistrata, the mother of Agis, several rich suits of tapestry, and a magnificent set of silver plate. The hope of retaining those costly ornaments tempted him to betray the king, with his mother and grandmother. It was even said, that he was much more inclinable, than either of his two companions, to listen to the suggestions of Leonidas; and that no one was so industrious as himself to spirit up the Ephori (of whose number he was one) against Agis. As this prince went sometimes from the temple to the bath, they resolved to take that opportunity to surprise him; and when he was one day returning from thence, they advanced up to him, and after they had embraced him with an air of affection, they attended him in his way, and entertained him with their usual familiarity of conversation. At the end of one of the streets through which they passed, was a turning which led to the prison; and as soon as they arrived at that corner, Amphares seized Agis with an air of authority, and cried, "Agis, I must conduct you to the Ephori, to whom you are to be accountable for your behaviour." At the same instant Demochares, who was tall and strong, threw his mantle round his neck, and dragged him along, while the other pushed him forward, as they had previously agreed; and as no person came to assist him, because there was nobody in the street at that time, they accomplished their design, and threw him into prison.

Leonidas arrived at the same time with a great number of foreign soldiers, and surrounded the prison; the Ephori likewise came thither, and when they had sent for such of the senators as concurred with their opinion, they proceeded to examine Agis, as if he had been formally arraigned, and ordered him to justify himself, with respect to his intended innovations in the republic. One of the Ephori, pretending to have discovered an expedient for disengaging him from this criminal affair, asked him, whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not compelled him to have recourse to those measures: to which Agis replied, that he had not acted in consequence of any compulsion; but that his admiration of Lycurgus, and a sincere desire to imitate his conduct, were his only motives for attempting to restore the city to the same condition in which that legislator had left it. The same officer then demanding of him, whether he did not repent of that proceeding? The young prince answered with an air of steadiness, "That he never should repent of so virtuous, so noble, and so glorious an undertaking, though death itself were presented to his view in all its terrors." His pretended judges then condemned him to die, and immediately commanded the public officers to carry him to that part of the prison, where those on whom

the sentence of condemnation had passed were usually strangled.

When Demochares saw that the officers of justice did not dare to lay their hands on Agis, and that even the foreign soldiers turned their eyes from such a spectacle of horror, and refused to be accessory to so inhuman an execution, he loaded them with threats and reproaches, and with his own hands dragged Agis to the dungeon. The people, who by this time were informed of the manner in which he had been seized, crowded to the gates of the prison, and began to be very tumultuous. The whole street was already illuminated with innumerable tapers; and the mother and grandmother of Agis ran from place to place, filling the air with their cries, and entreating the people that the king of Sparta might at least have the privilege to defend himself, and be judged by his own citizens. The zeal of the people did but animate the murderers to hasten the execution of Agis, lest he should be released by force that very night, if the people should have sufficient time allowed them for assembling together.

As the executioners were leading him to the place where they intended to strangle him, he beheld tears flowing from the eyes of one them, who was touched with his misfortune; upon which he turned to him, and said, "Weep not for me, my friend; for, as I am cut off in this manner, contrary to all laws and justice, I am much happier, and more to be envied, than those who have condemned me." When he had said these words, he offered his neck to the fatal cord without the least reluctance.

As Amphares came from the prison, at the close of this tragic scene, the first object he beheld was the disconsolate mother of Agis, who threw herself at his feet: he raised her from the earth, and assured her that Agis had nothing to fear; entreating her at the same time to enter the prison and see her son. She then desired him to permit her aged mother to attend her in that mournful visit. "Your request," said he, "is reasonable;" and he immediately conducted them into the prison, but ordered the door to be shut the moment they entered it. He then commanded the executioner to seize Archidamia, the grandmother of Agis, who had lived to a venerable old age among her citizens, with as much dignity and reputation as any lady of her time. When the executioner had performed his fatal office, the inhuman Amphares ordered the mother of Agis to enter the dungeon. This unhappy princess, the moment she came into that dismal place, beheld her son lying dead on the ground, and, at a little distance from him, her dead mother, with the fatal cord still about her neck. She assisted the executioners in untying it, after which she laid the corpse by her son, as decently as she could, and covered it with a cloth. When this pious office was completed, she cast herself upon the body of Agis, and after she had tenderly kissed his cold lips, "O my son," said she, "the excess of thy humanity and sweet disposition, and thy too great circumspection and lenity, have undone thee, and been fatal to us as well as thee!"

Amphares, who from the door had beheld and heard all that passed, entered that moment, and addressing himself with a savage air to the mother of Agis, "Since you knew," said he, "and approved the designs of your son, you shall share in his punishment." Agesistrata arose at those words, and running to the fatal cord, "May this," cried she, "at least be useful to Sparta!"

When the report of these executions was dispersed through the city, and the inhabitants beheld the bodies brought out of the prison, the indignation occasioned by this barbarity was universal, and every one declared, that from the time the Dorians had first established themselves in Peloponnesus, so atrocious and horrible an action had never been committed. It must indeed be acknowledged, that all the blackest crimes in nature were here united, and under circumstances which infinitely aggravated their atrocity; and we may even add too, that the murder of the king included and surpassed them all: so barbarous an execution, in opposition to that respect with which nature inspires the most savage people

for the most sacred person of their sovereign, is such a blemish on a nation, as all succeeding ages can never obliterate.

Agis having been destroyed in this manner,¹ Leonidas was not expeditious enough in seizing his brother Archidamus, who saved himself by flight; but he secured Agiatis, the consort of that unhappy king, whom he carried off from her own house, with the young child she had by him, and then compelled her to espouse his son Cleomenes, who was not marriageable at that time: but Leonidas determined that the widow of Agis should not be disposed of to any other person, as she inherited a large estate from her father Gylippus, and likewise excelled all the Grecian ladies in beauty as well as wisdom and virtue. She endeavoured to avoid this marriage by all the means in her power, but to no effect. And when she at last was obliged to consent to her nuptials with Cleomenes, she always retained a mortal aversion to Leonidas: but behaved with the utmost complacency and kindness to her young spouse, who, from the first day of his marriage, conceived a most sincere and passionate esteem and affection for her, which never abated; and even sympathized with her in the tenderness she preserved for Agis, and the regard she expressed for his memory, and that too in such a degree, that he would frequently listen to her with the greatest attention, while she related to him the great designs he had formed for the regulation of the government.

SECTION IV.—CLEOMENES ASCENDS THE THRONE OF SPARTA, AND ENGAGES IN A WAR AGAINST THE ACHÆANS, OVER WHOM HE OBTAINS SEVERAL ADVANTAGES. HE REFORMS THE GOVERNMENT OF SPARTA, AND RE-ESTABLISHES THE ANCIENT DISCIPLINE. ACQUIRES NEW ADVANTAGES OVER ARATUS AND THE ACHÆANS. ARATUS APPLIES FOR SUCOUR TO ANTIGONUS, KING OF MACEDONIA, BY WHOSE AID THE ACHÆANS OBTAIN REPEATED VICTORIES, AND TAKE SEVERAL PLACES FROM THE ENEMY.

CLEOMENES had a noble soul,² and an ardent passion for glory, joined with the same inclination for temperance and simplicity of manners as Agis had always expressed; but he had not that prince's excessive sweetness of disposition, nor the timidity and precaution which accompanied it. Nature, on the contrary, had infused into him a vigour and vivacity of mind, which ardently prompted him to whatever appeared great and noble. Nothing seemed to him so glorious as to reign over his citizens with their own good will and consent; but, at the same time he did not think it inconsistent with the glory of a wise administration, to employ some violence in reducing to compliance with a measure of public utility an inconsiderable number of obstinate and unjust persons, who opposed it merely from a view of private interest.

He was far from being satisfied with the state of affairs which then prevailed in Sparta. All the citizens had long been softened by indolence and a voluptuous life; and the king himself, who was fond of tranquillity, had entirely neglected public affairs. No person whatever had testified any regard for the public good, every individual being solely intent upon his private interest, and the aggrandizement of his family at the public expense. Instead of any care in disciplining the young people, and forming them to temperance, patience and the equality of freedom, it was even dangerous to mention any thing of that nature, as Agis himself had perished by attempting to introduce it among them.

It is also said, that Cleomenes, who was still very young, had heard some philosophical lectures at the time when Spherus, who came from the banks of the Boristhenes, settled in Lacedæmon, and applied himself in a very successful manner to the instruction of youth. This person was one of the principal disciples of Zeno, the Citian.³ The Stoic philosophy, which he then professed, was exceeding proper

to infuse courage and noble sentiments into the mind; but, at the same time, was capable of dangerous effects in a disposition naturally warm and impetuous; and, on the other hand, might be rendered very beneficial by being grafted on a mild and moderate character.

After the death of Leonidas, who did not long survive the condemnation and murder of Agis, his son A. M. 3762.
Ant. J. C. 242. Cleomenes succeeded him in the throne; and though he was then very young, it gave him pain to consider that he had only the empty title of king, while the whole authority was engrossed by the Ephori, who shamefully abused their power. He from that time grew solicitous to change the form of government; and as he was sensible that few persons were disposed to concur with him in his views, he imagined the accomplishment of it would be facilitated by a war, and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achæans, who, very fortunately for his purpose, had given Sparta some occasion of complaint against them.

Aratus from the very beginning of his administration, had been industrious to negotiate a league between all the states of Peloponnesus, through a persuasion, that if he succeeded in that attempt, they would have nothing to fear for the future from a foreign enemy; and this was the only point to which all his measures tended. All the other states, except the Lacedæmonians, the people of Elis, and those of Arcadia, had each espoused the party of the Lacedæmonians, had acceded to this league. Aratus, soon after the death of Leonidas, began to harass the Arcadians, in order to make an experiment of the Spartan courage, and at the same time to make it evident, that he despised Cleomenes, as a young man without the least experience.

When the Ephori received intelligence of this act of hostility, they caused their troops to take the field under the command of Cleomenes; they indeed were not numerous, but confidence in the general by whom they were commanded, inspired them with all imaginable ardour for the war. The Achæans marched against them with 20,000 foot and 1000 horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes came up with them near Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, and offered them battle; but Aratus was so intimidated by this bold measure, that he prevailed upon the general not to hazard an engagement, and then made a retreat; which drew upon him very severe reproaches from his own troops, and sharp railery from the enemy, whose numbers did not amount to 5000 men in the whole. The courage of Cleomenes was so much raised by this retreat, that he assumed a loftier air amongst his citizens, and reminded them of an expression used by one of their ancient kings, who said, "That the Lacedæmonians never inquired after the number of their enemies, but where they were." He afterwards defeated the Achæans in a second encounter; but Aratus, taking the advantage even of his defeat, like an experienced general, turned his arms immediately against Mantinea, and before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that city, and put a garrison into it.

Cleomenes, after his return to Sparta, began to think seriously on the execution of his grand design, and had influence enough to cause Archidamus, the brother of Agis, to be recalled from Messene. As that prince was descended from the other royal house of Sparta, he had an incontestable right to the crown; and Cleomenes was persuaded, that the authority of the Ephori would receive a much greater diminution, when the throne of Sparta should be filled by its two kings, whose union would enable them to counterbalance their power. But, unhappily for his purpose, the same persons who had been guilty of the death of Agis, found means to assassinate his brother Archidamus.⁴

Cleomenes, soon after this event, gained a new advantage over the Achæans, in an action near Megalo-

¹ Plut. in Cleom. p. 805.

² Ibid. p. 805—811.

³ So called from Citium, a city of Cyprus.

⁴ Polybius declares, that Cleomenes himself caused him to be assassinated, l. v. p. 353, and l. viii. p. 511.

polis, wherein Lysiaes was slain, in consequence of engaging too far in the pursuit of the Lacedæmonians, who had been repulsed when the encounter first began. This victory was very honourable to the young king, and increased his reputation to a great degree. He had imparted his design to a small number of select and faithful friends, who served him in a very seasonable manner. When he returned to Sparta, he concerted his march so as to enter the city when the Ephori were at supper; at which time, a set of persons who had been chosen for that action, entered the hall with their drawn swords, and killed four of these magistrates,¹ with ten of those who had taken arms for their defence. Agesilaus, who had been left for dead on the spot, found means to save himself; after which no other person whatever sustained any violence; and, indeed, what had been already committed was sufficient.

The next day, Cleomenes caused the names of four-score citizens, whom he intended to banish, to be fixed up in places of public resort. He also removed from the hall of audience all the seats of the Ephori except one, where he himself was to sit when administering justice; and after he had convoked an assembly of the people, he explained to them his reasons for the conduct he had pursued; representing to them, in what an enormous manner the Ephori had abused their power, by suppressing all lawful authority, and not only banishing their kings, but even causing them to be destroyed without the least form of justice, and menacing those who were desirous of again beholding Sparta happy in the most excellent and divine form of government. He then added, that the conduct he pursued rendered it sufficiently evident, that, instead of consulting his own particular interest, his whole endeavours were employed to promote that of the citizens, by reviving among them the discipline and equality which the wise Lycurgus had formerly established, and from whence Sparta had derived all her glory and reputation.

When he had expressed himself in this manner, he was the first to consign his whole estate to the common stock, and was seconded in that action by Megistones, his father-in-law, who was very rich. The rest of his friends, and at length all the other citizens, then complied with this example, and the lands were distributed agreeably to the intended plan. He even assigned a portion to each of those who had been banished, and promised to recall them as soon as affairs could be settled in a state of tranquillity. He then filled up the proper number of citizens with persons of the best character in all the adjacent parts, and raised 4000 foot, whom he taught to use lances instead of javelins, and to wear bucklers with strong handles, and not with leather straps buckled on, as had before been the custom.

His next cares were devoted to the education of children; in order to which he endeavoured to re-establish the Laconic discipline, wherein the philosopher Sphærus very much assisted him. The exercises and public meals soon resumed their ancient order and gravity; most of the citizens voluntarily embracing this wise, noble, and regular method of life, to which the rest, whose number was very inconsiderable, were soon obliged to conform. In order also to soften the name of monarch, and to avoid exasperating the citizens, he appointed his brother Eucidas king with him; which is the first instance of the administration of the Spartan government by two kings of the same house at one time.

Cleomenes, believing that Aratus and the Achæans were persuaded he would not presume to quit Sparta, amidst the dissatisfaction occasioned by the innovations which he had introduced into the government, thought nothing could be more honourable and advantageous to him, than to let his enemies see how much he was esteemed by his troops and beloved by his citizens, and what confidence he entertained, that the new changes had not alienated the minds of the people from him. He first advanced into the territories of Megalopolis; where his troops committed great devastations, and gained a very considerable

booty. To these ravages he added insults, causing public games or shows to be exhibited for the space of a whole day, in the sight of the enemy; not that he had any real satisfaction in such a conduct, but only intended to convince them, by this contemptuous bravado, how assured he was of being victorious over them.

Though it was very customary, in those times, to see troops of comedians and dancers in the train of other armies, his camp was perfectly free from all such dissolute attendants. The youths of his army passed the greatest part of their time in exercising themselves, and the old men were industrious to form and instruct them. Their very relaxations from those employments were devoted to instructive and familiar conversations, seasoned with fine and delicate raileries, which were always modest, and never rendered offensive by injurious reflections. In a word, they were entirely conformable to the laws by which the wise legislator of Sparta had been careful to regulate conversations.

Cleomenes himself appeared like the master who thus formed the citizens, not so much by his discourse as by his example, affording, in the simple and frugal life which he led, and which had nothing in it superior to that of the meanest of his subjects, an affecting model of wisdom and abstinence, which facilitated beyond expression his accomplishment of the great things which he performed in Greece. For those whose affairs carried them to the courts of other kings, did not admire their riches and magnificence so much as they detested their imperious pride, and the haughtiness with which they treated those who approached them. On the contrary, no such offensive manners were ever experienced in the court of Cleomenes. He appeared in a very plain habit, without guards, and almost without officers: the audiences he gave were as long as the people who applied to him could desire: he gave all manner of persons a very agreeable reception, without treating any body with an air of austerity. This affable and engaging behaviour gained him the universal love and veneration of his people, in which the true grandeur and merit of a king undoubtedly consists.

His table was extremely simple and frugal, and truly Laconic. No music was ever introduced there, nor did any one desire it, as his conversation well supplied its place; and it is certain that those who are capable of discoursing well, may pass their time very agreeably without hearing songs. Cleomenes never failed to enliven those repasts, either by proposing curious and important questions, or relating some useful and agreeable piece of history; seasoning the whole with a delicate vein of wit and gaiety. He thought it neither an argument of a prince's merit nor glory to attach men to his interest by the attractions of riches and splendid tables; whereas the ability of gaining their hearts by the amiable power of discourse, and the charms of an intercourse in which frankness and sincerity always prevailed, was considered by him as a truly royal quality.

This affable and engaging disposition of Cleomenes secured him the affection of all the troops, and inspired them with such an ardour for his service, as seemed to have rendered them invincible. He took several places from the Achæans, ravaged the territories of their allies, and advanced almost as far as Pheræ, with intention either to give them battle, or discredit Aratus as a pusillanimous leader, who had fled from his enemy, and abandoned all their champaign country to be plundered. The Achæans having taken the field with all their troops, and encamped in the territories of Dyme, Cleomenes followed them thither, and harassed them perpetually with so much intrepidity, as at last compelled them to come to a battle, wherein he obtained a complete victory; for he put their army to flight, killed abundance of men, and took a great number of prisoners.

The Achæans were extremely dejected at these severe losses, and began to be apprehensive of the

¹ This magistracy was composed of five Ephori.

² Plut. in Cleom. p. 811. Idem. in Arat. 1044.

greatest calamities from Sparta, especially if she should happen to be supported by the Ætoliens, according to the rumour which then prevailed. Aratus, who had usually been elected general every other year, refused that commission when he was chosen again, and Timoxenes was substituted in his stead. The Achæans severely censured the conduct of Aratus on this occasion, and with great justice, as he, who was considered by them as their pilot, had now abandoned the helm of his vessel amidst a threatening tempest, wherein it would have been proper and glorious for him to have seized it into his own hands, even by force, if it had not been offered to him, in imitation of several great examples related in history, and thus to have been solely solicitous to save the state at the expense of his own life. If he had even despaired of retrieving the affairs of the Achæans, he ought rather to have submitted to Cleomenes, who was a Grecian by birth, and king of Sparta, than to call in the assistance of foreigners, and make them masters of Peloponnesus, as he will soon appear to have done; jealousy, however, extinguishes all prudent reflections, and is a malady not to be cured by reason alone.

The Achæans being reduced to A. M. 3777. the last extremities, especially after Ant. J. C. 227. the loss of this battle, sent ambassadors to Cleomenes to negotiate a peace. The king seemed at first determined to impose very rigid terms upon them; but afterwards despatched an embassy on his part, and only demanded to be appointed general of the Achæan league, promising on that condition to accommodate all differences between them, and restore the prisoners and places he had taken from them. The Achæans, who were very inclinable to accept of peace on those terms, desired Cleomenes to be present at Lerna, where they were to hold a general assembly, in order to conclude the treaty. The king set out accordingly for that place, but an unexpected accident which happened to him prevented the interview; and Aratus endeavoured to improve it in such a manner as to hinder the negotiation from being renewed. He imagined, that as he had possessed the chief authority in the Achæan league for the space of thirty-three years, it would be very disgraceful to him if a young man were suffered, as it were, to graft himself upon him and divest him of all his glory and power, by supplanting him in a command which he had acquired, augmented, and retained for so many years. These considerations induced him to use all his efforts to dissuade the Achæans from accepting the conditions proposed to them by Cleomenes: but as he had the mortification to find that the Achæans would not coincide with him in opinion, because they dreaded the bravery and uncommon success of Cleomenes, and likewise thought that the intentions of the Lacedæmonians to restore Peloponnesus to its ancient state were very just and reasonable, he had recourse to an expedient which would not have become any Grecian, and was extremely dishonourable in a man of his rank and character. This was to call in the assistance of Antigonus king of Macedonia, and by inevitable consequence make him master of Greece.

He had not forgotten that Antigonus had great cause to be dissatisfied with him:^a but he was sensible that princes may be properly said to have neither friends nor enemies, and that they form their sentiments of things by the standard of their own interest. He, however, would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, nor propose it as for himself; because he knew that, if it should happen to prove unsuccessful, he must inevitably incur all the odium; and besides, it would be making a plain declaration to the Achæans, that if he had not absolutely despaired of retrieving their affairs, he would not have advised them to have recourse to their professed enemy. He, therefore, concealed his real views, like an artful and experienced politician, and proceeded by indirect and secret methods. As the city of Megalopolis was nearest in situation to Sparta, it lay

most exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and the inhabitants began to be tired of the war, as the Achæans were so far from being in a condition to support them, that they were unable to defend themselves. Nicophanes and Cercides, two citizens of Megalopolis, whom Aratus had brought over to his scheme, made a proposal in the council of that city, for demanding permission of the Achæans, to implore the assistance of Antigonus. This motion was immediately assented to, and the Achæans granted them the permission they desired. These two citizens were then deputed to be the messengers to make that proposal to the king, and Aratus had been careful to furnish them with sufficient instructions beforehand. When they received audience of Antigonus they lightly touched upon the particulars which related to their city, and then strongly insisted, in conformity to their instructions, on the imminent danger to which the king himself would be exposed, should the alliance which was then talked of between the Ætoliens and Cleomenes take effect. They then represented to him, that if the united forces of these two states should have those advantages over the Achæans which they expected to obtain, the towering ambition of Cleomenes would never be satisfied with the mere conquest of Peloponnesus, as it was evident that he aspired at the empire of all Greece, which it would be impossible for him to seize, without entirely destroying the authority of the Macedonians. To these remonstrances they added, that if the Ætoliens should not happen to join Cleomenes, the Achæans would be capable of supporting themselves with their own forces, and would have no cause to trouble the king with their importunities for his assistance; but if, on the other hand, fortune should prove adverse to them, and permit the confederacy between those two states to take effect, they must then entreat him not to be an unconcerned spectator of the ruin of Peloponnesus, which might even be attended with fatal consequences to himself. They also took care to insinuate to the king, that Aratus would enter into all his measures, and give him in due time sufficient security for his own fidelity and good intentions.

Antigonus highly approved all these representations, and seized with pleasure the opportunity that was now offered him, of engaging in the affairs of Greece. This had always been the policy of the successors of Alexander, who, by declaring themselves kings, had converted the frame of their respective governments into a monarchy. They were sensible that they were deeply interested in opposing all such states as had any inclination to retain their liberty and the form of popular government; and wherever they found themselves in no condition to crush this inclination entirely, they attempted to weaken it at least, and to render the people incapable of forming any considerable enterprises, by sowing the seeds of division between republics and free states, and engaging them in wars against each other, in order to render themselves necessary to them, and prevent their shaking off the Macedonian yoke by uniting their forces. Polybius,² speaking of one of these princes, declares, in express terms, that he paid large pensions to several tyrants in Greece, who were professed enemies to liberty.³

It cannot, therefore, be thought surprising, that Antigonus should so readily comply with the solicitations and demands of the Megalopolitans. He wrote them an obliging letter, wherein he promised to assist them, provided the Achæans would consent to that proceeding. The inhabitants of Megalopolis were transported at the happy result of their negotiation, and immediately despatched the same deputies to the general assembly of the Achæans, in order to inform the people of the good intentions of Antigonus, and to press them to send for them immediately, and to put their interests into his hands.

Aratus did not fail to congratulate himself in private on the masterly stroke by which he had suc-

^a Lib. ii. p. 131.

² Διπλοῖται ἢ αὐτοῖς (μονάρχαις) δίδοναι χρημάτων καὶ μισθοδοτεῖν.

¹ Polyb. l. ii. p. 133–140.

ceeded in his intrigue, and to find Antigonus not possessed with any impressions to his prejudice, as he had reason to apprehend. He wished, indeed, to have had no occasion for his assistance; and though necessity obliged him to have recourse to that prince, he was unwilling to have those measures imputed to him, but wished them to seem to have been concerted by the Achæans, without any interference on his part.

When the deputies from Megalopolis were introduced into the assembly, they read the letter of Antigonus, and related all the particulars of the obliging reception he had given them; with the affection and esteem he had expressed for the Achæans, and the advantageous offers he made them. They concluded with desiring, in the name of their city, that the Achæans would invite Antigonus to be present as soon as possible in their assembly; and every one seemed to approve of that motion. Aratus then rose up, and after he had represented the good will of the king in the strongest light, and commended the sentiments that prevailed in the assembly, he intimated to them, that there was no necessity for precipitating measures; that it should be a point of honour with the republic to endeavour to maintain and terminate her wars by her own forces; and that if any calamitous accident should render her incapable of doing so, it would then be time enough to have recourse to her friends. This advice was generally approved; and it was concluded that the Achæans should employ only their own forces in supporting the present war.

The events of it were, however,
A. M. 3778. very unfavourable to them; for
Ant. J. C. 226. Cleomenes made himself master
of several cities of Peloponnesus,²
of which Argos was the most considerable, and at
last seized Corinth, but not the

citadel. The Achæans had then
A. M. 3779. no longer time for deliberation;
Ant. J. C. 225. Antigonus was called into their
assistance, and they came to a resolution to deliver
up the citadel of Corinth to him, without which he
would never have engaged in that expedition; for he
wanted a place of strength, and there was none
which suited him so effectually as that, as well on
account of its advantageous situation between two
seas, as its fortifications, which rendered it almost
impregnable. Aratus sent his son to Antigonus
among the other hostages. That prince advanced
by long marches, with an army of 20,000 foot and
1400 horse. Aratus set out by sea, with the principal
officers of the league, to meet Antigonus at the
city of Pegæ, unknown to the enemy; and when that
prince was informed of his arrival in person, he advanced to him, and rendered him all the honours due
to a general of distinguished rank and merit.

Cleomenes, instead of attempting to defend the
passage of the isthmus, thought it more advisable to
throw up trenches and raise strong walls to fortify
the passes of the Onian mountains,³ and to harass
the enemy by frequent attacks, rather than hazard a battle
against such well-disciplined and warlike troops.
This conduct of the king of Sparta reduced Antigonus
to great extremities; for he had not provided
himself with any considerable quantity of provisions,
and found it not very practicable to force the passes
defended by Cleomenes: the only expedient, therefore,
to which Antigonus could have recourse in this
perplexity, was to advance to the promontory of
Herææ, and from thence to transport his army by sea
to Sicyon, which would require a considerable space
of time, as well as great preparations, which could
not easily be made.

While Antigonus was embarrassed in this manner, some friends
Ant. J. C. 224. of Aratus arrived at his camp, one
night, by sea, and informed him,

¹ Plut. in Cleom. p. 814, 815. Plut. in Arat. p. 1047.

² Caphyæ, Pellene, Pheneus, Phlius, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Hermione, Træzene.

³ These were a ridge of mountains which extended from the rocks of Sciron, in the road to Attica, as far as Bœotia, and mount Cithæron.—Strab. l. viii.

that the people of Argos had revolted against Cleomenes, and were then besieging the citadel. Aratus having received 1500 men from Antigonus, set out by sea and arrived at Epidaurus.

Cleomenes, receiving intelligence of these proceedings about nine or ten in the evening, immediately despatched Megistones with 2000 men, to succour his party at Argos as soon as possible; after which he industriously watched the motions of Antigonus; and to animate the Corinthians, assured them that the disorders which had lately happened at Argos, were no more than a slight commotion excited by a few mutinous persons, which would be easily suppressed. In this, however, he was deceived; for Megistones having been slain in a skirmish, as soon as he entered Argos, the Lacedæmonian garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and had sent several couriers to demand immediate assistance from the Spartan army. Cleomenes being then apprehensive that the enemies, if they should happen to make themselves masters of Argos, would shut up all the passes against him; by which means they would be in a condition to ravage all Laconia with impunity, and even to form the siege of Sparta, which would then be without defence; he, therefore, thought it advisable to decamp, and marched with all his army from Corinth.

Antigonus, immediately after this retreat of the Lacedæmonians, entered Corinth, and placed in it a strong garrison. Cleomenes, in the mean time, arrived at Argos, before the revolvers had any suspicion of his approach, and at first succeeded so far, as to scale several parts of the town, where he forced some of the enemies' troops to save themselves by flight; but Aratus having entered the city on one side, and king Antigonus appearing with all his troops on the other, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

While he was on his march, he received at Tegea, in the evening, some news by messengers from Lacedæmon, which affected him as much as all his former misfortunes. They acquainted him with the death of his consort Agiatis, from whom he had never been able to absent himself a whole campaign, even when his expeditions were most successful; and such was his tenderness and esteem for her, that it had always been customary for him to make frequent returns to Sparta, to enjoy the pleasure of her company. The next morning he renewed his march by break of day, and arrived early at Sparta, where after he had devoted some moments in pouring out his sorrows to his mother and children in his own house, he resumed the management of public affairs.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy, who had promised to assist him in the war, sent to him to demand his mother and children as hostages. It was a long time before Cleomenes could venture to acquaint his parent with the king of Egypt's demand; and though he frequently went to visit her, with an intention to explain himself to her, he never had resolution enough to enter upon the subject. His mother observing his embarrassment, began to entertain some suspicion of the cause; for mothers have generally a great share of penetration, with reference to their children. She inquired of those who were most intimate with him, whether her son did not desire something from her, which he could not prevail upon himself to communicate to her? And when Cleomenes had at last the resolution to open the affair to her, "How, my son," said she with a smile, "is this the secret you wanted courage to disclose to me? Why, in the name of heaven, did you not immediately cause me to be put on board some vessel, and sent without a moment's delay, to any part of the world, where my person may be useful to Sparta, before old age consumes and destroys it in languor and inaction?"

When the preparations for her voyage were completed, Cratesiclea (for so the mother of Cleomenes was called) took her son apart, a few moments before she entered the vessel, and led him alone into the temple of Neptune. There she held him a great while clasped in her arms; and after she had tenderly kissed him, with her face bathed in tears, she recommended the liberty and honour of his country to his care. When she saw him weep in the excess of his

anguish at that melancholy parting; "King of Lacedæmon," said she, "let us dry our tears, that no person, when you quit the temple, may see us weep, or do any thing unworthy of Sparta. For this is in our power; events are in the hands of God." When she had expressed herself to this effect she composed her countenance, led her infant grandson to the ship, and commanded the pilot to sail that moment from the port.

As soon as she arrived in Egypt, she was informed that Ptolemy, having received an embassy from Antigonus, was satisfied with the proposals made by that prince; and she had likewise intelligence that her son Cleomenes was solicited by the Achæans to conclude a treaty between them and Sparta, but that he durst not put an end to the war without the consent of Ptolemy, because he was apprehensive for his mother, who was then in the power of that king. When she was apprised of these circumstances, she sent express orders to her son, to transact, without the least fear or hesitation, whatever he imagined would prove beneficial and glorious to Sparta, and not to suffer himself to be disconcerted by his apprehensions of the treatment an old woman and a child might sustain from Ptolemy. Such were the sentiments which even the women of Sparta thought it their glory to cherish.

Antigonus,¹ in the mean time, having made himself master of Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenus, and several other cities; Cleomenes, who was then reduced to the necessity of defending Laconia, permitted all the Helots who were capable of paying five mine (about ten pounds sterling) to purchase their freedom. From this contribution he raised 500 talents (about 125,000*l.* sterling,) and armed 2000 of these Helots after the Macedonian manner, in order to oppose them to the Leucaspides of Antigonus; he then formed an enterprise, which certainly no one could have expected from him. The city of Megalopolis was very considerable at that time, and even not inferior to Sparta in power and extent. Cleomenes concerted measures for surprising this city, and to take it without any opposition; and as Antigonus had sent most of his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia, while he himself continued at Egium, to assist in the assembly of the Achæans, the king of Sparta justly supposed that the garrison of the city could not be very strong at that time, nor much upon their guard, as not being apprehensive of any insult from an enemy so weak as himself; and, consequently, that if he proceeded with expedition in his design, Antigonus, who was then at the distance of three days' march from the place, would be incapable of affording it any assistance. The event succeeded according to the plan he had projected; for he arrived at the city by night, scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without any opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before their enemies had any thoughts of pursuing them; and Antigonus was not informed of this accident, till it was too late to retrieve it.

Cleomenes, out of a generosity of mind which has few examples in history, sent a herald to Messene to acquaint the people of Megalopolis, that he would restore them their city, provided they would renounce the Achæan league, and enter into a friendship and confederacy with Sparta; but advantageous as this offer seemed, they could not prevail on themselves to accept it, but rather chose to be deprived of their estates, as well as of the monuments of their ancestors and the temples of their gods; in a word, to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them; than to violate the faith they had sworn to their allies. The famous Philopœmen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, and who was then at Messene, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. Who could ever expect to discover so much greatness of soul, and such noble sentiments, in

the very dregs of Greece; for by that name the times of which we now treat may justly be described, when we compare them with the glorious ages of Greece united and triumphant, when even the lustre of its victories was surpassed by the splendour of its virtues!

This refusal of the Megalopolitans highly enraged Cleomenes, who, till the moment he received their answer, had not only spared the city, but had even been careful to prevent the soldiers from committing the least disorder; but his anger was then inflamed to such a degree, that he abandoned the place to pillage, and sent all the statues and pictures to Sparta. He also demolished the greatest part of the walls, with the strongest quarters in the place, and then marched his troops back to Sparta. The desolation of the city extremely afflicted the Achæans, who considered their inability to assist such faithful allies, as a crime for which they ought to reproach themselves.

This people was soon sensible, that by imploring the aid of Antigonus, they had subjected themselves to an imperious master, who made their liberties the price of his aid. He compelled them to pass a decree, which prohibited them from writing to any king, or sending an embassy, without his permission; and he obliged them to furnish provisions and pay for the garrison he had put into the citadel of Corinth; which, in reality, was making them pay for their own chains, for this citadel was the very place which kept them in subjection. They abandoned themselves to slavery in so abject a manner, as even to offer sacrifices and libations, and exhibit public games, in honour of Antigonus. Even Aratus himself was treated with equal disrespect. Antigonus set up in Argos all the statues of those tyrants which Aratus had thrown down, and destroyed all those which had been erected in honour of the persons who surprised the citadel of Corinth, except one, which was that of Aratus himself; and all the entreaties of this general could not prevail upon the king to desist from such a proceeding. The sight of these transactions gave him the utmost anxiety; but he was no longer master, and suffered a just punishment for subjecting himself and his country to a foreign yoke. After Antigonus had taken the city of Mantinea, and most inhumanly murdered a great number of the citizens, and sold the rest into captivity, he abandoned the place to the Argives, in order to its being repopulated by them, and even charged Aratus with that commission, who had the meanness to call this new inhabited city¹ by the name of him who had shown himself its most cruel enemy: a sad, and, at the same time a salutary example, which shows that when once a person has consented to stoop to a state of servitude, he sees himself daily compelled to descend lower, without knowing where or how to stop.

Aratus, by having himself contributed to load his republic with shackles, was guilty of an unpardonable crime, the enormity of which no great quality, nor any shining action, can ever extenuate. He acted thus merely through jealousy of his rival Cleomenes, whose glory, and the superiority that young prince had obtained over him by the success of his arms, were insupportable to him. What, says Plutarch, did Cleomenes demand of the Achæans, as the sole preliminary to the peace he offered them, but merely their election of him as their general? And even that was with a view to the welfare of their cities, and to secure to them the enjoyment of their liberties, as a testimony of his gratitude for so signal an honour, and so glorious a title. If, therefore, continues Plutarch, it had been absolutely necessary for them to have chosen either Cleomenes or Antigonus, or, in other words, a Greek or a Barbarian, for the Macedonians were considered as such; in a word, if they were obliged to have a master, would not the meanest citizen of Sparta have been preferable to the greatest of the Macedonians; at least, in the opinion of those who had any regard to the honour and reputation of Greece? Jealousy, however, extinguished all those sentiments in the mind of Aratus; so difficult is it to behold superior merit with an eye of satisfaction and tranquillity.

¹ Polyb. l. ii. p. 149. Plut. in Cleom. p. 815—817. Id. in Arat. p. 1043.

² Antigonæa.

Aratus, therefore, that he might not seem to submit to Cleomenes, nor consent that a king of Sparta descended from Hercules, and a king who had lately re-established the ancient discipline of that city, should add to his other titles that of captain-general of the Achæans, called in a stranger, to whom he had formerly professed himself a mortal enemy; in consequence of which he filled Peloponnesus with those very Macedonians whom he had made it his glory to expel from thence in his youth. He even threw himself at their feet; and all Achæia, by his example, fell prostrate before them, as an indication of their promptitude to accomplish the commands of their imperious master. In a word, from a man accustomed to liberty, he became an abject and servile flatterer; he had the baseness to offer sacrifices to Antigonus, to appear himself at the head of a procession crowned with chaplets of flowers, joining at the same time in hymns to the honour of that prince, and rendering by these low adulations that homage to a mortal man, which none but the Divinity can claim; to a man who then carried death in his bosom, and was ready to sink into putrefaction: for he at that time was reduced to the last extremity by a slow consumption. Aratus was, however, a man of great merit in other respects, and had shown himself to be an extraordinary person, and well worthy of Greece. In him, says Plutarch, we see a deplorable instance of human frailty; which amidst the lustre of so many rare and excellent qualities, cannot form the model of virtue exempt from all blame.

We have already observed,¹ that Antigonus had sent his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia. Cleomenes, at the return of spring, formed an enterprise, which, in the opinion of the vulgar, was the result of temerity and folly; but, according to Polybius, a competent judge in affairs of that nature, it was concerted with all imaginable prudence and sagacity. As he was sensible that the Macedonians were dispersed in their quarters, and that Antigonus passed the winter season with his friends at Argos, without any other guard than an inconsiderable number of foreign troops; he made an irruption into the territories of Argos in order to lay them waste. He conceived at the same time, that either Antigonus would be so much affected with the apprehensions of ignominy as to hazard a battle, when he would certainly be defeated; or that, on the other hand, if he should decline fighting, he would lose all his reputation with the Achæans, while the Spartans, on the contrary, would be rendered more daring and intrepid. The event succeeded according to his expectations; for as the whole country was ruined by the devastations of his troops, the people of Argos, in their rage and impatience, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gate, and with a murmuring tone pressed the king either to give their enemies battle, or resign the command of his troops to those who were less timorous than himself. But Antigonus, who had so much of the prudence and presence of mind essential to a great general, as to be sensible that the dishonourable part of one in his station did not consist in hearing himself reproached, but in exposing himself rashly and without reason, and in quitting certainties for chance, refused to take the field, and persisted in his resolution not to fight. Cleomenes therefore led up his troops to the walls of Argos, and when he had laid the open country waste, marched his army back to Sparta.

This expedition redounded very much to his honour, and obliged even his enemies to confess that he was an excellent general, and a person of the highest merit and capacity in the conduct of the most arduous affairs. In a word, they could never sufficiently admire his manner of opposing the forces of a single city to the whole power of the Macedonians, united with that of all Peloponnesus, notwithstanding the immense supplies which had been furnished by the king; and especially when they considered that he had not only preserved Laconia free from all insults, but had even penetrated into the territories of his enemies, where he ravaged the coun-

try, and made himself master of several great cities. This they were persuaded could not be the effect of any ordinary abilities in the art of war, nor of any common magnanimity. A misfortune, however, unhappily prevented him from reinstating Sparta in her ancient power, as will be evident in the sequel.

SECTION V.—THE CELEBRATED BATTLE OF SELASIA, WHEREIN ANTIGONUS DEFEATS CLEOMENES, WHO RETIRES INTO EGYPT. ANTIGONUS MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF SPARTA, AND TREATS THAT CITY WITH GREAT HUMANITY. THE DEATH OF THAT PRINCE, WHO IS SUCCEEDED BY PHILIP THE SON OF DEMETRIUS. THE DEATH OF PTOLEMY EUERGETES, TO WHOSE THRONE PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR SUCCEEDS. A GREAT EARTHQUAKE AT RHODES. THE NOBLE GENEROSITY OF THOSE PRINCES AND CITIES WHO CONTRIBUTED TO THE REPARATION OF THE LOSSES WHICH THE RHODIANS HAD SUSTAINED BY THAT CALAMITY. THE FATE OF THE FAMOUS COLOSSUS.

The Macedonians² and Achæans having quitted their quarters on the approach of summer, Antigonus put himself at the head of them, and advanced into Laconia. His army was composed of 23,000 foot and 1200 horse; but that of Cleomenes did not amount to more than 20,000 men. As the latter of these two princes expected an irruption from the enemy, he had fortified all the passes, by posting detachments of his troops in them, and by throwing up intrenchments, and cutting down trees, after which he formed his camp at Selasia. He imagined, and with good reason, that the enemies would endeavour to force a passage into the country through this avenue, in which he was not deceived. This defile was formed by two mountains, one of which had the name of Eva, and the other that of Olympus. The river Oeneus ran between them, on the banks of which was the road to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a strong intrenchment at the foot of these mountains, posted his brother Euclidas on the eminence of Eva, at the head of the allies, and planted himself on Olympus with the Lacedæmonians, and a party of the foreign troops, placing, at the same time, along each bank of the river, a detachment of the cavalry and foreign auxiliaries.

Antigonus, when he arrived there, saw all the passes fortified, and was sensible by the manner in which Cleomenes had posted his troops, that he had neglected no precaution either for defending himself or attacking his enemies, and that he had formed his camp into such an advantageous disposition, as rendered all approaches to it extremely difficult. All this abated his ardour for a battle, and caused him to encamp at a small distance, where he had an opportunity of covering his troops with a rivulet. He continued there for several days, in order to view the situation of the different posts and sound the disposition of the nations who composed the enemy's army. Sometimes he seemed to be forming designs, which kept the enemy in suspense how to act. They however were always upon their guard, and their situation secured them from insults in any quarter. At last, both sides resolved upon a decisive battle.

It is not easy to comprehend why Cleomenes, who was posted so advantageously, and whose troops were inferior to those of the enemy by one-third, while they were secure of a free communication in their rear with Sparta, from whence they might be supplied with provisions, should resolve, without the least apparent necessity, to hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon.

Polybius indeed seems to intimate the cause of this proceeding, when he observes, that Ptolemy caused Cleomenes to be acquainted, that he no longer would supply him with money, and exhorted him at the same time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus. As Cleomenes therefore was incapable of defraying the expense of this war, and was not only in arrear with his foreign troops to the amount of a

¹ Plut. in Cleom. p. 816, 817. Polyb. l. ii. p. 142.

² Polyb. l. ii. p. 150—154. Plut. in Cleom. p. 818, 819. Ibid. in Philop. p. 353.

very considerable sum, but found it extremely difficult to maintain his Spartan forces, we may consequently suppose that this situation of his affairs was his inducement to venture a battle.

When the signals were given on each side, Antigonus detached a body of troops, consisting of Macedonian and Illyrian battalions, alternately disposed, against those of the enemy posted on mount Eva. His second line consisted of Acarnanians and Cretans, and in the rear of these, 2000 Achæans were drawn up as a body of reserve. He drew up his cavalry along the bank of the river, in order to oppose those of the enemy, and caused them to be supported by 1000 of the Achæan foot, and the same number of Megalopolitans. He then placed himself at the head of the Macedonians and the light armed foreign troops, and advanced to mount Olympus to attack Cleomenes. The foreigners were disposed into the first line, and marched immediately before the Macedonian phalanx, which was divided into two bodies, the one in the rear of the other, because the ground would not admit their forming a larger front.

The action began at mount Eva, when the light-armed troops, who had been posted with an intention to cover and support the cavalry of Cleomenes, observing that the rear of the Achæan cohorts was uncovered, immediately wheeled about and attacked them. Those who endeavoured to gain the summit of the mountain, found themselves vigorously pressed by the enemy, and in great danger, being threatened in front by Euclidas, who was on the heights, at the same time that they were charged in their rear by the foreign troops, who assailed them with the utmost impetuosity. Philopœmen and his citizens were posted among the cavalry of Antigonus, who were supported by the Illyrians, and had orders not to move from that post till a particular signal should be given. Philopœmen observing that it would not be difficult to fall upon this light infantry of Euclidas, and rout them entirely, and that this was the critical moment for the charge, immediately communicated his opinion to such of the king's officers as commanded the cavalry. They, however, would not so much as hear him, merely because he had never commanded, and was then very young; and even treated what he said as absurd. Philopœmen was not diverted from his purpose by this rebuff, but at the head of his own citizens, whom he prevailed upon to follow him, he attacked and repulsed that body of infantry with great slaughter.

The Macedonians and Illyrians being disengaged by this operation from what before had retarded their motions, boldly marched up the hill to their enemies. Euclidas was then to engage with a phalanx, whose whole force consisted in the strict union of its parts, the closeness of its ranks, the steady and equal force of its numerous and pointed spears, and the uniform impetuosity of that heavy body, which by its weight overthrew and bore down all before it.

In order to prevent this inconvenience, an able officer would have marched down the mountain, with such of his troops as were lightest armed and most active, to have met the phalanx. He would have attacked them as soon as they began to ascend, and would then have harassed them on every side. The inequalities of the mountain, with the difficulty of ascending it entirely uncovered, would have enabled him to have opened a passage through this body of men, and to have interrupted their march, by putting their ranks into confusion, and breaking their order of battle; he would also have fallen back by degrees, in order to regain the summit of the mountain as the enemy advanced upon him, and after he had deprived them of the only advantage they could expect from the quality of their arms, and the disposition of their troops, he might have improved the advantage of his post in such a manner as to have easily put them to flight.

Euclidas, instead of acting in this manner, continued on the top of the mountain, flattering himself that victory would infallibly attend his arms. He imagined, in all probability, that the higher he permitted the enemy to advance, the easier it would be for him to precipitate their troops down the steep

declivity; but, as he had not reserved for his own forces a sufficient extent of ground for any retreat that might happen to be necessary for avoiding the formidable charge of the phalanx, which advanced upon him in good order, his troops were crowded together in such a manner, as obliged him to fight on the summit of the mountain, where they could not long sustain the weight of the Illyrian arms, and the order of battle into which that infantry formed themselves on the eminence; and as his men could neither retreat nor change their ground, they were soon defeated by their enemies.

During this action, the cavalry of each army had also engaged. That of the Achæans behaved themselves with great bravery, and Philopœmen in particular; because they were sensible that the liberties of their republic would be decided by this battle. Philopœmen, in the heat of the action, had his horse killed under him, and while he fought on foot, he had both his thighs pierced through with a javelin; the wound, however, was not mortal, nor attended with any ill consequences.

The two kings began the engagement on mount Olympus, with their light-armed troops and foreign soldiers, of whom each of them had about 5000. As the action took place in the sight of each sovereign and his army, the troops vied with each other in signaling themselves, as well in parties as when the battle became general. Man to man, and rank to rank, all fought with the utmost vigour and obstinacy. Cleomenes, when he saw his brother defeated, and his cavalry beginning to give ground in the plain, was apprehensive that the enemy would pour upon him from all quarters: and therefore thought it advisable to level all the entrenchments around his camp, and cause his whole army to march out in front. The trumpets having sounded a signal for the light-armed troops to retreat from the space between the two camps, each phalanx advanced with loud shouts, shifting their lances at the same time, and began the charge. The action was very hot. One while the Macedonians fell back before the valour of the Spartans; and these, in their turn, were unable to sustain the weight of the Macedonian phalanx; till at last the troops of Antigonus advancing with their lances lowered and closed, charged the Lacedæmonians with all the impetuosity of a phalanx that had doubled its ranks, and drove them from their entrenchments. The defeat then became general; the Lacedæmonians fell in great numbers, and those who survived fled from the field of battle in the greatest disorder. Cleomenes, with only a few horse, retreated to Sparta. Plutarch assures us, that most of the foreign troops perished in this battle, and that no more than 200 Lacedæmonians escaped out of 6000.

It may justly be said, that Antigonus owed his success in some measure, to the prudence and bravery of the young Philopœmen. His boldness and resolution in attacking the light infantry of the enemy with his own troop alone, contributed to the overthrow of the wing commanded by Euclidas, and that drew on the general defeat. This action, undertaken by a private captain of horse not only without orders, but in opposition to the superior officers, and even contrary to the command of the general, seems to be a transgression of military discipline; but it ought to be remembered, that the welfare of an army is a circumstance superior to all other considerations. Had the general been present, he himself would have given directions for that movement, and the delay even of a single moment might occasion the impossibility of its success. It is evident that Antigonus judged of the action in this manner; for when the battle was over, he assumed an air of seeming displeasure, and demanded of Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, what his reason could be for beginning the attack before the signal, contrary to the orders he had issued! Alexander then replying, that it was not himself, but a young officer of Megalopolis, who had transgressed his commands in that manner: "That young man," said Antigonus, "in seizing the opportunity, behaved like a general, but you the general like a young man."

Sparta on this disaster, showed that ancient steady-

ness and intrepidity, which seemed to have something of a savage air, and had distinguished her citizens on all occasions. No wife was seen to mourn for the loss of her husband. The old men celebrated the death of their children; and the children congratulated their fathers who had fallen in battle. Every one deplored the fate which had prevented them from sacrificing their lives to the liberty of their country. They opened their hospitable doors to those who returned covered with wounds from the army; they attended them with peculiar care, and eagerly supplied them with all the accommodations they needed. No trouble or confusion was seen through the whole city, and every individual lamented more the public calamity, than any particular loss of their own.

Cleomenes, upon his arrival at Sparta, advised his citizens to receive Antigonus; assuring them, at the same time, that whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country, with the utmost pleasure, whenever it should happen to be in his power. He then retired into his own house, but would neither drink, though very thirsty, nor sit down, though extremely fatigued; but, armed as he was, he leaned against a column, with his head reclined on his arm; and after he had deliberated with himself for some time on the different measures which he might adopt, he suddenly quitted the house, and went with his friends to the port of Gythium, where he embarked in a vessel he had prepared for that purpose, and sailed for Egypt.

A Spartan, having made a lively representation to him of the melancholy consequences that might attend his purposed voyage to Egypt, and the indignity a king of Sparta would sustain by crouching in a servile manner to a foreign prince, took that opportunity to exhort him in the strongest manner, to prevent those just reproaches by a voluntary and glorious death, and to justify himself, by that action, to those who had sacrificed their lives in the fields of Selasia for the liberty of Sparta. "You are deceived," cried Cleomenes, "if you imagine there is any bravery in confronting death, merely through the apprehension of false shame, or the desire of empty applause; say rather, that such an action is mean and pusillanimous. The death we may be induced to covet, instead of being the retreat from an action, ought to be an action itself, since nothing can be more dishonourable than either to live or die, merely for one's self. For my part, I shall endeavour to be useful to my country, to my latest breath; and whenever this hope happens to fail us, it will be easy for us to have recourse to death, if such should be then our inclination."

Cleomenes had scarce set sail,²

A. M. 3781. before Antigonus arrived at Sparta, and made himself master of the city. He seemed to treat the inhabitants more like a friend than a conqueror; and declared to them, that he had not engaged in a war against the Spartans, but against Cleomenes, whose flight had satisfied and disarmed his resentment. He added, that it would be glorious to his memory, to have it said by posterity, that Sparta had been preserved by the prince who alone had the good fortune to take it. What he called preserving that city, was the abolishing all that the zeal of Cleomenes had accomplished, for the re-establishment of the ancient laws of Lycurgus, though that conduct was the real cause of its ruin. Sparta lost all that was valuable to her, by the overthrow and involuntary retreat of Cleomenes. One fatal battle obscured that happy dawn of power and glory, and for ever deprived him of the hopes of reinstating his city in her ancient splendour and original authority, which were incapable of subsisting after the abolition of those ancient laws and customs on which they had been found.

Corruption then resumed her former course, and daily gathered strength, till Sparta sunk to her last declension, in a very short space of time. It may therefore be justly said, that the bold views and enterprises of Cleomenes were the last struggles of its expiring liberty.

Antigonus left Sparta three days after he had entered it; and his departure was occasioned by the intelligence he had received, that a war had broken out in Macedonia, where the barbarians committed dreadful ravages. If this news had arrived three days sooner, Cleomenes might have been saved. Antigonus was already afflicted with a severe indisposition which at last ended in a deep consumption and a continual defluxion of humours, that carried him off two or three years after. He, however, would not suffer himself to be dejected by his ill state of health, and had even spirit enough to engage in new battles in his own kingdom. It is said, that after he had been victorious over the Illyrians, he was so transported with joy, that he frequently repeated these expressions, "O the glorious happy day!" and that he uttered this exclamation with so much exertion, that he burst a vein, and lost a large quantity of blood; this symptom was succeeded by a violent fever, which ended his days. Some time before his death, he settled the succession to his dominions in favour of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was then fourteen years of age; or it may be rather said, that he returned him the sceptre, which had only been deposited in his hand.

Cleomenes, in the mean time, arrived at Alexandria, where he met with a very cold reception from the king, when he was first introduced into his presence. But after he had given that monarch proofs of his admirable sense, and shown in his common conversation the generous freedom, openness, and simplicity of the Spartan manners, tempered with a graceful politeness, in which there was nothing mean, and even a noble pride that became his birth and dignity, Ptolemy was then sensible of his merit, and esteemed him infinitely above all those courtiers who were only solicitous to please him by abject flatteries. He was even struck with confusion and remorse for having neglected so great a man, and for having abandoned him to Antigonus, who had raised his own reputation, and enlarged his power

A. M. 3782.

to an infinite degree, by his victory over that prince. The king of Egypt then endeavoured to comfort and relieve Cleomenes, by treating him with every mark of honour, and giving him repeated assurances that he would send him into Greece with a fleet and a supply of money, and would re-establish him on the throne. He also assigned him a yearly pension of twenty-four talents (about 5000*l.* sterling), with which he supported himself and his friends, with the utmost frugality, reserving all the remainder of that allowance for the relief of those who retired into Egypt from Greece. Ptolemy, however, died before he could accomplish his promise to Cleomenes. This prince had reigned twenty-five years, and was the last of that race in whom any true virtue and moderation were conspicuous; for the generality of his successors were monsters of debauchery and wickedness.³ The prince whose character we are now describing, had made it his principal care to extend his dominions to the south,⁴ from the time of his concluding the peace with Syria. Accordingly he had extended it the whole length of the Red Sea, as well along the Arabian, as the Ethiopian coasts, and even to the straits,⁵ which form a communication with the southern ocean. He was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his son Ptolemy, surnamed Philopator.

A. M. 3783.

Some time before this,⁶ Rhodes suffered very considerable damages from a great earthquake: the walls of the city, with the arsenals, and the docks in the harbour where the ships were laid

Ant. J. C. 221.

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¹ The ancients maintained it as a principle, that the death of persons employed in the administration of a state ought neither to be useless with respect to the public, nor inactive; but a natural consequence of their ministry, and one of their most important actions.—*Plut. in Lycurg.* p. 57.

² *Plut. in Cleom.* p. 819. *Polyb. l. ii. p. 155.* *Justin. l. xviii. c. 4.*

³ *Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.*

⁴ *Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.*

⁵ *Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.*

⁶ *Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.*

⁴ *Monum. Adulit.*

⁵ *Polyb. l. v. p. 428. 431.*

up, were reduced to a very ruinous condition; and the famous Colossus, which was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, was thrown down and entirely destroyed. It is natural to think, that this earthquake spared neither private houses, nor public structures, nor even the temples of the gods. The loss sustained by it amounted to immense sums; and the Rhodians, reduced to the utmost distress, sent deputations to all the neighbouring princes, to implore relief. An emulation worthy of praise, and not to be paralleled in history, prevailed in favour of that deplorable city; and Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, signalized themselves in a peculiar manner on that occasion. The two former of these princes contributed above one hundred talents, and erected two statues in the public square; one of which represented the people of Rhodes, and the other that of Syracuse; the former was crowned by the latter, to testify, as Polybius observes, that the Syracusans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation conferred upon themselves. Ptolemy, besides his other expenses, which amounted to a very considerable sum, supplied that people with 300 talents, a million bushels of corn, and materials sufficient for building ten galleys of fives benches of oars, and as many more of three benches, besides an infinite quantity of timber for other buildings; all which donations were accompanied with 3000 talents for erecting the Colossus anew. Antigonus, Seleucus, Prusias, Mithridates, and all the princes as well as cities, signalized their liberality on this occasion. Even private persons were desirous of sharing in this glorious act of humanity; and historians have recorded that a lady

whose name was Chryseis,¹ and who truly merited that appellation, furnished from her own substance 100,000 bushels of corn. Let the princes of these times, says Polybius, who imagine they have done gloriously in giving 4 or 5000 crowns, only consider how inferior their generosity is to that we have now described. Rhodes, in consequence of these liberalities, was re-established in a few years, in a more opulent and splendid state than she had ever experienced before, if we only except the Colossus.

This Colossus was a brazen statue of prodigious size, as I have already observed. Some authors have affirmed, that the money arising from the contributions already mentioned amounted to five times as much as the loss which the Rhodians had sustained. This people,² instead of employing the sums they had received in replacing that statue according to the intention of the donors, pretended that the oracle of Delphi had forbidden it, and given them a command to preserve that money for other purposes, by which they enriched themselves. The Colossus lay neglected on the ground for the space of 875 years: at the expiration of which (that is to say, in the 653d year of our Lord) Moawya,³ the sixth caliph or emperor of the Saracens, made himself master of Rhodes, and sold this statue to a Jewish merchant, who loaded 900 camels with the metal; which computed by eight quintals for each load, after a deduction of the diminution which the statue had sustained by rust and very probably by theft, amounted to more than 306,000*l.* or 7200 quintals.

¹ Chryseis signifies *golden*.

² Strab. l. xiv. p. 652.

³ Zonar. sub regno Constantis Imperat. and Cedrenus.

THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

BOOK XVIII.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.—PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR REIGNS IN EGYPT. THE SHORT REIGN OF SELEUCUS CERAUNUS. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS BROTHER ANTIGONUS, SURNAMED THE GREAT. ACHÆUS'S FIDELITY TO HIM. HERMIAS, HIS CHIEF MINISTER, FIRST REMOVES EPIGENES, THE ABLEST OF ALL HIS GENERALS, AND AFTERWARDS PUTS HIM TO DEATH. ANTIOCHUS SUBDUES THE REBELS IN THE EAST. HE RIDS HIMSELF OF HERMIAS. HE ATTEMPTS TO RECOVER CELE-SYRIA FROM PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR, AND POSSESSES HIMSELF OF THE STRONGEST CITIES IN IT. AFTER A SHORT TRUCE, A WAR BREAKS OUT AGAIN IN SYRIA. BATTLE OF RAPHAIA, IN WHICH ANTIOCHUS IS ENTIRELY DEFEATED. THE ANGER AND REVENGE OF PHILOPATOR AGAINST THE JEWS FOR REFUSING TO LET HIM ENTER THE SANCTUARY. ANTIOCHUS CONCLUDES A PEACE WITH PTOLEMY. HE TURNS HIS ARMS AGAINST ACHÆUS, WHO HAD REBELLED. HE AT LAST SEIZES HIM TREACHEROUSLY, AND PUTS HIM TO DEATH.

I OBSERVED in the preceding book,¹ that Ptolemy Philopator had succeeded Ptolemy Euergetes, his father, in Egypt. On the other side, Seleucus Callinicus was dead in Parthia. He had left two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus; and the first, who was the elder, succeeded to his father's throne, and assumed the surname of Ceraunus, or the *Thunderer*, a title very little suited to his character; for he was a very weak prince both in body and mind, and never did any actions that corresponded with the idea suggested by that name. His reign was short, and his authority but ill established, either in the army or the provinces. What prevented his losing it entirely was, that Achæus, his cousin, son to Andronachus, his mother's brother, a man of courage and abilities, assumed the management of his affairs, which his father's ill conduct had reduced to a very low ebb. As for Andronachus, he was taken by Ptolemy in a war with Callinicus, and kept pri-

A. M. 3759.

Ant. J. C. 226.

¹ Polyb. l. iv. p. 315. & l. v. p. 336. Hieron, in Daniel Appian, in Syriac. p. 131. Justin. l. xxix. c. 1.

soner in Alexandria, during all his reign and part of the following.

A. M. 3780. Attalus king of Pergamus having seized upon all Asia Minor, from mount Taurus as far as the Hellespont, Seleucus marched against him, and left Hermias the Carian regent of Syria. Achaëus accompanied him in that expedition, and did him all the good services which the low state of his affairs would admit.

A. M. 3781. As there was no money to pay the forces, and the king was despised by the soldiers for his weakness, Nicanor and Apaturius, two of the chief officers, formed a conspiracy against him during his absence in Phrygia, and poisoned him. However, Achaëus revenged that horrid action, by putting to death the two ringleaders, and all who had engaged in their plot. He acted afterwards with so much prudence and resolution with regard to the army, that he kept the soldiers in their obedience; and prevented Attalus from taking advantage of this accident, which, but for his excellent conduct, would have lost the Syrian empire all it still possessed on that side.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achaëus, and several of the provinces did the same. However he had the generosity to refuse it at that time, though he afterwards thought himself obliged to act in a different manner. In the present conjuncture, he had not only refused the crown, but preserved it carefully for the lawful heir, Antiochus, brother of the deceased king, who was but in his fifteenth year. Seleucus, at his setting out for Asia Minor, had sent him into Babylonia,¹ to be educated, where he was when his brother died. He was now brought from thence to Antioch, where he ascended the throne, and enjoyed it thirty-six years. For his illustrious actions he has been surnamed the Great. Achaëus, to secure the succession in his favour, sent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, with Epigenes, one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the forces he kept for the service of the state, in that part of the country where he himself was.

A. M. 3782. As soon as Antiochus was possessed of the crown,² he sent Molo and Alexander, two brothers, into the East, the former as governor of Media, and the latter of Persia. Achaëus was appointed to preside over the provinces of Asia Minor. Epigenes had the command of the troops which were kept about the king's person; and Hermias the Carian was declared his prime minister, as he had been under his brother. Achaëus soon recovered all the territories which Attalus had taken from the empire of Syria, and forced him to confine himself within his kingdom of Pergamus. Alexander and Molo, despising the king's youth, were no sooner fixed in their governments, than they refused to acknowledge him; and each declared himself sovereign in the province over which he had been appointed lieutenant. Hermias, by his ill treatment of them, had very much contributed to their revolt.

This minister was of a cruel disposition. The most inconsiderable faults were by him considered as crimes, and punished with the utmost rigour. He was a man of very little genius, but haughty, full of himself, tenacious of his own opinion, and would have thought it a dishonour to have either asked or followed another man's advice. He could not bear that any person should share with him in credit and authority. Merit of every kind was suspected by, or rather was odious to him. But the chief object of his hatred was Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time, and in whom the troops reposed an entire confidence. It was this reputation which gave the prime minister umbrage; and it was not in his power to conceal the ill will he bore him.

News being brought of Molo's revolt,³ Antiochus assembled his council, in order to consider what was to be done in the present posture of affairs; and whether it would be advisable for him to march in person against that rebel, or turn towards Coele-syria, to check the enterprises of Ptolemy. Epigenes was the first who spoke, and declared that they had no time to lose: that it was absolutely necessary the king should go in person into the East, in order to take advantage of the most favourable conjunctures and opportunities for acting against the rebels; that when he should be on the spot, either Molo would not dare to attempt any thing in sight of his prince, and of an army; or in case he should persist in his design, the people, struck with the presence of their sovereign, in the return of their zeal and affection for him, would not fail to deliver him up; but that the most important point of all was, not to give him time to fortify himself. Hermias could not forbear interrupting him; and cried, in an angry and self-sufficient tone of voice, that to advise the king to march in person against Molo, with so considerable a body of force, would be to deliver him up to the rebels. The real motive of his speaking in this manner was, his being afraid of sharing in the dangers of that expedition. Ptolemy was to him a much less formidable enemy. There was little to be feared from invading a prince entirely devoted to trivial pleasures. The advice of Hermias prevailed; the command of part of the troops was given to Xenon and Theodotus, with orders to carry on the war against Molo; and the king himself marched with the rest of the army towards Coele-syria.

Being come to Seleucia near Zeugma, he there found Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, who was brought thither to espouse him. He made some stay there to solemnize his nuptials, the joy of which was soon interrupted by the news brought from the East, viz. that his generals, unable to make head against Molo and Alexander, who had united their forces, had been forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field of battle. Antiochus then saw the error he had committed, in not following Epigenes's advice; and thereupon was for laying aside the enterprise against Coele-syria, in order to march with all his troops to suppress that revolt. But Hermias persisted as obstinately as ever in his first opinion. He fancied he spoke wonders, in declaring, in an emphatic, sententious manner, "That it became kings to march in person against kings, and to send their lieutenants against rebels." Antiochus was so weak as to acquiesce in Hermias's opinion.

It is scarce possible to conceive how useless experience of every kind is to an indolent prince, who lives without reflection. This artful, insinuating, and deceitful minister, who knew how to adapt himself to all the desires and inclinations of his master, inventive and industrious in finding out new methods to please and amuse, had had the cunning to make himself necessary, by easing his prince of the weight of the public business; so that Antiochus imagined he could not do without him. And though he perceived several things in his conduct and councils which gave him disgust, he would not give himself the trouble to examine strictly into them; nor had resolution enough to resume the authority he had in a manner abandoned to him. So that acquiescing again in his opinion on this occasion, (not from conviction but weakness and indolence,) he contented himself with sending a general and a body of troops into the East; and himself resumed the expedition of Coele-syria.

The generals he sent on that occasion was Xenatas the Achaean, in whose commission it was ordered that the two former generals should resign to him the command of their forces, and serve under him. He had never commanded in chief before, and his only merit was, his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Raised to an employment to which his vanity and presumption could never have emboldened him to aspire, he behaved with haughtiness

¹ To Seleucia, which is in that province, and the capital of the East, instead of Babylon, which was no longer in being, or at least was uninhabited.

² Polyb. l. v. p. 386.

³ Polyb. l. v. p. 386—385.

to the other officers, and with boldness and temerity to the enemy. The success was such as might be expected from so ill a choice. In passing the Tigris he fell into an ambuscade, into which the enemy drew him by stratagem, and himself and all his army were cut to pieces. This victory opened to the rebels the province of Babylonia and all Mesopotamia, of which they, by this means, possessed themselves without any opposition.

Antiochus, in the mean time, had advanced into Coele-syria, as far as the valley lying between the two ridges of the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus. He found the passes of these mountains so strongly fortified, and so well defended by Theodotus the Ætolian, to whom Ptolemy had confided the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, finding it not possible for him to advance farther. There is no doubt but the news of the defeat of his troops in the East hastened also his retreat. He assembled his council, and again debated on the rebellion. Epigenes, after saying, in a modest tone, that it would have been most advisable to have marched at first against them, to prevent their having time to fortify themselves as they had done, added, that the same reason ought to make them more expeditious now, and devote their whole care and study to a war, which, if neglected, might terminate in the ruin of the empire. Hermias, who thought himself affronted by this discourse, began to exclaim against Epigenes in the most opprobrious terms on this occasion. He conjured the king not to lay aside the enterprise of Coele-syria, affirming that he could not abandon it, without evincing a levity and inconstancy entirely unbecoming a prince of his wisdom and knowledge. The whole council hung down their heads through shame; and Antiochus himself was much dissatisfied. It was unanimously resolved to march with the utmost speed against the rebels: and Hermias, finding that all resistance would be in vain, grew immediately quite another man. He came over with great zeal to the general opinion, and seemed more ardent than any body for hastening its execution. Accordingly the troops set out towards Apamea, where the rendezvous was fixed.

They had scarce set out, when a sedition arose in the army on account of the soldiers' arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmost consternation and anxiety; and indeed the danger was imminent. Hermias, seeing the king in such perplexity, comforted him, and promised to pay immediately the whole arrears due to the army: but at the same time earnestly besought Antiochus not to take Epigenes with him in this expedition, because, after the noise their quarrels had made, it would no longer be possible for them to act in concert in the operations of the war, as the good of the service might require. His view in this was, to begin by lessening Antiochus's esteem and affection for Epigenes by absence, well knowing that princes soon forget the virtues and services of a man removed from their sight.

This proposal perplexed the king very much, who was perfectly sensible how necessary the presence of a general of Epigenes's experience and ability was in so important an expedition. But, as Hermias had industriously contrived to besiege, and in a manner gain possession of him by all manner of methods, such as suggesting to him pretended plans of economy, watching his every action, and bribing his affection by obsequiousness and adulation, that unhappy prince was no longer his own master. The king therefore consented, though with the utmost reluctance, to what he required; and Epigenes was accordingly ordered to retire to Apamea. This event surprised and terrified all the courtiers, who were apprehensive of the same fate: but the soldiers having received all their arrears, were very easy; and thought themselves highly obliged to the prime minister, by whose means they had been paid. Having

in this manner made himself master of the nobles by fear, and of the army by their pay, he marched with the king.

As Epigenes's disgrace extended only to his removal, it was far from satiating his vengeance; and as it did not calm his uneasiness with regard to the future, he was apprehensive that he might obtain leave to return; to prevent which he employed effectual means. Alexis, governor of the citadel of Apamea, was entirely at his devotion; and, indeed, how few would be otherwise with regard to an all-powerful minister, the sole dispenser of his master's favours! Hermias orders this man to despatch Epigenes, and prescribes him the manner. In consequence of this, Alexis bribes one of Epigenes's domestics; and, by gifts and promises, engages him to slide a letter he gave him among his master's papers. This letter seemed to have been written and subscribed by Molo, one of the chiefs of the rebels, who thanked Epigenes for having formed a conspiracy against the king, and communicated to him the methods by which he might safely put it in execution. Some days after Alexis went to him, and asked whether he had not received a letter from Molo? Epigenes, surprised at this question, expressed his astonishment, and at the same time the highest indignation. The other replied, that he was ordered to inspect his papers. Accordingly, a search being made, the forged letter was found; and Epigenes, without being called to a trial, or otherwise examined, was put to death. The king, at the bare sight of the letter, imagined that the charge had been fully proved against him. However, the courtiers thought otherwise; but fear kept them all tongue-tied and dumb. How unhappy, and how much to be pitied, are princes!

Although the season was now very far advanced, Antiochus passed the Euphrates, assembled all his forces; and that he might be nearer at hand to open the campaign very early the next spring, he in the mean time sent them into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood.

Upon the return of the spring he marched them towards the Tigris, A. M. 3764. passed that river, forced Molo to Ant. J. C. 220. come to an engagement, and gained so complete a victory over him, that the rebel seeing all lost, in despair laid violent hands on himself. His brother Alexander was at that time in Persia, where Neolas, another of their brothers, who escaped out of this battle, brought him the mournful news. Finding their affairs desperate, they first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and at last despatched themselves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who engaged in it: a just reward for all those who dare to take up arms against their sovereign.

After this victory, the remains of the vanquished army submitted to the king, who only reprimanded them in very severe terms, and afterwards pardoned them. He then sent them into Media, under the command of those to whose care he had committed the government of that province; and returning from thence to Seleucia on the Tigris, he spent some time there in giving the orders necessary for re-establishing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and for settling all things on their former foundation.

This being done by persons whom he appointed for that purpose, he marched against the Atropatians, who inhabited the country situated to the west of Media, and which is now called Georgia. Their king, Artabazanes by name, was a decrepit old man, who was so greatly terrified at Antiochus's approach at the head of a victorious army, that he sent and made his submission, and concluded a peace on such conditions as Antiochus thought proper to prescribe.

News came at this time, A. M. 3785. that the queen was delivered of a son, Ant. J. C. 219. which proved a subject of joy to the court as well as the army. Her-

1 Περιεχόμενος δὲ καὶ προκαταληψόμενος, οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ, καὶ διεκρίνας, ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κακοψυχίας, οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ κρείσσον. Circumventus et præoccupatus economis, et custodiis, et obsequiis, Hermias malignitate, sui non erat dominus. This is a literal translation.

mias, from that moment, revolved in his mind how he might despatch Antiochus; in hopes that, after his death, he should certainly be appointed guardian of the young prince; and that, in his name, he might reign, with unlimited power. His pride and insolence had made him odious to all men. The people groaned under a government, which the avarice and cruelty of the prime minister had rendered insupportable. Their complaints did not reach the throne, the avenues to which were all closed against them. No one dared to inform the king of the oppression under which his people groaned. It was well known that he dreaded inspecting the truth; and that he abandoned to Hermias's cruelty all who dared to speak against him. Till now he had been an utter stranger to the injustice and violence which Hermias exercised under his name. At last, however, he began to open his eyes; but was himself afraid of his minister, on whom he had made himself dependent, and who had assumed an absolute authority over him, by taking advantage of the indolence of this prince's disposition, who, at first, was well pleased with transferring the burden of public affairs from himself to Hermias.

Apollonides, his physician, in whom the king reposed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free access to him, took a proper time to represent the general discontent of his subjects, and the danger to which himself was exposed, by the ill conduct of his prime minister. He therefore warned Antiochus to take care of himself, lest the same fate should attend him as his brother had experienced in Phrygia; who fell a victim to the ambition of those on whom he most relied; that it was plain Hermias was hatching some ill design; and that to prevent it not a moment was to be lost. These were real services, which an officer who is attached to the person of his king, and who has a sincere affection for him, may and ought to perform. Such is the use he ought to make of the free access which his sovereign vouchsafes, and the confidence with which he honours him.

Antiochus was surrounded by courtiers whom he had loaded with his favours, of whom not one had the courage to hazard his fortune by telling him the truth. It has been very justly said, that one of the greatest blessings which God can bestow on kings, is to deliver them from the tongues of flatterers, and the silence of good men.

The king, as has been already observed, had begun to entertain some suspicions of his chief minister, but had not revealed his thoughts to any person, not knowing whom to trust. He was extremely well pleased that his physician had given him this advice; and concerted measures with him to rid himself of a minister so universally detested, and so dangerous. Accordingly he removed to some small distance from the army, upon pretence of being indisposed, and carried Hermias with him to bear him company; here taking him to walk in a solitary place, where none of his creatures could come to his assistance, he caused him to be assassinated. His death caused a universal joy throughout the whole empire. This haughty and cruel man had governed, on all occasions, with great cruelty and violence; and whoever dared to oppose either his opinions or designs, were sure to fall a victim to his resentment. Accordingly, he was universally hated; and this hatred displayed itself more strongly in Apamea than in any other place: for the instant the news was brought of his death, all the citizens rose with the utmost fury, and stoned his wife and children.

Antiochus, having so happily re-established his affairs in the East, and raised to the government of the several provinces persons of merit, in whom he could repose the greatest confidence, marched back his army into Syria, and put it into winter-quarters. He spent the remainder of the year in Antioch, in holding frequent councils with his ministers, on the operations of the ensuing campaign.

This prince had two other very dangerous enterprises still to put in execution, for re-establishing

entirely the safety and glory of the empire of Syria: one was against Ptolemy, to recover Cœle-syria; and the other against Achæus, who had lately usurped the sovereignty of Asia Minor.

Ptolemy Euergetes having seized upon all Cœle-syria, in the beginning of Seleucus Callinicus's reign, as was before related, the king of Egypt was still possessed of a great part of that province, and Antiochus was not a little incommoded by such a neighbour.

With respect to Achæus, we have already seen in what manner he refused the crown which was offered him after the death of Seleucus Ceraunus; and had placed it on the head of Antiochus the lawful monarch, who, to reward his fidelity and services had appointed him governor of all the provinces of Asia Minor. By his valour and good conduct he had recovered them all from Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had seized upon those countries, and fortified himself strongly in them. Such a series of success drew upon him the envy of the nobles. A report was spread at the court of Antiochus that he intended to usurp the crown; and with that view held a secret correspondence with Ptolemy. Whether these suspicions were well grounded or not, he thought it advisable to prevent the evil designs of his enemies; and, therefore, taking the crown which he had refused before, he caused himself to be declared king.

He soon became one of the most powerful monarchs of Asia, and every state solicited very earnestly his alliance. This was evident in a war which then broke out between the Rhodians and the Byzantines,² on occasion of a tribute which the latter had imposed on all the ships that passed through the straits; a tribute which was very grievous to the Rhodians, because of the great trade they carried on in the Black Sea. Achæus, at the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants of Byzantium, had promised to assist them; and this report threw the Rhodians into the utmost consternation, as well as Prusias king of Bithynia, whom they had engaged on their side. In the extreme perplexity they were under, they thought of an expedient to disengage Achæus from the Byzantines, and to bring him over to their interest. Andromachus, his father, brother to Laodice, whom Seleucus had married, was at that time prisoner in Alexandria. The Rhodians sent a deputation to Ptolemy, requesting that he might be set at liberty. The king, who was very glad to oblige Achæus, as it was in his power to furnish him with considerable succours against Antiochus, with whom he was engaged in war, readily granted the Rhodians their request, and put Andromachus into their hands. This was a very agreeable present to Achæus, and made the Byzantines lose all hopes. They thereupon consented to reinstate theirs upon their former footing, and to take off the new tribute which had occasioned the war. Thus a peace was concluded between the two states, and Achæus had all the honour of it.

It was against that prince and Ptolemy that Antiochus was resolved to turn his arms.³ These were the two dangerous wars he had to sustain; and the subject of the deliberations of his council was, which of them he should undertake first. After weighing all things maturely, it was resolved to march first against Ptolemy, before they attacked Achæus, whom they then only menaced in the strongest terms; and accordingly all the forces were ordered to assemble in Apamea, in order to be employed against Cœle-syria.

In a council that was held before the army set out, Apollonides, the king's physician, represented to him, that it would be a great oversight should they march into Cœle-syria, and leave behind them Seleucia in the hands of the enemy, and so near the capital of the empire. His opinion brought over the whole council, by the evident strength of the reasons which supported it: for this city stands on the same river as Antioch, and it is but five leagues below, near the mouth of it. When Ptolemy Euergetes undertook the invasion already mentioned, to avenge the

¹ Polyb. l. v. p. 401.

² Polyb. l. iv. p. 314—319.

³ Ibid. l. v. p. 402—409.

death of his sister Berenice, he seized that city, and put a strong Egyptian garrison into it, which had kept possession of that important place full twenty-seven years. Among many inconveniences to which it subjected the inhabitants of Antioch, one was, its cutting off entirely their communication with the sea, and ruining all their trade; for Seleucia being situated near the mouth of the Orontes, was the harbour of Antioch, which suffered grievously by that means. All these reasons being clearly and strongly urged by Apollonides, determined the king and council to follow his plan, and to open the campaign with the siege of Seleucia. Accordingly the whole army marched thither, invested it, took it by storm, and drove the Egyptians out of it.

This being done, Antiochus marched with diligence into Cele-syria, where Theodotus the Ætolian, governor of that province under Ptolemy, promised to put him in possession of the whole country. We have seen how vigorously he had repulsed him the year before; nevertheless, the court of Egypt had not been satisfied with his services on that occasion. Those who governed the king, had expected greater things from his valour; and were persuaded, that it was in his power to have done something more. Accordingly he was sent for to Alexandria, to give an account of his conduct; and was threatened with no less than losing his head. It is true that, after his reasons had been heard, he was acquitted, and sent back to his government. However, he could not forgive the insult which had been offered to him by the unjust accusation, and was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it.

The luxury and effeminacy of the whole court, to which he had been an eye-witness, heightened still more his indignation and resentment. He could not bear the idea of being dependent on the caprice of so base and contemptible a set of people. And, indeed, it would be impossible for fancy to conceive more abominable excesses than those in which Philopator plunged himself during his whole reign; and the court imitated but too exactly the example he set them. It was thought that he had poisoned his father, whence he was, by an *antiphrasis*, ironically surnamed *Philopator*.¹ He publicly caused Berenice his mother, and Magas his only brother, to be put to death. After he had got rid of all those who could either give him good counsel or excite his jealousy, he abandoned himself to the most infamous pleasures; and was solely intent on gratifying his luxury, brutality, and the most shameful passions. His prime minister was Sosibius, a man every way qualified for the service of such a master as Philopator; and one whose sole view was to support himself in power by any means whatsoever. The reader will naturally imagine, that, in such a court, the power of women had no bounds.

Theodotus could not bear to be dependent on such people, and therefore resolved to find a sovereign more worthy of his services. Accordingly, he was no sooner returned to his government, than he seized upon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, declared for king Antiochus, and immediately despatched the courier above mentioned to invite him thither.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, though he was of the same country with Theodotus, would not however desert Ptolemy, but preserved his fidelity to that prince. The instant therefore that Theodotus had taken Ptolemais, he besieged him in it; possessed himself of the passes of mount Libanus to stop Antiochus, who was advancing to the aid of Theodotus, and defended them to the last extremity. However, he was at length forced to abandon them, by which means Antiochus took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, whose gates were opened to him by Theodotus.

In these two cities were the magazines which Ptolemy had laid up for the use of his army, with a fleet of forty sail. He gave the command of these ships to Diognetus, his admiral, who was ordered to sail to Pelusium, whither the king intended to march by land, with the view of invading Egypt on that side:

¹ This word signifies a lover of his father.

however, being informed that this was the season in which the inhabitants used to lay the country under water, by opening the dikes of the Nile, and consequently, that it would be impossible for him to advance into Egypt at that time, he abandoned that project, and employed the whole force of his arms to reduce the rest of Cele-syria. He seized upon some fortresses, and others submitted to him; and at last he possessed himself of Damascus,² the capital of that province, after having deceived Dinon the governor of it by a stratagem.

² Polyæn, l. iv. c. 15.

[² There is no city at this day, perhaps, which can claim an antiquity equal to that of Damascus, or which, after having survived so many revolutions, and been subjected to so many political vicissitudes, still remains a great, populous, and wealthy city. Its antiquity extends to high forty centuries at least, being as ancient as the days of the renowned Abraham, who was at once the friend of God, the father of the faithful, the remote ancestor of the Messiah, and the progenitor of the Hebrews, Edomites, and Bedouin Arabs. The beauty of its situation, the fertility and extent of its plains, the purity and salubrity of its streams, the famed Pharpar and Abana, together with the lofty and snow-clad peaks of the hoary Antilibanus, which bound the plain to the west, have ever contributed to render it a place of desirable habitation, even under the iron yoke of a government the most destructive of happiness and improvement of any that have cursed the human race. The best description of this city and environs, as well as of the Pashalic of Damascus, is to be found in the Travels of Lewis Burckhardt, who has exhausted the subject in the second volume of his travels.

Damascus lies between two principal streams, which actually correspond to the Abana and Pharpar—namely, the Barrady, and the river of Hasbeia—both coming from the Antilibanus, the former from the north-west, the latter from the south-west; but which of these is the Abana is impossible to determine. The south-west stream rises at the foot of the range that separates it from the source of the Jordan, and the Barrady from that which shuts up the valley of Heliopolis, or Balbec, on the east, separating it from the plain of Damascus. These two streams are increased by many others in their passage to the city. Instead of two streams—the Abana and Pharpar—Ptolemy has only one noted in his Table of Syria, as the river of Damascus, the Chrysorroas, or Golden river, and probably the same with the Barrady, or north-west river. After passing through Damascus, the Barrady follows a north-east course, and falls into a salt lake, called Bahr-el-Margi, or Lake of the Meadows, as also the other. So well is the city supplied with water, that almost every house has a fountain—many of them constructed of marble, and containing fish. The streams are turned off through every street to water the gardens and orchards.

Damascus itself, exclusive of its extensive suburbs, is not above three miles in circuit, surrounded by a double wall, with round towers at intervals, in a very decayed state—apparently built on the site of the ancient Saronic fortifications. Formerly, there was a ditch, at present almost completely filled up with rubbish, and the mean ill-built walls afford but small protection to the city. The castle is in the south-west angle of the city; is a good building, of a square form—each side being 200 yards long, and flanked by twelve square towers, placed at the angles, and at intervals in the sides. The height of its walls exceeds eighty feet; they are admirably well built—most probably by the Saracén Khalifs, and are in excellent preservation.

The city has nine gates, and is divided into twenty-three districts, each under its own magistrate. One of these, called Bab-al-Sharkie, or the Gate of the East, is also called the Gate of St. Paul; not because he entered the city there, but because a Christian church, in honour of the apostle, was erected there; and because the street called Straight, in the Acts of the Apostles, and where Judas dwelt, in whose house the astonished and newly created apostle lodged, and where Ananias was directed to find him, commenced here.

The houses of Damascus are principally built of mud and wooden rafters, and sometimes of small sun-dried bricks—and very rarely the lower parts are of stone; so that when a violent rain falls, the city looks like a quagmire. But though their external appearance is mean, yet internally, the houses are large and commodious; and contain, among the higher classes, a great display of wealth and magnificence—the furniture in many rising in value from 5,000*l.* to 25,000*l.* sterling—consisting of large divans and sofas of the richest silk, embroidered with pearl; Persian carpets, mirrors, &c. In the interior there is generally a large square court, beautified with orange and lemon trees; marble fountains, and divans floored with marble, richly gilded, and furnished with cushions and carpets.

The principal mosque was once a large Christian church dedicated to St. John the Baptist, built in the early ages of

The last action of this campaign was the siege of Dora, a maritime city, in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel. This place, which was strongly situated, had been so well fortified by Nicolaus, that it was impossible for Antiochus to take it. He therefore was forced to agree to a four month's truce, proposed to him in the name of Ptolemy; and this served as an honourable pretence for marching back his army to Seleucia on the Orontes, where he put it into winter-quarters. Antiochus appointed Theodotus the Ætolian governor of all the places he had conquered in this country.

During the interval of this truce a treaty was negotiated between the two crowns,¹ in which, however, the only view of both parties was to gain time. Ptolemy had occasion for it, in order to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war: and Antiochus for reducing Achæus. The latter was not satisfied with Asia Minor, of which he was already master; but had no less in view than to dethrone Antiochus, and to dispossess him of all his dominions. To check his ambitious views, it was necessary for Antiochus not to be employed on the frontiers, or engage in remote conquests.

In this treaty, the main point was to know to whom Coele-syria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judea, had been given, in the partition of Alexander the Great's empire, between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus, in the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy laid claim to them by virtue of their having been assigned by this treaty to Ptolemy Soter, his great-grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus pretended that they had been given to Seleucus Nicator; and therefore that they were his right, he being heir and successor of that king in the empire of Syria. Another difficulty embarrassed the commissioners, Ptolemy would have Achæus included in the treaty, which Antiochus opposed absolutely, alleging that it was a shameful and infamous thing, for a king like Ptolemy to espouse the party of rebels, and countenance revolt.

During these contests, in which A. M. 3786. neither side would yield to the Ant. J. C. 218. other, the time of the truce elapsed; and nothing being concluded, it

¹ Polyb. l. v. p. 409—415.

Christianity. Christians are not permitted even to enter the outer court, though it is a thoroughfare to the inhabitants; who, however, from respect, when passing through it, always carry their slippers in their hands. This solemn rite of disqualification is used through the East, both among Jews and Mahomedans, when entering their temples, mosques, and oratories. The gate of this mosque is covered with plates of brass, and the whole court is surrounded by a vaulted colonnade, supported by small pillars of variegated granite, surmounted by Corinthian capitals. Internally, the mosque is extremely spacious, and is reckoned by Arabian writers among the wonders of the world. It is 300 paces long, 60 broad, and paved with various coloured marbles. Most of the mosques were originally Christian churches. There is one, however, towards the south, different from the rest; built in the style of those at Constantinople; having two minarets: the court in front is surrounded by a colonnade, the roof of which consists of several cupolas, covered with sheet lead, as well as the grand dome of the mosque.

In the middle of the city is a mosque, which has a minaret covered with green tiles. Several remains of Grecian architecture are still to be found in the city. Numerous charitable establishments exist there, especially an hospital for pilgrims, built by sultan Soliman, who took Rhodes. It is a vast quadrangle, lined with a colonnade, and entirely roofed, in small domes, covered with lead, and has numerous chambers for receiving pilgrims of all religions, who are maintained for three days there at the sultan's expense. It has also a large chamber for poor students, and a stable for the pilgrims' horses. The mosque belonging to it is grand. The entrance is supported by four large columns of red granite. It is covered with a cupola, and has two minarets. A handsome garden lies adjacent. The kitchen on the side of the hospital opposite the mosque is suited to the grandeur of the establishment.

Damascus has numerous bazaars, larger than those of Aleppo. Some of them are covered and well built. The largest bazaar is that of Sinnanie, built by Sinan Pasha, consisting of eighteen arches, with shops on each side. The shops are well furnished with every commodity for sale. Each trade, or art, has its peculiar quarter: the boot and slipper makers, as well as those engaged in saddlery, occupy

became necessary to have recourse again to arms. Nicolaus the Ætolian had given so many proofs of valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that Ptolemy gave him the command in chief of his army, and charged him with every thing relating to the service of the king, in those provinces which were the occasion of the war. Perigenes, the admiral, put to sea with the fleet, in order to act against the enemy on that side. Nicolaus appointed Gaza for the rendezvous of all his forces, whither all the necessary provisions had been sent from Egypt. From thence he marched to mount Libanus, where he seized all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, by which Antiochus was necessarily obliged to pass: firmly resolved to wait for him there, and to stop his march, by the superiority which the advantageous posts he occupied gave him.

In the mean time Antiochus was not inactive, but made every preparation both by sea and land for a vigorous invasion. He gave the command of his fleet to Diognetus, his admiral, and put himself at the head of his land forces. The fleets on both sides kept along the coast, and followed the army; so that the naval as well as the land forces met at the passes which Nicolaus had seized. Whilst Antiochus attacked Nicolaus by land, the fleets also came to an engagement; so that the battle began both by sea and land at the same time. At sea neither party had the superiority; but on land Antiochus had the advantage, and forced Nicolaus to retire to Sidon, after losing 4000 of his soldiers, who were either killed or taken prisoners. Perigenes followed him thither with the Egyptian fleet, and Antiochus pursued them to that city both by sea and land, with the design of besieging them in it. He found, however, that this conquest would be attended with too many difficulties, because of the great number of troops in the city, where they had a great number of provisions, and other necessities; and he was not willing to besiege it in form. He therefore sent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee. After having made himself master of it by the taking of several cities, he passed the river Jordan, entered Gilead, and possessed himself of all that part of the country, which

a large division. There are also silk bazaars, and a large display of rich articles of commerce. In the city are several manufactures of soap, glass, lamps, satins, cottons, large round tents, a manufacture of cutlery; and on the river are many water-mills and tan-yards.

Damascus was long celebrated for its steel manufactures. Tamerlane, on his conquest of Syria, conveyed all these into Persia. Since that time they have been little memorable; and yet we are told, that, in the 17th century, above 20,000 artisans were solely employed in making sword blades, worth fifteen French crowns a piece; and that the water of the Barrady was excellent for tempering hard metal. These sabres were, formerly, of the highest reputation in Europe and the East. They seem to have been constructed by a method now lost, of alternate layers of iron and steel, two or three lines thick. They never broke, though bent in the most violent manner, and yet retained the utmost power of edge; so that common iron, or even steel, would divide under their force.

The population of Damascus has been estimated, by the late Mr. Brown, at upwards of 200,000 souls, in the year 1797, and was then on the increase. While Turkish misgovernment has diminished the agricultural population, it has increased that of the towns. In the territory of Aleppo, where a century since were above 300 villages, there now remain no more than ten or twelve.

Damascus is graced twice a year with the grand procession of the pilgrims going to, and returning from Mecca, under the protection of the Pasha. Mr. Brown witnessed the return in 1797, while at Damascus, and seems to have been delighted with the spectacle. The street was lined for several miles (for such is its length) with innumerable spectators, curious to view the magnificent display. The expense of this caravan, from Damascus to the city of the prophet, cost the Sultan, annually, 300,000*l.* sterling, and the Pasha 60,000*l.* sterling. Of the number of Christians of various sects at Damascus, no estimate can be given. There are three convents of Catholics. The Damascenes were formerly much averse to maritime commerce, and it is only of late that they adventured to send goods by sea to Constantinople. Damascus lies 200 British miles south-south-west of Aleppo, in direct distance, and nearly the same distance from Antakia, (Antioch,) 100 miles east of Tyre, 40 miles south-east of Balbec, and is in 33° 37' north latitude, and 36° 27' east longitude, of Greenwich.]

was formerly the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh.

The season was now too far advanced to prolong the campaign, for which reason he returned back by the river Jordan, left the government of Samaria to Hippolochus and Kereas, who had deserted Ptolemy's service, and come over to him; and he gave them 5000 men to keep it in subjection. He marched the rest of the forces back to Ptolemais, where he put them into winter-quarters.

The campaign was again opened A. M. 3787. in spring.¹ Ptolemy caused 70,000 foot, 5000 horse, and seventy-three elephants, to advance towards Pelusium. He placed himself at the head of these forces, and marched them through the deserts which divide Egypt from Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, between Rhinocorua and Gaza, at the latter of which cities the two armies met. That of Antiochus was something more numerous than the other. His forces consisted of 72,000 foot, 6000 horse, and 102 elephants. He first encamped within ten furlongs,² and soon after within five, of the enemy. All the time they lay so near one another there were perpetually skirmishes between the parties who went to fetch fresh water or to forage, as well as between individuals who wished to distinguish themselves.

Theodotus the Ætolian, who had served many years under the Egyptians, entered their camp, favoured by the darkness of the night, accompanied only by two persons. He was taken for an Egyptian; so that he advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent, with a design to kill him, and by that bold action to put an end to the war; but the king happening not to be in his tent, he killed his first physician, having mistaken him for Ptolemy. He also wounded two other persons; and during the alarm and noise which this attempt occasioned, he escaped to his camp.

At last the two kings, resolving to decide their quarrel, drew up their armies in battle-array. They rode from one body to another, at the head of their lines, to animate their troops. Arsinoe, the sister and wife of Ptolemy, was not content with exhorting the soldiers to behave manfully before the battle, but did not leave her husband even during the heat of the engagement. The issue of it was, that Antiochus, at the head of his right wing, defeated the enemy's left. But whilst hurried on by an inconsiderate ardour, he engaged too warmly in the pursuit; Ptolemy, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged Antiochus's centre in flank, which was then uncovered; and broke it before it was possible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer, who saw which way the dust flew, concluded that the centre was defeated, and accordingly made Antiochus observe it. But though he faced about that instant, he came too late to amend his fault; and found the rest of his army broken and put to flight. He himself was now obliged to provide for his retreat, and retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loss of 10,000 men killed, and 4,000 taken prisoners. Finding it would now be impossible for him to maintain himself in that country against Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conquests, and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army. This battle of Raphia was fought at the same time with that in which Hannibal defeated Flaminius the consul on the banks of the lake Thrasymenus in Etruria.

After Antiochus's retreat, all Cœle-syria and Palestine submitted with great cheerfulness to Ptolemy. Having been long subject to the Egyptians, they were more attached to them than to Antiochus. The conqueror's court was soon crowded with ambassadors from all the cities (and from Judæa among the rest) to make their submission, and to offer him presents; and all met with a gracious reception.

Ptolemy was desirous of making a progress through the conquered provinces,³ and among other cities, he visited Jerusalem. He saw the temple there,⁴ and

even offered sacrifices to the God of Israel; making at the same time oblations, and bestowing considerable gifts. However, not being satisfied with viewing it from the outward court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to go, he was desirous to enter the sanctuary, and even as far as the Holy of Holies; to which no one was allowed access but the high-priest, and that but once every year, on the great day of expiation. The report of this being soon spread, occasioned a great tumult. The high-priest informed him of the holiness of the place; and the express law of God, by which he was forbidden to enter it. The priests and Levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. And now all places echoed with lamentations, occasioned by the idea of the profanation to which their temple would be exposed; and in all places the people were lifting up their hands to implore Heaven not to suffer it. However, all this opposition, instead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curiosity the more. He forced his way as far as the second court; but as he was preparing to enter the temple itself, God struck him with a sudden terror, which threw him into such prodigious disorder, that he was carried off half dead. After this he left the city, highly exasperated against the Jewish nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and loudly threatened it with his vengeance. He accordingly kept his word; and the following year raised a cruel persecution, especially against the Jews of Alexandria, whom he endeavoured to reduce by force to worship false deities.

The instant that Antiochus, after the battle of Raphia,⁵ arrived in Antioch, he sent an embassy to Ptolemy, to sue for peace. The circumstance which prompted him to this was, his suspecting the fidelity of his people; for he could not but perceive that his credit and authority were very much lessened since his last defeat. Besides, it was high time for him to turn his arms towards Achæus, and check the progress he made, which increased daily. To obviate the danger which threatened him on that side, he concluded that it would be most expedient for him to make a peace upon any terms with Ptolemy, to avoid being opposed by two such powerful enemies, who, invading him on both sides, would certainly overpower him at last. He therefore invested his ambassadors with full power to give up to Ptolemy all those provinces which were the subject of their contest, *i. e.* Cœle-syria and Palestine. Cœle-syria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus; and Palestine all the country which anciently was the inheritance of the children of Israel; and the coast of these two provinces was what the Greeks called Phœnicia. Antiochus consented to resign up all this country to the king of Egypt, to purchase a peace at this juncture; choosing rather to give up this part of his dominions, than hazard the losing them all. A truce was therefore agreed upon for twelve months; and before the expiration of that time, a peace was concluded on these terms. Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of this victory, and have conquered all Syria, was desirous of putting an end to the war, that he might have an opportunity of devoting himself entirely to his pleasures. His subjects, knowing his want of spirit and effeminacy, could not conceive how it had been possible for him to have been so successful; and at the same time they were displeased at his having concluded a peace, by which he had tied up his hands. The discontent they conceived on this account was the chief source of the subsequent disorders in Egypt, which at last rose to an open rebellion: so that Ptolemy, by endeavouring to avoid a foreign war, drew one upon himself in the centre of his own dominions.

books of Scripture, any more than the fourth. They are prior, with regard to the order of time, to the two first. Dr. Prideaux, speaking of the third book, says, that the ground-work of the story is true, though the author has changed some circumstances of it by intermixing fabulous incidents.

⁵ Polyb. l. v. p. 428. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11.

¹ Polyb. l. v. p. 421—423.

² Half a French league.

³ Maccab. l. iii. c. 1.

⁴ The third book of Maccabees, whence this story is extracted, is not admitted by the church among the canonical

Antiochus,¹ after having concluded a peace with Ptolemy, devoted his whole attention to the war against Achæus, and made all the preparations necessary for taking the field. At last he passed mount Taurus, and entered Asia Minor with an intention to subdue it. Here he concluded a treaty with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of which they united their forces against their common enemy. They attacked him with so much vigour, that he abandoned the open country to them, and shut himself up in Sardis, to which Antiochus laying siege, Achæus held it out above a year. He often made sallies, and a great many battles were fought under the walls of the city. At last, by a stratagem of Ligoras, one of Antiochus's commanders, Sardis was taken; Achæus retired into the citadel, where he defended himself till he was delivered up by two traitorous Cretans. This fact is worthy of notice, and confirms the truth of the proverb, which said that the *Cretans were liars and knaves*.²

Ptolemy Philopator had made a treaty with Achæus,³ and was very sorry for his being so closely blocked up in the castle of Sardis; and therefore commanded Sosibius to relieve him at any rate whatsoever. There was then in Ptolemy's court a very cunning Cretan, Bolis by name, who had lived a considerable time at Sardis. Sosibius consulted this man, and asked whether he could not think of some method for Achæus's escape. The Cretan desired time to consider of it; and returning to Sosibius, offered to undertake it, and explained to him the manner in which he intended to proceed. He told him that he had an intimate friend, who was also his near relation, Cambylus by name, a captain in the Cretan troops in Antiochus's service; that he commanded at that time in a fort behind the castle of Sardis, and that he would prevail with him to let Achæus escape that way. His project being approved, he was sent with the utmost speed to Sardis to put it in execution, and ten talents⁴ were given him to defray his expenses, and a much more considerable sum promised him in case he succeeded. After his arrival, he communicates the affair to Cambylus, when those two miscreants agree (for their greater advantage) to go and reveal their design to Antiochus. They offered that prince, as they themselves had determined, to play their parts so well, that instead of procuring Achæus's escape, they would bring him to him, upon condition of receiving a considerable reward, to be divided between them, as well as the ten talents which Bolis had already received.

Antiochus was overjoyed at this proposal, and promised them a reward that sufficed to engage them to do him that important service. Upon this Bolis, by Cambylus's assistance, easily got admission into the castle, where the credentials he produced from Sosibius, and some other of Achæus's friends, gained him the entire confidence of that ill-fated prince. Accordingly he trusted himself to those two wretches, who, the instant he was out of the castle, seized and delivered him to Antiochus. This king caused him to be immediately beheaded, and thereby put an end to that war of Asia; for the moment those who still sustained the siege heard of Achæus's death, they surrendered; and a little after, all the other places in the provinces of Asia did the same.

Rebels very seldom come to a good end; and though the perfidy of these traitors strikes us with horror, and raises our indignation, we are not inclined to pity the unhappy fate of Achæus, who had made himself deserving of it by his infidelity to his sovereign.

It was about this time that the discontent of the Egyptians against Philopator began to break out.

According to Polybius, it occasioned a civil war; but neither himself nor any other author gives us the particulars of it.

We also read in Livy,⁵ that the Romans some time after sent deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra (doubtless the same queen who before was called Arsinoë) to renew their ancient friendship and alliance with Egypt. These carried as a present to the king, a robe and purple tunic, with an ivory chair;⁷ and to the queen an embroidered robe and a purple scarf. Such kind of presents show the happy simplicity which in those ages prevailed among the Romans.

Philopator⁸ had at the same time by Arsinoë,⁹ his wife and sister, a son called Ptolemy Epiphanes, who succeeded him at five years of age.

Philopator,¹⁰ from the time of the signal victory which he had obtained over Antiochus at Raphia, had abandoned himself to pleasures and excesses of every kind. Agathoclea his concubine, Agathocles, the brother of that woman, and their mother, governed him entirely. He spent all his time in gaming, drinking, and the most infamous irregularities. His nights were passed in debauches, and his days in feasts and dissolute revels. Forgetting entirely the duties and character of a king, instead of applying himself to the affairs of state, he valued himself upon presiding in concerts, and his skill in playing upon instruments. The women disposed of every thing.¹¹ They conferred all employments and governments; and no one had less authority in the kingdom than the prince himself. Sosibius, an old artful minister, who had been in office during three reigns, was at the helm, and his great experience had made him very capable of the administration; not indeed entirely in the manner he desired, but as the favourites would permit him to act; and he was so wicked as to pay blind obedience to the most unjust commands of a corrupt prince and his unworthy minions.

Arsinoë,¹² the king's sister and wife, had no power or authority at court; the favourites and the prime minister did not show her the least respect. She, on her side, was not patient enough to suffer every thing without murmuring; and they at last grew weary of her continual complaints. The king, and those who governed him, commanded Sosibius to rid them of her. He obeyed, and employed for that purpose one Philammon, who, without doubt, did not want experience in such cruel and barbarous assassinations.

This last action, added to so many more of the most flagrant nature, displeased the people so much, that Sosibius was obliged, before the king's death, to quit his employment. He was succeeded by Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had signalized himself in the army by his valour and conduct. He had all the voices in a grand council held for the purpose of choosing a prime minister. Sosibius resigned to him the king's seal, which was the badge of his office. Tlepolemus formed the several functions of it, and governed all the affairs of the kingdom, during the king's life. But though this was not long, he discovered but too plainly that he had not all the qualifications necessary for duly supporting so great an employment. He had neither the experience, ability, nor application of his predecessors. As he had the administration of all the finances,

⁶ Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

⁷ This was allowed in Rome to none but the highest officers in the state.

⁸ Justin. l. xxx. c. 4.

⁹ Justin calls her Eurydice. In case he is not mistaken, this queen had three names, Arsinoë, Cleopatra, and Eurydice. But Cleopatra was a name common to the queens of Egypt, as that of Ptolemy was to the kings.

¹⁰ Justin. l. xxx. c. 1 & 2. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. l. xvi. xvi.

¹¹ Tribunatus, præfecturas, et ducatus mulieres ordinabant; nec quisquam in regno suo minus, quam ipse rex, poterat.—Justin.

¹² Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

¹ Polyb. l. v. p. 444.

² Κρητες ἀει ψευσταί, καὶ ἀδίκαι. St. Paul. Epist. ad Tit. i. 12.

³ Polyb. l. viii. p. 522—531.

⁴ Ten thousand French crowns.

⁵ Polyb. l. v. p. 144.

and disposed of all honours and dignities of the state, and all payments passed through his hands, every body, as is usual, was assiduous in making their court to him. He was extremely liberal; but then his bounty was bestowed without choice or discernment, and almost solely on those who shared in his parties of pleasure. The extravagant flatteries of those who were for ever crowding about his person, made him fancy his talents superior to those of all other men. He assumed haughty airs, abandoned himself to luxury and profusion, and at last grew insupportable to every one.

The wars of the East have made me suspend the relation of the affairs that happened in Greece during their continuance: we now return to them.

SECTION II.—THE ÆTOLIANS DECLARE AGAINST THE ACHÆANS. BATTLE OF CAPHYÆ LOST BY ARATUS. THE ACHÆANS HAVE RECOURSE TO PHILIP, WHO UNDERTAKES THEIR DEFENCE. TROUBLES BREAK OUT IN LACEDÆMONIA. THE UNHAPPY DEATH OF CLEOMENES IN EGYPT. TWO KINGS ARE ELECTED IN LACEDÆMONIA. THAT REPUBLIC JOINS WITH THE ÆTOLIANS.

THE Ætolians,¹ particularly in the time we are now speaking of, were becoming a very powerful people in Greece. Originally their territories extended from the river Achælus, to the strait of the gulf of Corinth, and to the country of the Locrians, surnamed Ozolæ. But, in process of time, they had possessed themselves of several cities in Acarnania, Thessaly, and other neighbouring countries. They led much the same life upon land as pirates do at sea, that is, they were perpetually engaged in plunder and rapine. Wholly bent on lucre, they did not consider any gain as infamous or unlawful: and were entire strangers to the laws of peace or war. They were very much inured to toils, and intrepid in battle. They signalized themselves particularly in the war against the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece; and showed themselves zealous defenders of the public liberty against the Macedonians. The increase of their power had made them haughty and insolent. That haughtiness appeared in the answer they gave the Romans, when they sent ambassadors to order them not to infect Acarnania. They expressed, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius, or Justin his epitomizer,² the highest contempt for Rome, which they said was in its origin a shameful spectacle of thieves and robbers, founded and built by a fratricide, and formerly by an assemblage of women ravished from the arms of their parents. They added, that the Ætolians had always distinguished themselves in Greece, as much by their valour as their virtue and descent; that neither Philip nor Alexander had been formidable to them; and at a time when the latter made the whole earth tremble, they had not been afraid to reject his edicts and injunctions. That therefore the Romans would do well to beware of revoking the Ætolians against them; a people whose arms had extirpated the Gauls, and despised the Macedonians. The reader may, from this speech, form a judgment of the Ætolians, of whom much might be said in the sequel.

From the time that Cleomenes of Sparta had lost his kingdom,³ and Antigonus, by his victory at Sclasia, had in some measure restored the peace of Greece, the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who were tired by the first wars, and imagined that affairs would always continue on the same foot, had laid their arms aside, and totally neglected military discipline. The Ætolians meditated taking advantage of this indolence. Peace was insupportable to them, as it obliged them to subsist at their own expense, accustomed as they were to support themselves wholly by rapine. Antigonus had kept them in awe, and prevented them from infesting their neighbours; but, after his death, despising Philip because of his youth, they marched into Peloponnesus sword in hand, and laid waste the

territories of the Messenians. Aratus, exasperated at this perfidy and insolence, and seeing that Timoxenes, at that time captain-general of the Achæans, endeavoured to gain time, because his year was near expiring; as he was nominated to succeed him the following year, he took upon himself the command five days before the due time, in order to march the sooner to the aid of the Messenians. Accordingly, having assembled the Achæans, whose vigour and strength had suffered by repose and inactivity, he was defeated near Caphyæ, in a great battle fought there.

Aratus was charged with being the cause of this defeat, and not without some foundation. He endeavoured to prove that the loss of the battle imputed to him was not his fault. He declared, that, however this might be, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon; and entreated that his actions might be examined with less rigour than indulgence. His humility on this occasion changed the minds of the whole assembly, whose fury now turned against his accusers; and nothing was afterwards undertaken but by his advice. However, the remembrance of his defeat had exceedingly damped his courage; so that he behaved as a wise citizen rather than as an able warrior; and though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to distress them, he took no advantage of them, but suffered that people to lay waste the whole country almost with impunity.

The Achæans were therefore forced to apply to Macedonia again, and to call in king Philip to their assistance, in hopes that the affliction he bore Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to favour them. And indeed Antigonus, at his last moments, had, above all things, entreated Philip to keep well with Aratus, and to follow his counsel, in treating with the Achæans. Some time before, he had sent him into Peloponnesus, to form himself under his eye and by his counsels. Aratus gave him the best reception in his power; treated him with the distinction due to his rank; and endeavoured to instil into him such principles and sentiments, as might enable him to govern with wisdom the great kingdom to which he was heir. Accordingly that young prince returned into Macedonia with the highest sentiments of esteem for Aratus, and the most favourable disposition with regard to the welfare of Greece.

But the courtiers, whose interest it was to remove a person of Aratus's known probity, in order to have the sole ascendancy over their young prince, made that monarch suspect his conduct; and prevailed so far, as to make him declare openly against Aratus. Nevertheless, finding soon after that he had been imposed upon, he punished the informers with great severity; the sole means to banish for ever from princes that calumny, which impunity, and sometimes money, raise up and arm against persons of the most consummate virtue. Philip afterwards reposed the same confidence in Aratus as he had formerly done, and resolved to be guided by his counsels only; which was manifest on several occasions, and particularly in the affair of Lacedæmonia. That unhappy city was perpetually torn by sedition,⁴ in one of which, one of the Ephori and a great many other citizens were killed, because they had declared for king Philip. When that prince arrived from Macedonia, he gave audience to the ambassadors of Sparta at Tægæa, whither he had sent for them. In the council he held there, several were of opinion, that he should treat that city as Alexander had treated Thebes. But the king rejected that proposal with horror, and contented himself with punishing the principal authors of the insurrection. Such an instance of moderation and wisdom in a king who was but seventeen years of age, was greatly admired; and every one was persuaded, that it was owing to the good counsels of Aratus. However, he did not always make the same use of them.

Being arrived at Corinth,⁵ complaints were made

¹ Strab. l. x. p. 450. Polyb. p. 331 & 746. Pausan. l. x. p. 650.

² Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

³ Polyb. l. iv. p. 272—292. Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.

⁴ Polyb. p. 292—294.

⁵ Ibid. l. iv. p. 294—299.

to him by many cities against the Ætoliens; and accordingly war was unanimously declared against them. This was called the war of the allies, which began much about the same time that Hannibal was meditating the siege of Saguntum. This decree was sent to all the cities, and ratified in the general assembly of the Achæans. The Ætoliens, on the other side, prepared for war, and selected Scopas their general, the principal contriver of the broils they had raised and the havoc they had made. Philip now marched back his forces into Macedonia; and whilst they were in winter-quarters, was very diligent in making the necessary military preparations. He endeavoured to strengthen himself by the aid of his allies, few of whom answered his views; colouring their delays with false and specious pretences. He also sent to king Ptolemy, to entreat him not to aid the Ætoliens either with men or money.

Cleomenes was at that time in A. M. 3784. Egypt;¹ but as a horrid licentiousness prevailed in that court, and the king regarded nothing but pleasures and excesses of every kind, Cleomenes led a very melancholy life there. Nevertheless Ptolemy, in the beginning of his reign, had made use of Cleomenes; for, as he was afraid of his brother Magas, who, on his mother's account, had great authority and power over the soldiery, he contracted a stricter amity with Cleomenes, and admitted him into his most secret councils, in which means for getting rid of his brother were devised. Cleomenes was the only person who opposed the scheme; declaring that a king cannot have any ministers more zealous for his service, or more obliged to aid him in sustaining the weighty burden of government, than his brothers. This advice prevailed for that time; but Ptolemy's fears and suspicions soon returning, he imagined there would be no way to get rid of them, but by taking away the life of him that occasioned them. After this he thought himself secure;² fondly concluding, that he had no enemies to fear, either at home or abroad: because Antigonus and Seleucus, at their death, had left no other successors but Philip and Antiochus, both of whom he despised on account of their tender age. In this security he devoted himself to all sorts of pleasures, which were never interrupted by cares or business of any kind. Neither his courtiers, nor those who had employments in the state, dared to approach him; and he would scarce deign to bestow the least attention on what passed in the neighbouring kingdoms. That, however, was what employed the attention of his predecessors, even more than the affairs of their own dominions. Being possessed of Coele-syria and Cyprus, they awed the kings of Syria both by sea and land. As the most considerable cities, the posts and harbours which lie along the coast from Pamphylia to the Hellespont, and the places in the neighbourhood of Lysimachia, were subject to them; from thence they had an eye on the princes of Asia, and even on the islands. How would it have been possible for any one to move in Thrace and Macedonia, whilst they had the command of Ene, or Maronea, and of cities that lay at a still greater distance? With so extensive a dominion, and so many strong places, which served them as barriers, their own kingdom was secure. They therefore had always great reason to keep a watchful eye over what was transacting without doors. Ptolemy, on the contrary, disdained to give himself that trouble; wine and women being his only pleasure and employment.

With such dispositions, the reader will easily suppose that he could have no great esteem for Cleomenes. The instant the latter had news of Antigonus's death, that the Achæans were engaged in a great war with the Ætoliens, that the Lacedæmonians were united with the latter against the Achæans and Macedonians, and that all things seemed to recall him to his native country, he solicited earnestly to leave Alexandria. He therefore implored the king to favour him with troops and warlike stores sufficient for

his return. Finding he could not obtain his request, he desired that he at least might be suffered to depart with his family, and be allowed to embrace the favourable opportunity for repossessing himself of his kingdom. But Ptolemy was too much engaged by his pleasures to lend an ear to Cleomenes's entreaties.

Sosibius, who at that time had great authority in the kingdom, assembled his friends; and in this council a resolution was formed, not to furnish Cleomenes either with a fleet or provisions. They believed such an expense would be useless; for, from the death of Antigonus, all foreign affairs had seemed to them of no importance. Besides, this council were apprehensive, that as Antigonus was dead, and as there was no one to oppose Cleomenes, that prince, after having made an expeditious conquest of Greece, would become a very formidable enemy to Egypt; what increased their fears was, his having thoroughly studied the state of the kingdom, his knowing its strong and weak side, his holding the king in the utmost contempt, and seeing a great many parts of the kingdom separated and at a great distance, which an enemy might have a thousand opportunities of invading. For these reasons, it was not thought proper to grant Cleomenes the fleet and other succours which he desired. On the other side, to give so bold and enterprising a prince leave to depart, after having refused him in so contemptuous a manner, would be making an enemy of him, who would certainly, one time or other, remember the affront which had been put upon him. Sosibius was therefore of opinion, that it was not even safe to allow him his liberty in Alexandria. A word which Cleomenes had let drop, came then into his mind. In a council, where Magas was the subject of the debate, the prime minister had signified his fears lest this prince should raise an insurrection by means of the foreign soldiers, "I answer for them," says Cleomenes, speaking of those of Peloponnesus: "and you may depend, that upon the first signal I give, they will take up arms in your favour." This made Sosibius hesitate no longer: on a fictitious accusation, which he corroborated by a letter he himself had forged in that unhappy prince's name, he prevailed with the king to seize his person, and to imprison him in a secure place, where he might maintain him always in the manner he had hitherto done, with the liberty of seeing his friends, but not of going abroad.

This treatment threw Cleomenes into the deepest affliction and melancholy. As he did not perceive any end of his calamities, he formed a resolution, in concert with those friends who used to visit him, which despair only could suggest; and this was, to repel the injustice of Ptolemy by force of arms; to stir up his subjects against him; to die a death worthy of Sparta; and not to wait, as stalled victims, till it was thought proper to sacrifice them.

His friends having found means to get him out of the prison, they all ran in a body, with drawn swords, into all the streets, exhorting and calling upon the populace to recover their liberty; but not a man joined them. They killed the governor of the city, and some other noblemen who came to oppose them; and afterwards ran to the citadel with the intention to force the gates, and set all the prisoners at liberty; but they found them shut and strongly barricaded. Cleomenes, now lost to all hopes, ran up and down the city, during which not a soul either followed or opposed him; but all fled through fear. When they, therefore, saw that it would be impossible for them to succeed in their enterprise, they terminated it in a tragical and bloody manner, by running upon each other's swords, to avoid the infamy of punishment. Thus died Cleomenes, after having reigned sixteen years over Sparta. The king caused his body to be hanged on a cross, and ordered his mother, children, and all the women who attended them, to be put to death. When that unhappy princess was brought to the place of execution, the only favour she asked was, that she might die before her children. But they began with them; a torment more grievous to a mother than death itself; after which, she presented her neck to the executioner, saying only these words:

¹ Plut. in Cleom. p. 820—823.

² Polyb. l. v. p. 350—355.

"Ah! my dear children, to what a place did you come!"

The design of Agis and Cleomenes to reform Sparta, and revive its ancient discipline, was certainly very laudable in itself: and both had reason to think, that in a state wholly infected and corrupted as that of Sparta then was, to pretend to reform abuses one after another, and remedy disorders by degrees, was only cutting off the heads of a hydra; and therefore that it would be absolutely necessary to strike at the root of the evil. However, I cannot say whether Plato's maxim should not be adopted here, viz. that nothing should be attempted in a free state, but what the citizens may be prevailed on to admit by gentle means; and that violence should never be employed.¹ Are there not some desperate diseases in which medicines would only accelerate death? And have not some disorders gained so great an ascendancy in a state,² that to attempt a reformation at such a time would only discover the impotency of the magistrates and laws? But, a circumstance which admits of no excuse in Cleomenes, is, his having against all the laws of reason and justice, murdered the Ephori, in order to gain success to his enterprise; a conduct absolutely tyrannical, unworthy of a Spartan, and more unworthy of a king; and which at the same time seemed to give a sanction to those tyrants, who afterwards inflicted such evils on Lacedæmonia. And, indeed, Cleomenes himself has been called a tyrant by some historians, and with him they have begun the series of the tyrants of Sparta.³

During the three years that Cleomenes had left Sparta,⁴ the citizens had not thought of nominating kings, from the hopes they entertained that he would return again; and had always preserved the highest esteem and veneration for him. But, as soon as news was brought of his death, they proceeded to the election of kings. They first nominated Agesipolis, a child, descended from one of the royal families, and appointed his uncle Cleomenes his governor. Afterwards they chose Lycurgus, none of whose ancestors had reigned, but who had bribed the Ephori, by giving each of them a talent,⁵ which was putting the crown to sale at a very low price. They soon had reason to repent their choice, which was in direct opposition to all laws, and till then had never an example. The factions party, which openly opposed Philip, and committed the most enormous violences in the city, had presided in this election; and immediately after, they caused Sparta to declare in favour of the Ætolians.

SECTION III.—VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF PHILIP AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF THE ACHEANS. APELES, HIS PRIME MINISTER, ABUSES HIS CONFIDENCE IN AN EXTRAORDINARY MANNER. PHILIP MAKES AN INROAD INTO ÆTOLIA. THERMÆ TAKEN WITHOUT OPPOSITION. EXCESSES OF PHILIP'S SOLDIERS IN THAT CITY. PRUDENT RETREAT OF THAT PRINCE. TUMULTS IN THE CAMP. PUNISHMENT OF THOSE WHO HAD OCCASIONED THEM. INROAD OF PHILIP INTO LACONIA. THE CONSPIRATORS FORM NEW CABALS. PUNISHMENT INFLICTED ON THEM. A PEACE IS PROPOSED BETWEEN PHILIP AND THE ACHEANS ON ONE SIDE, AND THE ÆTOLIANS ON THE OTHER, WHICH AT LAST IS CONCLUDED.

WE have already related,⁶ that A. M. 3785. Philip king of Macedon, being called in by the Achæans to their aid, had come to Corinth, where their general assembly was held, and that there war had been unanimously declared against the Ætolians. The king returned afterwards to Macedonia, to

make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war.

Philip brought over Scerdilides to the alliance with the Achæans. He was, as has been observed, a petty king of Illyria. The Ætolians, whose ally he was, had broken their engagements with him by refusing to give him a certain share of the spoils they had gained at the taking of Cynethium, according to the articles agreed upon between them. Philip embraced with joy this opportunity of revenging himself for their perfidy.

Demetrius of Pharos joined also with Philip.⁷ We have already seen that the Romans, in whose favour he had declared at first, had bestowed on him several of the cities they had conquered in Illyria. As the chief revenue of those petty princes had consisted hitherto in the plunder they got from their neighbours; when the Romans were removed, he could not forbear pillaging the cities and territories subject to them. Besides, Demetrius, as well as Scerdilides, had sailed, on the same design, beyond the city of Issus; which was a direct infraction of the chief article of the treaty concluded with queen Teuta. For these reasons the Romans declared war against Demetrius. Æmilius the consul attacked him with great vigour, dispossessed him of his strongest fortresses, and besieged him in Pharos, from whence he escaped with the utmost difficulty. The city surrendered to the Romans. Demetrius,⁸ being dispossessed of all his dominions, fled to Philip, who received him with open arms. This offended the Romans very much, who thereupon sent ambassadors to him, demanding Demetrius to be delivered up. However, Philip, who meditated at that time the design which broke out soon after, paid no regard to their demand, and Demetrius spent the remainder of his days with that monarch. He was a valiant and bold man, but at the same time rash and inconsiderate in his enterprises; and his courage was entirely void of prudence and judgment.

The Achæans, being on the point of engaging in a considerable war, sent to their allies. The Acarnanians joined them very cheerfully, though they incurred great danger, as they lay nearest the Ætolians, and consequently were most exposed to the inroads of that people. Polybius praises their fidelity exceedingly.

The people of Epirus did not show so much good will, and seemed desirous of continuing neuter: nevertheless, they engaged in the war a little after.

Deputies were also sent to king Ptolemy, to desire him not to assist the Ætolians either with troops or money.

The Messenians, for whose sake that war had been first begun, no way answered the hopes which had been naturally entertained, of their employing their whole force to carry it on.

The Lacedæmonians had declared at first for the Achæans; but the contrary faction caused the decree to be reversed, and they joined the Ætolians. It was on this occasion, as I have said before, that Agesipolis and Lycurgus were elected kings of Sparta.

Aratus the younger, son of the great Aratus, was at that time supreme magistrate of the Achæans, as was Scopas of the Ætolians.

Philip marched from Macedonia with 15,000 foot and 800 horse.⁹ Having crossed Thessaly, he arrived in Epirus. Had he marched directly against the Ætolians, he would have come upon them unawares, and have defeated them: but, at the request of the Epirotes, he laid siege to Ambracia, which employed him forty days, and gave the enemy time to make preparations, and wait his coming up. They did more. Scopas, at the head of a body of Ætolians, advanced into Macedonia, made dreadful havoc, and returned in a very short time laden with spoils: this action did him prodigious honour, and greatly animated his forces. However, this did not hinder Philip from entering Ætolia, and seizing on a great number of important fortresses. He would have entirely conquered it, had not the news he received, that the

¹ Jubet Plato, quem ego autorem vehementer sequor. Tantum contendere in republicâ, quantum probare civibus tuis possis: vim neque parenti neque patriâ afferre oportere, Cic. l. i. Epist. 9. ad Famil.

² Decebat omittere potius prævalida et adulta vitia, quam hoc adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 53.

³ Post mortem Cleomenis, qui primus tyrannus Lacedæmonie fuit. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 26.

⁴ Polyb. l. iv. p. 304.

⁵ A thousand crowns.

⁷ Polyb. l. iii. p. 171—174.

Lib. iv. p. 285—305—330.

⁸ Liv. l. xxii. n. 33.

⁹ Polyb. l. iv. p. 325—330.

Dardanians¹ intended to make an inroad into his kingdom, obliged him to return thither. At his departure he promised the ambassadors of the Achæans to return soon to their assistance. His sudden arrival disconcerted the Dardanians, and put a stop to their enterprise. He then returned to Thessaly, with an intention to pass the rest of the summer in Larissa.

In the mean time,² Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had just before nominated their general, entered Epirus, laid waste all the open country, and did not spare even the temple of Dodona.

Philip, though it was now the depth of winter, had left Larissa, and arrived at Corinth, without any one's having had the least notice of his march. He there ordered the elder Aratus to attend him, and by a letter to his son, who commanded the forces this year, gave him orders whither to march them. Caphyræ was to be the rendezvous. Euripidas, who knew nothing of Philip's arrival, was then marching a detachment of above 2000 natives of Elis, to lay waste the territory of Sicyon. They fell into the hands of Philip, and all except 100 were either killed or taken prisoners.

The king, having joined Aratus the younger with his forces at the rendezvous appointed, marched towards Psophis,³ in order to besiege it. This was a very daring attempt; for the city was thought almost impregnable, as well from its natural situation, as from the fortifications which had been added to it. As it was the depth of winter, the inhabitants were under no apprehension that any one would, or even could, attack them: Philip, however, did it with success; for, first the city, and afterwards the citadel, surrendered, after making some resistance. As they were very far from expecting to be besieged, the want of ammunition and provisions very much facilitated the taking of that city. Philip gave it very generously to the Achæans, to whom it was a most important post, assuring them that there was nothing he desired more than to oblige them; and to give them the strongest proofs of his zeal and affection for their interest. A prince who always acts in this manner is truly great, and does honour to the royal dignity.

From thence, after possessing himself of some other cities, which he also gave to his allies, he marched to Elis, in order to lay it waste. This territory was very rich and populous, and the inhabitants of the country were in a flourishing condition. Formerly this territory had been deemed sacred, on account of the Olympic games solemnized there every four years; and all the nations of Greece had agreed not to infest it, or carry their arms into it. But the Eleans had themselves been the occasion of their losing that privilege, because, like other states, they had engaged in the wars of Greece. Here Philip got a very considerable booty, with which he enriched his troops, after which he retired to Olympia.

Among the several courtiers of king Philip,⁴ Apelles held the chief rank, and had a considerable influence on the mind of his sovereign, whose governor he had been: but, as too frequently happens on these occasions, he very much abused his power, which he employed wholly in oppressing individuals and states. He had taken it into his head to reduce the Achæans to the same condition as that in which Thessaly was at that time; that is, to subject them absolutely to the commands of the ministers of Macedonia, by leaving them only the name and a vain shadow of liberty; and to accustom them to the yoke, he caused them to suffer every kind of injurious treatment. Aratus complained of this to Philip, who was highly exasperated on that account; and accordingly assured him, he would give such orders, that nothing of that kind should happen for the future. Accordingly, he enjoined Apelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans, but in concert with their general. This was behaving with an indolent tenderness towards a

minister who had so shamefully abused his master's confidence, and had therefore deserved to be entirely disgraced. The Achæans, overjoyed at the favour which Philip showed them, and at the orders he had given for their peace and security, were continually bestowing the highest encomiums on that prince, and extolling his excellent qualities. And, indeed, he possessed those which can endear a king to his people; such as a lively genius, a happy memory, easy diction, and an unaffected grace in all his actions; a beautiful aspect, heightened by a noble and majestic air, which struck the beholders with awe and respect; a sweetness of temper, affability, and a desire to please; and to finish the picture, a valour, an intrepidity, and an experience in war, which far exceeded his years; so that one can hardly conceive the strange alteration that afterwards appeared in his morals and behaviour.

Philip having possessed himself of Aliphera,⁵ which was a post of great strength, the greatest part of the people of that country, astonished at the rapidity of his conquests, and weary of the Ætolian tyranny, submitted to his arms. Thus he soon made himself master of all Triphylia.

At this time,⁶ Chilo, the Lacedæmonian, pretending that he had a better right to the crown than Lycurgus, on whose head they had placed it, resolved to dispossess him of it, and to set it on his own. Having engaged in his party about 200 citizens, he entered the city in a forcible manner, killed the Ephori, who were at table together, and marched directly towards Lycurgus's house, intending to kill him: but hearing the tumult, he had made his escape. Chilo then went into the great square of the city, exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty; making them, at the same time, the greatest promises. Seeing, however, that he could make no impression on them, and that he had failed in his attempt, he sentenced himself to banishment, and retired to Achaia. It is surprising to see Sparta, formerly so jealous of its liberty, and mistress of all Greece till the battle of Leuctra, now filled with tumults and insurrections, and ignominiously subjected to a kind of tyrants, whose very name formerly she could not endure. Such were the effects of their having violated Lycurgus's laws; and especially of their introducing gold and silver into Sparta, which drew after them, by insensible degrees, the lust of power, avarice, pride, luxury, effeminacy, immorality, and all those vices which are generally inseparable from riches.

Philip,⁷ being arrived at Argos, spent the rest of the winter there. Apelles had not yet laid aside the design he meditated of enslaving the Achæans. But Aratus, for whom the king had a very particular regard, and in whom he reposed the highest confidence, was an invincible obstacle to his project. He therefore resolved, if possible, to get rid of him; and for this purpose he sent privately for all those who were his secret enemies, and used his utmost endeavours to gain them the prince's favour. After this, in all his conversations with him, he hinted that so long as Aratus should enjoy any authority in the republic of the Achæans, he (Philip) would have no power; and would be as much subject to their laws and usages as the meanest of their citizens: whereas, were he to raise to the chief administration of affairs some person who might be entirely dependent on him, he then might act as sovereign, and govern others, instead of being himself governed. The new friends enforced these reflections, and refined on the arguments of Apelles. This idea of despotic power pleased the young king; and indeed it is the strongest temptation that can be laid in the way of princes. Accordingly he went for that purpose to Ægium, where the assembly of the states was held for the election of a new general; and prevailed so far by his promises and menaces, that he got Philoxenus, whose election Aratus had supported and gained, excluded; and obliged them to make choice of Eperatus, who was his direct enemy. Implicitly devoted to the will of his prime minister, he did not perceive

¹ These were a people bordering on Macedonia, to the north of that kingdom.

² Polyb. l. iv. p. 330—336.

³ A city of Arcadia.

⁴ Polyb. l. iv. p. 338, 339.

⁵ Polyb. l. iv. p. 330—343.

⁶ Ibid. p. 343, 344.

⁷ Ibid. l. iv. p. 344—349.

that he degraded himself in the most ignominious manner; nothing being more disgusting to free assemblies, such as those of Greece, than the least attempt to violate the freedom of elections.

A person was thus chosen entirely unworthy of the post, as is commonly the case in all forced elections. Eperatus, having neither merit nor experience, was universally despised. As Aratus intermeddled no longer in public affairs, nothing was well done, and all things were hastening to their ruin. Philip, on whom the blame fell, became sensible that very pernicious counsels had been given him. Upon this, he again had recourse to Aratus, and reinstated him entirely in his friendship and confidence: and perceiving that after this step his affairs flourished visibly, and that his reputation and power increased daily, he would not make use of any counsel but that of Aratus, as of the only man to whom he owed all his grandeur and glory. Who would not imagine, after such evident and repeated proofs on one side of Aratus's innocence, and on the other of Apelles's black malice, that Philip would have been undeceived for ever; and have been fully sensible which of the two had the most sincere zeal for his service? The sequel, however, will show, that jealousy never dies but with the object that excited it: and that princes seldom overcome prejudices that are grateful to their authority.

A new proof of this soon appeared. As the inhabitants of Elis refused the advantageous conditions which Philip offered them by one Amphilidamus, Apelles hinted to him, that so unreasonable a refusal was owing to the ill services which Aratus did him clandestinely, though outwardly he pretended to have his interest very much at heart: that he alone had kept Amphilidamus from enforcing, as he ought to have done, and as he had engaged to do, to the inhabitants of Elis, the offers which the king made them: and on this foundation he invented a long story, and named several witnesses of its truth. The king, however, was so just as to insist upon his prime minister's repeating these accusations in presence of the man whom he charged with them: and this Apelles did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance, or rather impudence, as might have disconcerted the most virtuous man. He even added, that the king would lay this affair before the council of the Achæans, and leave to them the decision of it. This was what he wanted; firmly persuaded, that by the influence he had there, he should not fail to get him condemned. Aratus, in making his defence, began by beseeching the king, not lightly to give credit to the several things laid to his charge; that it was a justice which a king, more than any other man, owed to a person accused, to command a strict inquiry to be made into the several articles of the accusation, and till then to suspend his judgment. In consequence of this, he required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce his witnesses; him, especially, from whom he pretended to have heard the several particulars laid to his charge; and that they should omit none of the methods used and prescribed in establishing a fact before it was laid before the public council. The king thought Aratus's demand very just and reasonable, and promised it should be complied with. However, the time passed on, and Apelles did not prepare to give in his proofs; how, indeed, would it have been possible for him to do that? An unforeseen accident brought Amphilidamus, by a kind of chance, to the city of Dyme, whither Philip was come to settle some affairs. Aratus snatched the opportunity; and begged the king himself to take cognizance of this matter. He complied with Aratus's request, and found that there was not the least ground for the charge. Accordingly Aratus was pronounced innocent, but no punishment was inflicted on the calumniator.

This impunity emboldened him the more; so that he continued his secret intrigues, in order to remove those who gave him the least umbrage. Besides Apelles, there were four other persons who divided the chief offices of the crown among them, and at the same time enjoyed the king's confidence. Antigonus had appointed them by his will, and assigned each

of them his employment. His principal view in this choice was, to prevent those cabals and intrigues which are almost unavoidable during the minority of an infant prince. Two of these noblemen, Leontius and Megaleas, were entirely devoted to Apelles, but as to the other two, Taurion and Alexander, he had not the same ascendancy over them. Taurion presided over the affairs of Peloponnesus, and Alexander had the command of the guards. Now the prime minister wanted to give their employments to noblemen on whom he could entirely rely, and who would be as much devoted to his views as he could wish them. However, he endeavoured to undermine their credit by other methods than those he had employed against Aratus; for, says Polybius, courtiers have the art of moulding themselves into all shapes, and employ sometimes praise and sometimes slander to gain their ends. Whenever Taurion was mentioned, Apelles would applaud his merit, his courage, his experience; and speak of him as a man worthy of the king's more intimate confidence: he did this in the view of detaining him at court, and procuring the government of Peloponnesus (a place of great importance, and which required the presence of the person invested with it) for one of his creatures. Whenever Alexander was the subject of the discourse, he lost no opportunity of representing him in the most odious colours to the king, and even endeavoured to render his fidelity suspected, in order to remove him from court, that his post might be given to some person who would be dependent entirely on him. Polybius will show hereafter, what was the result of all these secret machinations. He only hints in this place, that Apelles was at last taken in his own snare, and met with the treatment he was preparing for others. But we shall first see him commit the blackest and most abominable injustice towards Aratus, and even direct his criminal designs against the king himself.

I before observed,¹ that Philip having discovered that he had been more than once imposed upon, had restored Aratus to his favour and confidence. Supported by his credit and counsels, he went to the assembly of the Achæans, which had been appointed on his account to meet at Sicyon. On the report he made of the state of his exchequer, and of the urgent need in which he stood of money to maintain his forces, a resolution was passed to furnish him with fifty talents;² the instant his troops should set out upon their march; with three months' pay for his soldiers, and 10,000 measures of wheat: and that afterwards, as long as he should carry on the war in person in Peloponnesus, they should furnish him with seventeen talents³ a month.

When the troops returned from their winter-quarters, and were assembled, the king debated in council on the operations of the ensuing campaign. It was resolved to act by sea, because they thereby should infallibly divide the enemy's forces, from the uncertainty they must be under, with regard to the side on which they should be attacked. Philip was to make war on the inhabitants of Ætolia, Lacedæmonia, and Elis.

Whilst the king, who was now returned to Corinth, was training his Macedonians in the several exercises of the sea-service, Apelles, who found his influence lessened, and was exasperated to see the counsels of Aratus followed, and not his own, took secret measures to defeat all the king's designs. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign; and to force him, by the ill posture of his affairs, to throw himself into the arms of a minister, who was best acquainted with, and then actually in the administration of them. How villainous was this! Apelles prevailed with Leontius and Megaleas, his two confidants, to behave with negligence in the employments with which they should be intrusted. As for himself, he went to Chalcis, upon pretence of having some affairs to transact; and there, as his orders were punctually obeyed by every one, he stopped the con-

¹ Polyb. l. v. p. 359, 360.

² Fifty thousand crowns.

³ Seventeen thousand crowns.

voys of money which were sent to the king; and thereby reduced him to such necessity, that he was forced to pawn his plate to subsist himself and his household.

Philip having put to sea, arrived the second day at Patre; and from thence having landed at Cephallenia, he laid siege to Paleis, a city which, from its situation, would be of great advantage to him, as a place of arms; and as enabling him to infest the territories of his enemies. He caused his military engines to be advanced, and mines to be run. One of the ways of making breaches was, to dig out the earth under the very foundation of the walls. When they were got to it, they propped and supported the walls with great wooden beams, to which the miners afterwards set fire, and then retired; when presently great part of the wall would fall down. As the Macedonians had worked with incredible ardour, they very soon made a breach more than thirty fathoms wide. Leontius was commanded to mount this breach with his troops. Had he exerted himself ever so little, the city would certainly have been taken; but he attacked the enemy very faintly, so that he was repulsed, lost a great number of his men, and Philip was obliged to raise the siege.

The moment he began it, the enemy had sent Lycurgus with some troops into Messenia, and Dorinachus with half of the army into Thessaly, to oblige Philip, by this double diversion, to lay aside his enterprise. Deputies had arrived soon after from the Acarnanians and Messenians. Philip, having raised the siege, assembled his council, to debate on which side he should turn his arms. The Messenians represented, that in one day the forces might march from Cephallenia into their country, and at once overpower Lycurgus, who did not expect to be so suddenly attacked. Leontius enforced this advice very strongly. His secret reason was, that as it would be impossible for Philip to return, as the winds would be directly contrary at that time, he therefore would be forced to stay there, by which means the campaign would be spent and nothing done. The Acarnanians on the contrary, urged him to march directly into Ætolia, which was then unprovided with troops: declaring that the whole country might be laid waste without the least resistance; and that Dorinachus would be prevented from making an irruption into Macedonia. Aratus did not fail to declare in favour of the latter opinion; and the king, who from the time of the cowardly attack at Paleis, had begun to suspect Leontius, acquiesced in the advice of Aratus.

Having provided for the urgent necessities of the Messenians, he went from Cephallenia, arrived the second day at Leucadia, from thence entered the gulf of Ambracia, and came a little before day-break to Limnea. Immediately he commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment, to rid themselves of the greatest part of their baggage, and be ready for marching. In the afternoon, Philip, having left the baggage under a strong guard, set out from Limnea; and after a march of about sixty furlongs, he halted, to give his army some time for refreshment and rest. He then marched all night, and arrived at day-break at the river Achelous, intending to fall suddenly and unexpectedly upon Thermæ. Leontius advised the king to halt for some time, giving for his reason, that as the soldiers had been fatigued with the length of their march, it would be proper for them to take breath; but, in reality, to give the Ætoliens time to prepare for their defence. Aratus, on the contrary, knowing that opportunity is swift-winged, and that Leontius's advice was manifestly traitorous, conjured Philip to seize the favourable moment, and set out on his march that instant.

The king, who was already offended at Leontius, and began to suspect him, set out immediately, crosses the Achelous, and marches directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almost impervious road out between very steep rocks. This was the capital city of the country, in which the Ætoliens every year held their fairs and solemn assemblies, as well for the worship of the gods, as for the election of magis-

trates. As this city was thought impregnable, because of the advantage of its situation, and that no enemy had ever dared to approach it; the Ætoliens used to leave their richest effects and all their wealth there, imagining they were very safe. But how great was their surprise, when, at the close of the day, they saw Philip enter it with his army!

After having taken immense spoils in the night, the Macedonians pitched their camp. The next morning it was resolved that the most valuable effects should be carried away; and having piled up the rest of the booty at the head of the camp, they set fire to it. They did the same with regard to the arms which hung on the galleries of the temple; the best were laid by for service, and the remainder, amounting to upwards of 15,000, were burned to ashes. Hitherto every thing which had been transacted was just, and agreeable to the laws of war.

But the Macedonians did not stop here. Transported with fury at the remembrance of the wild havoc which the Ætoliens had made in Dium and Dodona, they set fire to the galleries of the temple, tore down all the offerings which hung on them, among which were some of exceeding beauty and prodigious value. Not satisfied with burning the roofs, they razed the temple. The statues, of which there were at least 2000, were thrown down. A great number of them were broken to pieces; and those only spared which were known, by their form or inscriptions, to represent gods. They wrote the following verse on the walls:

Remember Dium: Dium sends you this.

The horror with which the sacrileges committed by the Ætoliens at Dium had inspired Philip and his allies, without doubt convinced them that they might revenge it by the commission of the like crimes; and that they were then making just reprisals. However, says Polybius, the reader will allow me to think otherwise. To support his opinion, he cites three great examples, taken from the very family of the prince whose conduct he here censures. Antigonus, after having defeated Cleomenes, king of the Lacedæmonians, and possessed himself of Sparta, so far from extending his rage to the temples and sacred things, did not even make those he had conquered feel the effects of it; on the contrary, he restored to them the form of government which they had received from their ancestors, and treated them with the highest testimonies of kindness and friendship. Philip, to whom the royal family owed all its splendour, and who defeated the Athenians at Charonea, made them sensible of his power and victory by no other marks than his beneficence; restoring their prisoners without ransom; himself taking care of the dead, ordering Antipater to convey their bodies to Athens, and giving clothes to such of the prisoners as were most in want of them. And lastly, Alexander the Great, in the height of his fury against Thebes, which he razed to the ground, so far from being forgetful of the veneration due to the gods, took care not to suffer his soldiers (even through imprudence) to do the least injury to the temples and other sacred places; and, what is still more worthy our admiration, in his war with the Persians, who had plundered and burned most of the temples in Greece, Alexander spared and revered all places dedicated to the worship of the gods.

It were to be wished, continues Polybius, that Philip, mindful of the examples his ancestors set him, had strove to show that he had succeeded rather to their moderation and magnanimity, than to their empire and power. The laws of war, indeed, frequently oblige a conqueror to demolish towns and citadels; to fill up harbours, to capture men and ships, to carry off the fruits of the earth, and things of a like nature, in order to lessen the strength of the enemy and increase his own: but to destroy what neither can do him any prejudice, nor will contribute to the defeat of the enemy; to burn temples, to break statues, and similar ornaments of a city, in pieces; certainly nothing but the wildest and most extravagant fury can be capable of such violence. It is not merely to ruin and destroy those who have

1 An island in the Ionian sea.

done us injury, that we ought to declare war, in case we desire to be thought just and equitable; but only to oblige such people to acknowledge and make amends for their faults. The true end of war is not to involve in the same ruin the innocent and the guilty, but rather to save both. These are the sentiments of a soldier and a heathen.

Though Philip, on this occasion, showed no great regard for religion, he acted like an excellent captain. His view in putting to sea, was to go and surprise the city of Thermæ, taking advantage of the absence of part of the Ætolian forces. To conceal his design, he took so large a compass, as left the enemy in doubt with regard to the place he intended to attack; and prevented their seizing some passes of the mountains and defiles in which he might have been stopped short. Some rivers were to be passed; it was necessary for him to make the utmost haste, and turn short upon Ætolia by a swift countermarch. This Philip does without listening to the advice of traitors. To lighten his army, he leaves his baggage. He goes through the defiles without meeting the least obstacle, and enters Thermæ, as if he had dropped from the skies; so well had he concealed and hastened his march, of which the enemy do not seem to have had the least suspicion.

His retreat was full as extraordinary. To secure it he had seized upon several important posts; expecting that at his coming down, his rear guard particularly would be attacked. It was accordingly charged at two different times; however, the prudent precautions he had taken entirely baffled all the efforts of the enemy.

An enterprise so well concerted, so secretly carried on, and executed with so much wisdom and despatch, surpasses the abilities of so young a prince as Philip; and seems to characterize a veteran warrior, long exercised in all the arts and stratagems of war. We can scarce doubt (and Polybius seems to insinuate it evidently enough) that Aratus, as he had been the first contriver of so noble a project, was also the soul, as it were, and chief agent in it afterwards. I have already observed, that his talents lay more in conducting a warlike stratagem, in forming extraordinary enterprises, and giving success to them by his bold counsels, than in executing them himself. How happy is it for a young prince to possess a general of this character; prudent, able, versed by long experience, and habituated to all the parts of the art of war; to be able to appreciate the worth of these qualities; to be perfectly sensible of their high value; to be docile to his advice, though frequently contrary to his own taste and opinion; and to let himself be guided by such wise counsels! After the happy success of an action, the person whose advice directed it vanishes, and all the glory of it reflected upon the monarch. Plutarch,¹ who enforces what I have now said, thinks it equally glorious to Philip for suffering himself to be guided by such good counsels, and to Aratus for having ability to suggest them.

When Philip, who had marched back the same way he came, was arrived at Limnæa, finding himself in repose and security, he offered sacrifices to the gods, by way of thanksgiving for the success they had given to his arms; and made a splendid banquet for his officers, who were as strongly affected as himself with the glory he had acquired. Leontius and Megaleas were the only persons who heartily repined at the good fortune of their sovereign. Every one soon perceived that they did not share with the rest of the company in the joy which so successful an expedition must naturally create. During the whole entertainment, they vented their animosity against Aratus in the most insulting and most shocking raileries. But words were not all; for at their rising from the banquet, heated with the fumes of wine and fired with anger, they threw stones at him all the way, till he was got into his tent. The whole army was in an uproar; and the noise reaching the king, he caused an exact inquiry to be made into the affair; laid a fine of twenty talents² on Megaleas, and threw

him into prison. Leontius, hearing of what had happened, ran with a crowd of soldiers to the king's tent; persuaded that the young prince would be frightened at seeing so great a body of men, and for that reason be prompted to change his resolution. Being come into the king's presence, "Who has been so bold," says he, "as to lay hands on Megaleas and throw him into prison?" "I" answered the king, in a lofty tone. This terrified Leontius; so that, after venting a deep sigh, he left the king's tent in a rage. Some days after he gave security for the fine laid on Megaleas, who was then set at liberty.

During Philip's expedition against Ætolia, Lycurgus, the Spartan king, had engaged in an enterprise against the Messenians, but it proved abortive. Dorimachus, who had led a considerable body of Ætolians into Thessaly, with an intention to lay waste the country, and to oblige Philip to raise the siege of Paleis, in order to go and succour his allies, found troops there ready prepared to give him a warm reception. He did not venture to attack them. The news of Philip's inroad into Ætolia, forced him to hasten thither to defend his own country. But though he made the utmost expedition, he arrived too late; the Macedonians having already quitted it.

Philip marched his army with almost incredible diligence. Having left Leucadia with his fleet, and being arrived at Corinth, he laid up his ships in the harbour of Lecheum, landed his troops, began his march, and, passing through Argos, arrived on the twelfth day at Tegea, which he had fixed for the rendezvous of his allies. The Spartans having heard from public report what had passed at Thermæ, were truly alarmed when they saw that young victor in their territories, where he was not expected so suddenly. Some actions took place between the two armies, in which Philip had always the advantage; but I shall omit the particulars, to avoid prolixity. Philip displayed, on all occasions, a bravery and prudence far above his years; and this expedition did him no less honour than that of Ætolia. After laying waste the whole country, and taking abundance of spoils, he returned by the way of Argos to Corinth.

Here he found ambassadors from Rhodes and Chios, who came to offer him their mediation, and to incline both parties to peace. The king dissembling his real intentions, told them that he had always wished, and did still wish, to be at peace with the Ætolians; and therefore charged them, at their going away, to dispose them to it. He afterwards landed at Lecheum, in order to go from thence to Phocis, where he intended to engage in some more important enterprise.

The factions formed by Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, who also was one of Philip's principal officers, having employed all the clandestine methods possible to remove and destroy all those who either opposed or were suspected by them; and seeing with grief, that those secret practices had not been as successful as they had flattered themselves, resolved to make themselves formidable even to their sovereign, by employing the authority they had over their forces, to draw off their affections from him, and to attach them to their own interest. The greatest part of the army had staid in Corinth; and they imagined, that the absence of the king gave them a favourable opportunity for executing their designs. They represented to the light-armed troops, and to the guards, that for the sake of the public welfare they exposed themselves to the greatest trials and dangers of war; that nevertheless justice had not been done them, nor the ancient law relating to the distribution of plunder been observed with regard to them. The young men fired by these seditious discourses, divide themselves into bands, plunder the houses of the principal courtiers, and carry their fury to that excess, as to force the gates of the king's palace, and break to pieces the tiles which covered it. Immediately a great tumult broke out in the city, of which Philip having notice, he left Lecheum in great haste. He then assembles the Macedonians in the theatre, where, in a speech intermixed with gentleness and

¹ Plot. in Arat. p. 1049.

² Twenty thousand crowns.

³ Polyb. l. v. p. 365—372.

severity, he makes them sensible of their fault. In the trouble and confusion which reigned at that time, some declared that it would be necessary to seize and punish the promoters of this insurrection; and others, that it would be more prudent to appease them by gentle methods, and forget all that was past.

The king was still young; so that his authority was not entirely confirmed in the minds of the people and soldiery. Those who were against him enjoyed the highest posts in the kingdom; had governed it during his minority; had filled all employments with their creatures; had acquired a kind of unlimited power over all orders of the state; had the command of the forces, and during a long time had employed the most insinuating arts to gain their affection, and had divided the whole administration among themselves. In so delicate a conjuncture, he did not think it advisable to come to an open rupture, lest he should inflame the minds of the people, by employing chastisements at an unseasonable time. For this reason he stifled his resentment, pretending to be very well satisfied; and having exhorted his forces to union and peace, he went back to Lecheum. But after this insurrection, it was not easy for him to execute in Phocis the schemes he had projected.

Leontius having now lost all hopes, after so many fruitless attempts, had recourse to Apelles. He sent courier upon courier to give him notice of the danger he was in, and to urge his presence immediately. That minister, during his stay in Chalcis, had disposed of all things in the most despotic manner, and by that means was universally odious. According to him, the king, being still young, had no manner of power, but obeyed implicitly the dictates of his (Apelles's) will. He arrogated to himself the management of all affairs, as having full power to act in every thing as he should think fit. The magistrates of Macedonia and Thessaly, and the officers who enjoyed any employment, made their reports to him alone. In all the cities of Greece, scarce the least mention was made of the king: for whether any resolutions were to be taken, affairs to be regulated, judgments passed, honours to be bestowed, or favours to be granted, Apelles engrossed and transacted all things.

Philip had long before been apprized of this conduct of Apelles, which gave him very great uneasiness. Aratus was frequently urgent with him to exert himself on this occasion, and endeavoured to make him throw off his irresolution and servitude: but the king concealed his thoughts, and did not discover his resolutions to any body. Apelles, not knowing how the king was disposed towards him, but persuaded, on the contrary, that the instant he appeared before his sovereign he would not fail of taking his opinion in all things, hastened from Chalcis to the support of Leontius.

When he arrived in Corinth, Ptolemy, and Megaleas, who commanded the flower of the troops, engaged all the young men to go and meet him. Apelles, thus received with pomp and splendour, and attended by a large body of officers and soldiers, advances directly to the king's palace, which he was going to enter as usual. However, the officer who attended at the gate (having been instructed before) stopped him short, and told him that his majesty was busy. Astonished at so uncommon a reception, which he nowise expected, he deliberated for some time how he ought to behave, and at last withdrew in the utmost confusion. Nothing is so transient and frail as a borrowed power, not supported by foundations or strength of its own. The shining train he had caused to follow him vanished in an instant; and he arrived at his own house followed only by his domestics: a lively image, says Polybius, of what happens in the courts of kings; and of the fate which the most powerful courtiers ought to dread. A few days suffice to show their most exalted state and fall. Like counters, which one moment are of the highest, and the next of the most incon-

siderable value, at the will of him who reckons with them: as princes please to extend or withdraw their favours, to-day they enjoy the greatest credit, and the next are reduced to the extremities of misery and universal disgrace. Megaleas, sensible of the storm he himself might expect, now the prime minister was disgraced, thought of nothing but how he might best secure himself by flight, and accordingly withdrew to Thebes, leaving Leontius bound for twenty talents, which he had engaged to see his accomplice pay.

The king, whether he was unwilling to drive Apelles to despair; or whether he did not think his power sufficiently established to exert it in an extraordinary manner; or from some remains of esteem and gratitude for his guardian and governor; still continued occasionally to converse with him, and left him some other honours of that kind; but he excluded him from the council, and from the number of those he used to invite to supper with him. On his arrival at Sicyon, the magistrates offered him a house; but he preferred that of Aratus, whom he never quitted, and spent whole days in his company. As for Apelles, he ordered him to retire to Corinth.

Having removed Leontius from his command of the guards, which were ordered to march elsewhere, upon pretence of their being employed upon some urgent occasion, he caused him to be thrown into prison; the pretended reason of which was, to oblige him to pay the twenty talents for which he had engaged for Megaleas; but in reality to secure his person and to sound the disposition of the troops. Leontius sent word of this to the infantry over which he had commanded, who that moment sent a petition to the king, importing, that if Leontius were charged with some new crime for which he deserved to be imprisoned, they insisted that nothing might be decreed against him but in their presence; that if he refused them that favour, they should look upon this refusal as a contempt, and a signal insult, (such was the liberty the Macedonians had the privilege of using with their king;) but that in case Leontius was imprisoned only for the twenty talents, they offered to pay that sum among them. This testimony of their affection did but inflame the king's anger, and hasten the death of Leontius.

During this interval, there arrived from Ætolia, ambassadors from Rhodes and Chios, after having prevailed with the Ætolians to consent to a thirty days' truce. They assured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to a peace. Philip accepted of the truce, and wrote to the allies, desiring them to send their plenipotentiaries to Paire, to negotiate a peace with the Ætolians. He himself set out immediately for that place from Lecheum, and arrived after two days' sail.

He then received letters, directed by Megaleas from Phocis to the Ætolians, in which that traitor exhorted the Ætolians not to entertain the least fear, but to continue the war; that Philip was in the utmost distress for want of ammunition and provisions; to which he added expressions highly injurious to the king. Philip, upon reading these letters, judging Apelles the chief author of them, seized both him and his son; at the same time he sent to Thebes, with orders for Megaleas to be proceeded against there; however, he did not stay for his trial, but laid violent hands on himself. A little after Apelles and his son were also put to death.

I do not know whether history can furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendancy which a favourite may gain over the mind of a young sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. Apelles had been Philip's guardian, and as such intrusted with the care of his education. He had been at the head of the council of regency established by the late king. This double title of guardian and governor had, on one side, inspired the young prince (as might naturally be expected) with sentiments of regard, esteem, respect, and confidence for Apelles; and, on the other, had made Apelles assume an air of authority and command over his pupil, which he never laid aside. Philip did not want genius, judgment, or penetration. When

* *Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama potentia non sua vi nixa.*—*Tacit. Annal. l. xiii. c. 19.*

he was arrived to more mature years, he perceived into what hands he had fallen, but at the same time shut his eyes to all his master's faults. He had discovered, more than once, the mean jealousy which Apelles entertained of conspicuous merit of every kind; and his declared hatred of all such of the king's subjects as were most capable of serving him. Proofs of his extortion and oppression were daily renewed, and the repeated complaints against them rendered the government odious and insupportable. However, all this made no impression, or but a very slight one, on the mind of the young king, over which the prime minister had gained such an influence, that he even stood in fear of him. The reader has seen how extremely difficult it was for the king to break this charm.

In the mean time,¹ the Ætolians wished earnestly that the peace might be concluded; and were quite weary of a war, in which all their expectations had been frustrated. They had flattered themselves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced king, and accordingly believed that they might amuse him as a child; but Philip, on the contrary, had proved to them, that in wisdom and resolution he was a man, and that they had behaved like children in all their enterprises. But having heard of the insurrection of the troops, and the conspiracy of Apelles and Leontius, they postponed the day on which they were to meet at Patre, in hopes that some sedition would break out at court, to perplex and embroil the king's affairs. Philip, who wished for nothing more ardently than to break off the conferences upon the peace, joyfully seized the opportunity with which the enemies themselves furnished him; and engaged the allies, who were come to the rendezvous, to continue the war. He then set sail on his return to Corinth. He gave the Macedonians leave to go by the way of Thessaly, to take up their winter quarters in their own country; then coasting Attica along the Euripus, he went from Cenchrea to Demetrias,² where he found Ptolemy, the only conspirator that survived; and caused sentence of death to be passed upon him in an assembly of Macedonians.

All these incidents happened at the time that Hannibal was encamped on the banks of the river Po in Italy; and Antiochus, after having subdued the greatest part of Cœle-syria, had sent his troops into winter quarters. It was then also that Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmonia, fled to Ætolia, in order to secure himself from the anger of the Ephori, who, on a false report that this king designed to embroil the state, had assembled in the night, and invested his house, in order to seize his person. But Lycurgus, having some notion of this, fled with his whole family. However, he was recalled a little after, as soon as it was known that the suspicions raised against him were all groundless. It being now winter, Philip returned to Macedonia.

Eperatus was by this time universally despised by the Achæans; nobody obeyed his orders; and the country being open and defenceless, dreadful havoc was made in it. The cities being abandoned, and receiving no succours, were reduced to the last extremity, and consequently could scarce furnish their quota. The auxiliary troops, the payment of whose arrears was put off from day to day, served as they were paid, and great numbers of them deserted. All this was owing to the incapacity of the general; and the reader has seen in what manner he was elected. Happily for the Achæans, the time of his command was almost expired. He quitted it in the beginning of the spring; and the elder Aratus was appointed to succeed him.

Philip,³ in his journey to Macedonia, had taken Byzanzora, the greatest city in Peonia, and the most advantageously situated for making incursions from Dardania into Macedonia; so that having possessed himself of it, he had very little to fear from the Dardani-ans.

After taking that city, he marched again towards

Greece. He judged it would be proper to lay siege to Thebes of A. M. 3787. Phthiotis, from whence the Æto- Ant. J. C. 217. lians used to make continual inroads, and at the same time commit great waste in the territories of Demetrias, Pharsalus, and even Larissa. The attack was carried on with great bravery, and the defence was equally vigorous; but at last, the besieged, fearing they should be taken by storm, surrendered the city. By this conquest Philip secured Magnesia and Thessaly, and carried off a great booty from the Ætolians.

Here ambassadors came again to him from Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium, and also from Ptolemy, to propose the concluding of a peace. Philip made the same answer as before, that it was what he very much desired; and that they had only to inquire of the Ætolians, whether they also were inclined to it. Philip, in reality, was not very desirous of peace, but he did not care to declare himself.

He afterwards set out with his favourites, for the Nemean games at Argos. Whilst he was viewing one of the combats, a courier arrived from Macedonia, with advice that the Romans had lost a great battle in Tuscany, near the lake Thrasymenus, and that Hannibal was master of the open country. The king showed this letter to none but Demetrias of Pharos, giving him strict charge not to speak of it. The latter took this opportunity to represent to him, that he ought to disengage himself as soon as possible from the Ætolian war, in order to invade Illyria, and afterwards cross into Italy. He added, that Greece, already subjected in all respects, would obey him no less afterwards; that the Achæans had joined voluntarily, and with the utmost cheerfulness, in his cause; that the Ætolians, quite depressed and discouraged by their ill success in the present war, would not fail to follow their example; that if he was desirous of making himself master of the world, a noble ambition, which suited no prince better than himself, he must begin by conquering Italy; that after the defeat of the Romans, the news of which he had then received, the time was come for executing so noble a project, and that he ought not to delay a moment. Such counsel could not but charm a king in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising, and who besides was sprung from a family which had always flattered itself with the hopes of universal empire.

Nevertheless, as he was master of his temper, and governed his thoughts in such a manner as to discover only such of them as suited his interest, (a very rare and valuable quality in so young a prince,) he did not express too great an inclination for peace, though he now earnestly desired it. He therefore only caused the allied states to be told to send their plenipotentiaries to Naupactum, in order to negotiate a peace: and at the earnest desire of the Ætolians, he soon arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, at the head of his troops. All parties were so weary of the war, that there was no occasion for long conferences. The first article which the king caused to be proposed to the Ætolians, by the ambassadors of the confederate powers, was, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests: and to this they assented. The rest of the articles were soon agreed upon; so that the treaty was ratified, and all retired to their respective countries. This peace concluded by Philip and the Achæans with the Ætolians; the battle lost by the Romans near the lake Thrasymenus; and the defeat of Antiochus near Raphia; all these events happened in the third year of the 140th Olympiad.

In the first separate conference held in the presence of the king A. M. 3787. and the ambassadors of the confederate powers, Agelas of Naupactum, who was one of them, enforced his opinion by arguments that deserve a place here, and which Polybius has thought worthy of being related at length in his history. He said that it were to be wished, that the Greeks would never make war upon one another; that it would be a great blessing from the gods, if, breathing only the same sentiments, they

¹ Polyb. l. v. p. 376, 377.

² A maritime city of Thessaly.

³ Polyb. l. v. p. 435.

should all in a manner join hand in hand, and unite their whole force, to secure them from the insults of the Barbarians. But if this was not possible, that at least, in the present juncture, they ought to unite together, and watch over the preservation of all Greece: that, to be sensible of the necessity of such a union, they need but turn their eyes to the formidable armies of the two powerful states actually engaged in war: that it was evident to every one, who was ever so little versed in the maxims of policy, that the conquerors, whether Carthaginians or Romans, would not confine themselves to the empire of Italy and Sicily; but would doubtless extend their projects much farther: that all the Greeks in general, and especially Philip, ought to keep a strict eye on the dangers with which they were threatened: that this prince would have nothing to fear, if, instead of attempting to ruin the Greeks, and to give the enemy an easier opportunity of defeating them, as he had hitherto done, he would labour as much for their welfare as his own, and exert himself as vigorously in the defence of all Greece, as if it was his own kingdom: that by this means he would acquire the love and affection of the Greeks, who on their part would be inviolably attached to him in all his enterprises; and, by their fidelity to him, disconcert all the projects which foreigners might form against his kingdom: that if, instead of barely acting upon the defensive, he were desirous of taking the field, and executing some great enterprise; he need but turn his arms towards the west, and keep an eye on the events of the war in Italy: that, provided he would only put himself into a condition for seizing successfully the first opportunity that should present itself, every thing seemed to smoothe the way for universal empire: that, in case he had any difference with the Greeks, he should leave the decision of it to another season: that he ought especially to be careful to preserve to himself the liberty of making war or peace with them, whenever he might think proper: that in case he should suffer the storm which was gathering in the west to burst upon Greece, it was very much to be feared, that it would then be no longer in their power to take up arms, to treat of peace, nor to determine their affairs in a manner agreeable to themselves, or as they might judge most expedient.

Nothing can be more judicious than this speech, which is a clear prediction of what was to happen afterwards to Greece, of which the Romans will soon render themselves absolute masters. This is the first time that the affairs of Italy and Africa influence those of Greece, and direct their motions. After this, neither Philip nor the other powers of Greece regulated their conduct, when they were to make peace or war, by the state of their respective countries, but directed all their views and attention towards Italy. The Asiatics, and the inhabitants of the islands, did the same soon after. All those who, from that time, had reasons to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Philip or Attalus, no longer addressed Antiochus or Ptolemy for protection: they no longer turned their eyes to the south or east, but fixed them upon the west. Sometimes ambassadors were sent to the Carthaginians, and other times to the Romans. Some also came to Philip, at different intervals, from the Romans, who, knowing the enterprising genius of that prince, were afraid he should come and add to the confusion and perplexity of their affairs: which is what the sequel of this history will now show us.

SECTION IV.—PHILIP CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH HANNIBAL. THE ROMANS GAIN A CONSIDERABLE VICTORY OVER HIM AT APOLLONIA. HE CHANGES HIS CONDUCT. HIS BREACH OF FAITH AND IRREGULARITIES: HE CAUSES ARATUS TO BE POISONED. THE ÆTOLIANS CONCLUDE AN ALLIANCE WITH THE ROMANS. ATTALUS, KING OF PERGAMUS, AND THE LACEDÆMONIANS, ACCEDE TO IT. MACHANIDAS USURPS A TERANNICAL POWER AT SPARTA. VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF PHILIP AND SULPITIUS THE ROMAN PRÆTOR, IN ONE OF WHICH PHILOPÆMEN SIGNALIZES HIMSELF.

THE war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, who were the two greatest powers at that time, drew the attention of all the kings and nations of the earth. Philip, king of Macedon, imagined that he was particularly interested, as his dominions were separated from Italy only by the Adriatic sea, now called the Gulf of Venice. When he heard, by the rumours which were spread, that Hannibal had marched over the Alps, he was indeed very well pleased to see the Romans and Carthaginians at war; but, as the event was doubtful, he did not yet perceive clearly which of those powers it would be his interest to join. But after Hannibal had gained three victories A. M. 3783. successively, all his doubts were Ant. J. C. 216. removed, and he hesitated no longer. He sent ambassadors to that general, but unhappily they fell into the hands of the Romans. They were carried to Valerius Levinus the prætor, who was then encamped near Luceria. The principal of the ambassadors, Xenophanes by name, without being in the least disconcerted, answered with a resolute tone of voice, that he had been despatched by Philip to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans; and that he had orders to execute with the consuls, as well as with the senate and people of Rome. Levinus, overjoyed to find, at a time when the defection of their ancient allies had become so general, so powerful a monarch desirous of making an alliance with the Romans, treated the ambassadors with all possible respect, and gave them an escort for their safety. Being arrived at Campania, they escaped, and fled to Hannibal's camp, where they concluded a treaty, the purport of which was as follows: "That king Philip should cross into Italy with a fleet of 200 sail, and lay waste the sea-coast; and should assist the Carthaginians with his forces both by sea and land: that the latter, at the conclusion of the war, should possess all Italy and Rome; and that Hannibal should have all the spoils: that after the conquest of Italy, they should cross into Greece, and there make war against any power the king should nominate; and that both the cities of the continent, and the islands lying towards Macedonia, should be enjoyed by Philip, and annexed to his dominions." Hannibal, on the other side, sent ambassadors to Philip for his ratification of this treaty; and they set out with those of Macedonia. I observed elsewhere, that in this treaty, the whole of which is preserved by Polybius,² express mention is made of a great number of deities of the two nations, as present at this treaty, and witnesses to the oaths with which the ceremony was attended. Polybius omits a great number of particulars, which, according to Livy, were stipulated by this treaty.

The ambassadors, who set out together, were unhappily discovered and intercepted by the Romans. Xenophanes's lie would not do him the same service as before. The Carthaginians were known by their air, their dress, and still more by their language. Upon them were found letters from Hannibal to Philip, and a copy of the treaty. The ambassadors were carried to Rome. In the condition in which the affairs of the Romans (attacked so vigorously by Hannibal) then were, the discovery of a new enemy, so powerful as Philip, must necessarily alarm them prodigiously. But it is on such occasions that the Roman grandeur was chiefly conspicuous. For, without expressing the least perplexity or discouragement, they took all the measures necessary for carrying on this new war. Philip, informed of what had befallen his ambassadors, sent a second embassy to Hannibal, which was more successful than the former, and brought back the treaty. But these disappointments prevented their forming any enterprise that year, and still kept matters in suspense.

Philip was now wholly employed on his great design of carrying the war into Italy.³ Demetrius of Pharos being with him, was continually urging him to that enterprise; not so much out of zeal for the

¹ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 33, 34, and 38.

² Polyb. l. vii. 502—507.

³ Ibid. l. v. p. 439, and 445—447.

interest of that prince, as out of hatred to the Romans, who had dispossessed him of his territories, which he thought it would be impossible for him to recover by any other means. It was by his counsel that he had concluded a peace with most of his enemies, in order that he might devote his whole care and attention to this war, the thoughts of which haunted him day and night; so that even in his dreams he spoke of nothing but of war and battles with the Romans; and frequently would start from his sleep, in the highest agitation of mind, and covered with sweat. This prince, who was still young, was naturally lively and ardent in all his enterprises. The success of his arms, the hopes Demetrius gave him, and the remembrance of the great actions of his predecessors, kindled an ardour in him, which increased daily.

During the winter season,¹ he thought of fitting out a fleet; not with the view of venturing a battle with the Romans, for this he was not in a condition to do; but to transport his forces into Italy with the greater expedition, and by that means surprise the enemy when they should least expect it. Accordingly he made the Illyrians build 100 or 120 vessels for him; and after having exercised his Macedonians for some time in naval discipline, he put to sea. He first seized upon the city of Oricum, situated on the western coast of Epirus. Valerius, commander of the fleet that lay before Brundisium, having advice of it, weighed anchor immediately with all the ships in readiness for sailing; retook, the next day, Oricum, in which Philip had left but a slender garrison, and sent a large reinforcement to the aid of Apollonia, to which Philip had laid siege. Nevius, an able and experienced officer, who commanded this reinforcement, having landed his troops at the mouth of the river Aous, upon which Apollonia stands, marched through a by-way; and entered the city in the night, unperceived by the enemy. The Macedonians, imagining they were very secure, because the sea lay between them and the enemy, had neglected all the precautions which the rules of war prescribe, and the exactness of military discipline requires. Nevius, being informed of this, marched silently out of the city in the night, and arrived in the camp, where he found all the soldiers asleep. And now the cries of those who were first attacked awakening the rest, they all endeavoured to save themselves by flight. The king himself, who was but half awake and almost naked, found it very difficult for him to escape to his ships. The soldiers crowded after him, and 3000 of them were either killed or taken prisoners. Valerius, who stayed at Oricum, the instant he heard this news, had sent his fleet towards the mouth of the river, to shut up Philip. This prince finding it impossible for him to advance forward, after setting fire to his ships, returned by land to Macedonia; carrying with him the sorrowful remains of his troops, who seemed more like prisoners disarmed and plundered, than the body of an army.

For some time, Philip,² who till then had been admired for many of those qualities which formed the great prince, had begun to change his conduct and character; and this change was ascribed to the evil counsels of those about him, who, to please him, were perpetually lavishing their encomiums on him, fomenting all his passions, and suggesting to him, that the grandeur of a king consisted in reigning with unlimited power, and in making his subjects pay a blind implicit obedience to his will. Instead of the gentleness, moderation, and wisdom, he till then had displayed, he treated cities and states not only with pride and haughtiness, but with cruelty and injustice; and having no longer, as formerly, his fame in view, he abandoned himself entirely to riot and excesses of every kind; the too common effects of flattery, whose subtle poison generally corrupts the best princes, and sooner or later destroys the great hopes which had been entertained of them.

One would have imagined that the defeat before Apollonia, in covering him with shame, would have

abated his pride, and softened his temper. But this only soured it; and one would have concluded, that this prince was resolved to revenge on his subjects and allies the affront he had received from his enemies.

Being arrived in Peloponnesus, a little after his defeat, he used every effort to overreach and surprise the Messenians. But his artifices being discovered, he pulled off the mask, and laid waste the whole country. Aratus, who was a man of the greatest honour and probity, was exceedingly shocked at so flagrant an injustice, and made loud complaints against it. He had before begun to retire insensibly from court; but now he thought it high time to break entirely with a prince, who no longer valued his people, and kept no terms even with himself: for he was not ignorant of his connection with his daughter-in-law (a subject of the greatest grief to him) which, however, he had not once hinted to his son; from the consideration, that it would not be of service to him to inform him of his ignominy, as it was not in his power to revenge it.

As it was impossible but that this rupture must make some noise, Philip, whom the greatest crimes now cost nothing, resolved to rid himself of a troublesome censor, whose very absence reproached him with all his irregularities. Aratus's great reputation, and the respect paid to his virtue, would not suffer Philip to employ open force and violence; and therefore he charged Taurion, one of his confidants, to despatch him secretly during his absence. His horrid command was obeyed; for Taurion having insinuated himself into Aratus's familiarity and friendship, invited him several times to dinner, and at one of these entertainments poisoned him; not with a violent and immediate poison, but with one of those which lights up a slow fire in the body, consumes it by insensible degrees, and is the more dangerous, as it gives less notice.

Aratus knew very well the cause of his illness; but as complaints would not be of any service to him, he bore it patiently, without once murmuring, as a common and natural disease. One day only, happening to spit blood before a friend who was in the room with him, and seeing that his friend was surprised, he said, "Behold, my dear Cephalon, the fruits of royal friendship." He died in this manner at Ægium, being then captain-general for the seventeenth time.

The Achæans desired to have him buried in the place where he died, and were preparing such a magnificent mausoleum to his memory as might be suited to the glory of his life, and worthy of his great services. But the Sicyonians obtained that honour for their city, where Aratus was born; and changing their mourning to festivity, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and clothed in white robes, they went and fetched the corpse from Ægium, and carried it in pomp to Sicyon, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in honour of the deceased. They made choice of the highest part of the city, where they buried him as the founder and preserver of it, which place was afterwards called *Aratium*. In Plutarch's time, that is, about 300 years after, two solemn sacrifices were offered him annually: the first on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, which sacrifice was called *Soteria*; and the other on his birth-day. During the sacrifice, choirs of music sung odes to the lyre; and the chief chorister, at the head of the young men and children, walked in procession round the altar. The senate, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and a great part of the inhabitants, followed this procession.

It must be owned that Aratus was one of the greatest men of his time, and may be considered, in some measure, as the founder of the Achæan republic; it was he at least who brought it to the form and splendour it preserved so long afterwards, and by which it became one of the most powerful states of Greece. However, he committed a considerable error, in calling in to the assistance of that commonwealth the kings of Macedonia, who made themselves masters and tyrants of it; and this, as we have before observed, was an effect of his jealousy of Cleomenes king of Sparta.

¹ Liv. l. xxiv. n. 40.

² Plut. in Arat. p. 1049—1052. Polyb. l. viii. p. 518, 519.

But he was fully punished for it, by the manner in which Philip treated him. Aratus his son met with a still more deplorable fate: for that prince being become completely wicked, says Plutarch, and who affected to add outrage to cruelty, got rid of him, not by mortal poisons, but by those which destroy reason, and craze the brain; and by that means made him commit such abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal infamy on him, had they been done voluntarily, and when he was in his senses: inasmuch that, though he was at that time very young, and in the bloom of life, his death was considered, not as a misfortune with regard to himself, but as the remedy and period of his miseries.

About this time Philip engaged in an expedition against the Illyrians, which was attended with success.¹ He had long desired to possess himself of Lissus; but believed it would be impossible for him ever to take the castle, which was so happily situated and so strongly fortified that it was thought impregnable. Finding that force would not prevail, he had recourse to stratagem. The city was separated from the castle by a little valley; in that he observed a spot covered with trees, and very fit to conceal an ambuscade. Here, during the night, he posted the flower of his troops. The next day he assaulted another part of the city. The inhabitants, who were very numerous, defended themselves with great bravery; and, for some time, the success was equal on both sides. At last they made a furious sally and charged the besiegers with great vigour. The garrison of the castle, seeing Philip retire, imagined that his defeat was certain; and being desirous of sharing in the plunder, most of them came out, and joined the inhabitants. In the mean time, the soldiers who lay in ambuscade attacked the castle, and carried it without great resistance. And now, the signal agreed upon being made, the fugitives faced about and pursued the inhabitants as far as the city, which surrendered a few days after.

M. Valerius Levinus,² as prætor,

A. M. 3793. had been allotted Greece and Macedonia for his province. He was

very sensible that, in order to lessen the forces of Philip, it would be absolutely necessary to detach some of his allies (of whom the Ætolians were the most powerful) from his interest. He therefore began by sounding, in private conferences, the disposition of the chief men among the people; and after having brought them over to his views, he went to the general assembly. There, after expatiating on the flourishing state of the Romans, and proving it by their taking of Syracuse in Sicily and Capua in Italy, he extolled the great generosity with which the Romans behaved towards their allies, and their constant fidelity. He added, that the Ætolians might expect to meet with so much the better treatment from the Romans, as they would be the first people in that part of the world who would have concluded an alliance with them: that Philip and the Macedonians were dangerous neighbours, whose power would, in all probability, be of the most fatal consequence to them: that the Romans had already humbled their pride, and would oblige them, not only to restore such fortresses as they had taken from the Ætolians, but even give them cause to fear for their own territories: that with regard to the Acarnanians, who had broke with the Ætolians, the Romans would force them to return to their alliance, on the same conditions which had been prescribed to them when they were admitted into it; or, in case of their refusal, would make them submit to the Ætolians by force of arms.

Scopas, who was at that time chief magistrate of the Ætolian state; and Dorimachus, who, of all the citizens, had the greatest credit and authority; strongly enforced the arguments and promises of the prætor, and laid still greater stress upon the grandeur and power of the Romans, because they were not obliged to speak as modestly on those topics as Valerius Levinus, and the people would be more in-

clined to believe them than a foreigner, who spoke for the interests of his country. The circumstance which affected them most was, the hopes of their possessing themselves of Acarnania. Accordingly, the treaty was concluded between the Romans and the Ætolians. The people of Elis, of Lacedæmonia, Attalus king of Pergamus, Pleuratus king of Thræce, and Scerdilædes of Illyria, were left at liberty to accede to this treaty on the same conditions, if they thought proper. The conditions were, "That the Ætolians should declare war as soon as possible against Philip: that the Romans should furnish them, at least, with twenty-five galleys of five benches of oars; that such cities as should be taken from Ætolia, as far as the island of Corcyra,³ should be possessed by the Ætolians, and all the spoils and captives by the Romans: that the Romans should aid the Ætolians in making themselves masters of Acarnania: that the Ætolians should not be allowed to conclude a peace with Philip, but upon condition that he should be obliged to withdraw his troops out of the territories of the Romans, and those of her allies; nor the Romans with Philip, but on the same terms. Immediately hostilities commenced. Philip was dispossessed of some cities, after which Levinus retired to Corcyra; fully persuaded that the king had so much business, and so many enemies, upon his hands, that he would have no time to think of Italy or Hannibal.

Philip was now in winter quarters at Pella, when advice was brought him of the treaty of the Ætolians. To be the sooner able to march out against them, he endeavoured to settle the affairs of Macedonia, and to secure it from any invasions of its neighbours. Scopas, on the other side, made preparations for carrying on the war against the Acarnanians, who, though they saw it would be absolutely impossible for them to oppose, at one and the same time, two such powerful states as the Ætolians and Romans, yet took up arms out of despair, rather than from prudential motives, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. Accordingly, having sent into Epirus, which lay very near them, their wives, children, and the old men who were upwards of sixty; all those who remained, from the age of fifteen to threescore, engaged themselves by oath never to return except victorious; denounced the most dreadful imprecations against such among them as should break their oath; and only desired the Epirots to bury, in the same grave, all who should fall in the battle, with the following inscription over them: HERE LIE THE ACARNANIANS, WHO DIED FIGHTING FOR THEIR COUNTRY, AGAINST THE VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE OF THE ÆTOLIANS. Full of courage, they set out directly, and advanced to meet the enemy to the very frontiers of their country. Such resolution terrified the Ætolians, who had received advice that Philip was already upon his march to aid his allies. Upon this they returned home, and Philip did the same.

In the very beginning of the spring, Levinus besieged Anticyra,⁴ which surrendered a little after. He gave this city to the Ætolians, keeping only the plunder for himself. Here news was brought him, that he had been nominated consul in his absence, and that P. Sulpitius was coming to succeed him as prætor.

In the treaty concluded between the Romans and Ætolians,⁵ several other powers had been invited to accede to it; and we find that Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdilædes, accepted of the invitation. The Ætolians exhorted the Spartans to imitate those princes. Chlenas, their deputy, represented in the strongest terms to the Lacedæmonians all the evils which the Macedonians had brought upon them; the design they had always harboured, and still entertained, of enslaving all Greece; particularly the sacrilegious impiety of Philip, in plundering a temple in the city of Thermæ; and his horrid treachery and cruelty to the Messenians. He added, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Achæans,

¹ Polyb. l. viii. p. 519—521.

² Liv. l. xxvi. n. 24—26.

³ Corfu.

⁴ A city of Achaia in Phocis.

⁵ Polyb. l. ix. p. 561—571.

who, after all the losses they had sustained in the last campaign, would think it a great happiness to be able to defend their own country; that with respect to Philip, when he should find the Ætolians invade him by land, and the Romans and Attalus by sea, he would not think of carrying his arms into Greece. He concluded with desiring the Lacedæmonians to persist in their alliance with Ætolia, or at least to stand neuter.

Lyciscus, the representative of the Acarnanians, spoke next, and declared immediately in favour of the Macedonians. He expatiated on the service which Philip, and afterwards Alexander the Great, had done Greece, by invading and ruining the Persians, its most ancient and most cruel enemies. He put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the gentleness and clemency with which Antigonus had treated them, when he took Sparta. He insisted upon the ignominy as well as danger of suffering barbarians, for so he called the Romans, to enter Greece. He said, that it was worthy of the Spartan wisdom, to foresee from far the storm already gathering in the West; and which would certainly break, first upon Macedonian, and afterwards upon all Greece, which it would involve in ruin. "From what motive did your ancestors," continued he, "throw into a well the man who came in Xerxes's name, to invite them to submit themselves to, and join with, that monarch? Wherefore did Leonidas your king, with his 300 Spartans, brave and defy death? Was it not merely to defend the common liberties of Greece? And now you are advised to give them up to other barbarians, who, the more moderate they appear, are so much the more dangerous. Let the Ætolians," says he, "if they please, dishonour themselves by so shameful a prevarication: this, indeed, would be natural for them to do, as they are utter strangers to glory, and affected with nothing but sordid views of interest. But as to you, O Spartans, who are born defenders of the liberty and honour of Greece, you will sustain that glorious title to the end."

The fragment of Polybius, where these two speeches are reported, goes no farther, and does not inform us what was the result of them. However, the sequel of the history shows, that Sparta joined with the Ætolians, and entered into the general treaty. It was at that time divided into two factions, whose intrigues and disputes, being carried to the utmost height, occasioned great disturbances in the city. One faction was zealous for Philip, and the other declared openly against him: the latter prevailed. We find it was headed by Machanidas, who, taking advantage of the feuds which infested the commonwealth, seized upon the government, and made himself tyrant of his country.

P. Sulpitius and king Attalus be-

A. M. 3796. ing arrived with their fleet to suc-
Ant. J. C. 208. cour the Ætolians,¹ the latter were
flushed with the most sanguine
hopes, and the opposite party filled with terror; especially as Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, was already invading the territories of the Achæans, whose near neighbour he was. Immediately the latter people and their allies sent a deputation to king Philip, and solicited him to come into Greece, to defend and support them. Philip lost no time. The Ætolians, under Pyrrhias, who that year had been appointed their general in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him as far as Lamia.² Pyrrhias had been joined by the troops which Attalus and Sulpitius had sent him. Philip defeated him twice; and the Ætolians were forced to shut themselves up in Lamia. As to Philip, he retired to Phalara³ with his army.

During his stay there, ambassadors came from Ptolemy king of Egypt, from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Chios; all with instructions to use their utmost endeavours for re-establishing a lasting peace between Philip and the Ætolians. It was not so much out of good will towards the

latter, as from the uneasiness they were under in seeing Philip engage so strenuously in the affairs of Greece, which might render him more powerful than suited their interests. For his conquests over the Ætolians, and their confederates, paved the way for his making himself master of all Greece, to which his predecessors had always aspired, and even gave him access to those cities (out of Egypt) which Ptolemy possessed. Philip, however, suspended the debates on the peace, till the next assembly of the Achæans; and in the mean time granted the Ætolians a truce for thirty days. When he came to the assembly, the Ætolians made such very unreasonable proposals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Philip, offended that the vanquished should take upon them to prescribe laws to him, declared, that in coning to the assembly he had not depended in any manner on the justice and sincerity of the Ætolians, but that he was very glad to convince his allies, that he himself was sincerely desirous of peace, and that the Ætolians were the only people who opposed it. He set out from thence, after having left 4000 troops to defend the Achæans; and went to Argos, where the Nemean games were going to be exhibited, the splendour of which he was desirous of augmenting by his presence.

While he was busy in solemnizing these games, Sulpitius having set out from Naupactum, and landed between Sicyon and Corinth, laid waste all the open country. Philip upon this news left the games, marched with speed against the enemy, and meeting them laden with spoils, put them to flight, and pursued them to their ships. Being returned to the games, he was received with universal applause; and particularly, because he had laid down his diadem and robes of state, and mixed indiscriminately with the rest of the spectators; a very pleasing as well as soothing sight to the inhabitants of free cities. But as his unaffected and popular behaviour had gained him the love of all, so his enormous excesses soon made him odious. It was now his custom to go at night into people's houses in a plebeian dress, and there practise every kind of licentiousness. It was not safe for fathers and husbands to oppose him on these occasions, in which they would have endangered their lives.

Some days after the solemnization of the games, Philip, with the Achæans, whose captain-general was Cycladus, having crossed the river of Larissa, advances as far as the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison. The first day he laid waste the neighbouring lands; afterwards he drew near the city in battle-array, and caused some bodies of horse to advance to the gates, to induce the Ætolians to make a sally. Accordingly they came out; but Philip was greatly surprised to find some Roman soldiers among them. Sulpitius having left Naupactum with fifteen galleys, and landed 4000 men, had entered the city of Elis in the night. The fight was very bloody.⁴ Demophantus, general of the cavalry of Elis, seeing Philopemen, who commanded that of the Achæans, advanced out of the ranks, and spurred towards him with great impetuosity. The latter waited for him with the utmost resolution; and preventing his blow, laid him dead, with a thrust of his pike, at his horse's feet. Demophantus being thus fallen, his cavalry fled. I mentioned Philopemen before, and shall have occasion to speak more particularly of him hereafter. On the other side, the infantry of Elis had fought with advantage. And now the king, perceiving that his troops began to give way, spurred his horse into the midst of the Roman foot. His horse being wounded with a javelin, threw him. It was then the battle grew furious, both sides making extraordinary efforts; the Romans to take Philip prisoner, and the Macedonians to save him. The king signalized his courage on this occasion, having been obliged to fight a long time on foot, in the midst of the cavalry; and a great slaughter was made in this engagement. At last, being carried off by his soldiers, and remounted on another horse, he retired. The king encamped about five

¹ Liv. l. xxvi. n. 29—33. Polyb. l. x. p. 612.

² A city of Thessaly in Phthiotis.

³ A city of Thessaly.

⁴ Plut. in Philip. p. 360.

miles from that place; and the next day, having attacked a castle, in which a great number of peasants, with all their flocks, were retired, he took 4000 prisoners, and 20,000 head of cattle of all sorts: an advantage which might console him for the affront he had lately received at Elis.

That instant, advice was brought him, that the barbarians had made an incursion into Macedonia; upon which he immediately set out to defend his country, having left with the allies a detachment from his army of 2,500 men. Sulpitius retired with his fleet to Ægina, where he joined king Attalus, and passed the winter. Some time after the Achæans gave the Ætolians and the people of Elis battle near Messene, in which they had the advantage.

SECTION V.—EDUCATION AND GREAT QUALITIES OF PHILOPÆMEN.

PHILOPÆMEN,¹ of whom large mention will be made hereafter, was of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, in Peloponnesus. He had received an excellent education through the care of Cassander of Mantinea, who, after his father's death, out of gratitude for the important services he had received from him, undertook to be guardian and governor to his son Philopæmen.

When he was past the years of childhood, he was put under the care of Æodemus and Demophanes, citizens of Megalopolis, who had been scholars to Arcesilaus, founder of the New Academy. The scope of philosophy in those days was, to prompt mankind to serve their country; and, by its precepts, to enable them to govern republics, and transact the greatest affairs of state. This was the inestimable advantage the two philosophers in question procured Philopæmen, and thereby rendered him the common blessing of Greece. And, indeed, as it is said that mothers love those children best which they bring forth when advanced in years, Greece, as having given birth to Philopæmen in her old age, and after having produced so many illustrious personages, had a singular affection for him, and took a pleasure in enlarging his power, in proportion as his fame increased. He was called *the last of the Greeks*, as Brutus was afterwards called *the last of the Romans*; undoubtedly to imply, that Greece, after Philopæmen, had produced no great man worthy of her ancient glory.

Having formed himself upon the model of Epaminondas, he copied admirably his prudence in debating and resolving upon affairs; his activity and boldness in executing; and his perfect disinterestedness: but as to his gentleness, patience, and moderation, with regard to the feuds and divisions which usually break out in a state, these he could never imitate. A certain spirit of contention, which resulted naturally from his headstrong and fiery temper, had qualified him better for the military than political virtues.

And, indeed, from his infancy, the only class of people he loved was soldiers; and he took a delight only in such exercises as were necessary to qualify him for the profession of arms; such as fighting in armour, riding, and throwing the javelin. And as he seemed, by his muscles and stature, to be very well made for wrestling, and some particular friends advised him to apply himself to it, he asked them whether this exercise of the *athletæ* contributed to the making a man the better soldier? His friends could not help answering, that the life of the *athletæ*, who were obliged to observe a fixed and regular regimen; to eat a certain food, and that always at stated hours; and to devote a certain number of hours to sleep, in order to preserve their robustness, in which the greatest part of their merit consisted; that this way of life, I say, differed entirely from that of soldiers, who frequently are obliged to submit to hunger and thirst, cold and heat, and have not always fixed hours either for eating or sleeping. From thenceforth he conceived the highest contempt for the athletic exercises: looking upon them as of no service to the public, and considering them, from that in-

stant, as unworthy a man of any elevation of soul, happiness of talents, or love for his country.

The moment he quitted his governors and masters, he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis sent to make incursions into Laconia, in order to plunder and bring off from thence cattle and slaves. And in all these inroads, he was ever the first that marched out, and the last who came in.

During the intervals in which there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting, to make himself robust and nimble; or else used to spend his hours in cultivating the ground, having a fine estate three miles from the city, whither he used to retire very frequently after dinner or supper. At night he would throw himself on a bed of straw, like one of his slaves, and thus pass the night. The next morning by day-break, he used to go with his vine-dressers, and work in the vineyard, or follow the plough with his peasants. After this, it was his custom to return to the city, and employ himself in public affairs with his friends and the magistrates.

Whatever he got in war, he expended either in horses and arms, or employed in ransoming those of his fellow-citizens who had been taken prisoners. He endeavoured to increase his estate, by improving his lands, which of all profits is the most lawful; and was not satisfied with barely visiting it now and then, and merely for diversion; but devoted his whole care to it; persuaded that nothing is more worthy of a man of probity and honour, than to improve his own fortune, provided he does not injure that of his neighbour.

I must entreat my readers, in order that they may form a right judgment of what I have here said of Philopæmen, to convey themselves in imagination back to the ages I am speaking of, and to call to mind with what industry all well-governed nations, as the Hebrews, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, applied themselves to the tilling of land and manual labour, and the high esteem in which such exercises were had in those ages. It is universally known that the Romans, after having gained signal victories, and alighted from the triumphal car crowned with laurels and glory, returned immediately to their farms, whence they had been elected to command armies; and went to guide the plough and oxen, with the same hands which had just before vanquished and defeated their enemies. According to our customs and way of thinking, the exercises above mentioned are very low and contemptible; but it is our misfortune that they should be thought so. Luxury, by corrupting our manners, has vitiated our judgments. It makes us consider as great and valuable, what really in itself deserves nothing but contempt; and it affixes, on the contrary, an idea of contempt and meanness, to things of solid beauty and real greatness.

Philopæmen was very fond of the conversations of philosophers, and read their works with the greatest satisfaction; however, he did not read them all without distinction, but such only as could contribute to his improvement in virtue. Of all the great ideas in Homer, he sought and retained such only as exalt the courage, and excite to great exploits; and that poet abounds with ideas of this kind, no writer having ever painted valour in such strong and lively colours. But the other works in which Philopæmen delighted most, were those of Evangelus, called *the Tactics*, that is, the art of drawing up troops in battle-array; and the histories of Alexander the Great: for it was his opinion, that words should always have reference to actions, and theory to practice; and he had very little regard for those books that are written merely to satisfy a vain curiosity, or furnish a rapid and transient amusement.

After he had read the precepts and rules of the *Tactics*, he did not value the seeming demonstrations of them in plans drawn upon paper, but used to make the application on the spot, in the field: for in his marches, he used to observe exactly the position of the hills and valleys; all the irregularities of the ground; the several different forms and figures which battalions and squadrons are obliged to take by rivulets, ditches, and defiles, in their way, which oblige

¹ Plut. in Philop. p. 356—361.

them to close or extend themselves: and after having reflected seriously on these particulars, he would discourse on them with those in his company.

He was in his thirtieth year when Cleomenes, king of Sparta, attacked Megalopolis. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less, some months after, in the battle of Selasia, where Antigonus gained a famous victory over the same Cleomenes. The king of Macedon, charmed with such exalted merit, to which he himself had been witness, made him very advantageous offers to attach him to his service. However, so great was his love for his country, that he refused them; not to mention that he had naturally an aversion to a court life, which not only requires great subjection in the man who devotes himself to it, but deprives him of his liberty. However, as he did not choose to pass his life in indolence and inaction, he went into Crete, which was engaged in war, to improve himself in the military art. Crete served him as an excellent school; so that he made a great progress, and acquired a perfect knowledge in that science. He there found men of a very warlike disposition, expert in combats of every kind, extremely temperate, and inured to most severe discipline.

After having served for some time in the troops of that island, he returned among the Achæans with so much renown, that immediately upon his arrival he was appointed general of the horse. The first thing he did was to inquire into the state of his forces, among whom he did not find the least order or discipline. But he could neither dissemble nor suffer such remissness. He himself therefore went from city to city, exhorting particularly all the young men, inspiring them with sentiments of honour, animating them with promises of reward, and sometimes employing severity and punishment when he found them rebellious and ungovernable. He exercised and reviewed them often; or made them engage in tournaments, or similar sports, in places where the greatest number of spectators was likely to be found. By this practice he soon made all his soldiers so robust, expert, and courageous, and at the same time so ready and nimble, that the several evolutions and movements, to the right, to the left, or from the front to the rear, either or all the squadrons together, or of each trooper singly, were performed with so much skill and ease, that a spectator would almost have concluded, that this cavalry was only one individual body, moving spontaneously, at the impression of one and the same will.

In the battle fought near the city of Elis, the last we mentioned, and in which he commanded the horse, he gained great honour; and it was said universally, that he was not inferior to any of the private soldiers, with regard to the strength and ardour of his attacks; nor showed less wisdom and prudence than the oldest and most experienced generals; and that therefore he was equally capable either of fighting or commanding.

Aratus, indeed, was the first who raised the Achæan league to the exalted pitch of glory and power which it attained. Before his time they were despised and weak, because they were divided, and every city among them was studious of nothing but its peculiar interest. But Aratus made them formidable, by uniting and allying them together; and his design was, to form one body and one power of all Peloponnesus, which, by this union, would have become invincible. The success of his enterprises was not owing so much to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence, address, affability, and gentleness of demeanour; and what indeed was considered as a defect in his politics, to the friendship he contracted with foreign princes, which at length subjected his state to them. But the instant Philopœmen assumed the reins of government, as he was a great captain, and had come off victorious in all his first battles, he roused the courage of the Achæans; and finding they were able to make head alone against their enemies, he obliged them to shake off the yoke of foreign powers.

He made a great number of improvements in the

discipline of the Achæan troops, and changed the manner of drawing up their forces, and their arms, which had a great many defects. He obliged them to use large and strong shields; gave them stout lances; armed them with helmets, breast-plates, and greaves; and thereby accustomed them to fight vigorously and gain ground, instead of hovering and flying about like light-armed troops, who rather skirmish than fight in line of battle.

He afterwards endeavoured to effect another improvement, which was much more difficult as well as more important in one sense; and this was to curb and restrain their luxury, and excessive profusion and expense. I say, to restrain; for he imagined that it would not be possible for him completely to eradicate their violent fondness for dress and ornament. He began by substituting a different object in their place, by inspiring them with the love for another kind of magnificence, *viz.* to distinguish themselves by their horses, their arms, and other accoutrements of war. This ardour had an effect even on their women, who now spent their whole time in working for their husbands or children. The only things now seen in their hands were helmets, which they adorned with plumes of feathers tinged with the brightest dyes; coats of mail for horsemen, and jackets for the soldiers; all which they embroidered. The bare sight of these things inflamed their courage, breathed into them a strong desire to defy the greatest dangers, and a kind of impatience to fly in quest of glory. Expense in all other things which attract the eye (says Plutarch,) infallibly induces luxury; and inspires all those who take a pleasure in gazing upon it with a secret effeminacy and indolence; the senses, enchanted and dazzled by these deceitful charms, conspiring to seduce the mind itself, and to enervate it by their soft insinuations. But, on the contrary, that magnificence, whose object is arms, animates and exalts courage.

Philopœmen is not the only great man who had this way of thinking. Plutarch observes,¹ that Brutus, who had accustomed his officers to shun what was superfluous on every other occasion, was persuaded that the richness and splendour of the armour and weapons which soldiers have always in their hands, or on their bodies, exalt the courage of those men who are naturally brave and ambitious; and engage such as are of a covetous temper to exert themselves the more in fight, in order to defend their arms, which they look upon as a precious and honourable possession. The same author tells us, that the circumstance which gained Sertorius the affection of the Spaniards, was his bestowing on them, with a very liberal hand, gold and silver to adorn their helmets and enrich their shields. This was also the opinion of Caesar,² who always gave his soldiers arms that glittered with gold and silver; and this he did not only for pomp and splendour, but that they might act with greater courage in battle, through fear of losing arms of so great value.

However, I must not omit observing, that generals, no less renowned than those we have mentioned, differed in opinion from them. Mithridates, taught by his misfortunes of how little advantage splendour is to an army, would not allow among his soldiers such arms as were gilded and enriched with precious stones; and began to consider them as the riches of the conqueror, and not the strength of those who wore them.³ Papirius, the famous dictator, who, by defeating the Samnites, so signally avenged the affront which the Romans had received at the Furca Caudine, said to his troops,⁴ that it was proper for a soldier to appear with a rough and stern aspect; that

¹ Plut. in Brut. p. 1001.

² Habebat tam cultos milites, ut argento et auro politis armis ornaret, simul et ad speciem, et quò renaciore eorum in prælio essent metu damni. Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar. c. 67.

³ Plut. in Lucull. p. 496.

⁴ Horridum militem esse debere, non cœlatum auro argenteoque, sed ferro et animis fretum. Quippe illa prædama verius quam arma esse; nitentia ante rem, deformia inter sanguinem et vulnera. Virtutem esse militis decus, et omnia illa victoriam sequi; et ditem hostem quamvis pauperis victoris præmium esse. Liv. l. ix. n. 40.

ornaments of gold and silver ill became him; and that steel and bravery ought to form his glory and pride. And indeed, added he, gold and silver are rather spoils than arms. These ornaments dazzle the eye before the battle, but make a most hideous appearance in the midst of blood and slaughter. The soldier's ornament is his valour; the rest is always the consequence of victory. A rich enemy falls a prey to the conqueror, how poor soever he may be. It is well known, that Alexander the Great entertained the same idea of the richness and magnificence of the arms of the Persians.¹

In this opposition of opinions, it does not become me to decide which of those great men had the most just way of thinking. But we cannot but admire the skill and address of Philopœmen, who, seeing luxury prevalent and established in his country, did not think it advisable to attempt to banish it entirely; but contented himself with directing it to an object more laudable in itself, and more worthy of brave men.

After Philopœmen had accustomed the young men to make their splendour consist in that of their arms, he himself exercised and formed them very carefully in all the parts of military discipline. On the other side, the youths were very attentive to the instructions he gave them concerning military evolutions, and there arose a kind of emulation among them, which should execute them with the greatest ease and promptitude. They were wonderfully pleased with the manner of drawing up in order of battle, which he taught them; because they conceived, that where the ranks were so very close, they would be the more difficult to break; and their arms, though much more ponderous than before, became much more easy and light in the wearing, because they took great delight in carrying them, on account of their splendour and beauty; and for this reason they panted to try them, and to see them imbrued in the blood of their enemies.

It must be confessed that Philopœmen, in what light soever we view him, is a great captain, and a noble pattern for the imitation of all who embrace a military life. I cannot too strongly exhort young officers and noblemen to study diligently so perfect a model, and to imitate him in all those things in which he can be imitated by them. Our young noblemen are full of courage, sentiments of honour, love of their country, and zeal for their prince: the war which has broken out so suddenly in Europe, and to which they fly with incredible ardour, is a convincing proof of this, and still more their behaviour in Italy and on the Rhine. They have fire, vivacity, genius, and do not want talents, and qualities capable of raising them to the highest pinnacle of greatness; but then they sometimes want a manly and vigorous education, which alone can form great men in any profession. Our manners being unhappily turned, through a taste which prevails almost universally, towards effeminacy, pleasures, and luxury; the admiration of things trifling in themselves, and a fondness for false splendour, enervate our courage in our most tender years, and blunt the edge of that valour of ancient Gaul, which was once natural to us.

Were the youth among our nobility educated like Philopœmen, so far, I mean, as is consistent with our manners; were they to imbibe in their early years an inclination for studies of a solid kind, for sound philosophy, history, and polity; were they to propose as models for their imitation, the many illustrious generals which the last age produced; were they to put themselves under the tuition of those who are now the ornament and glory of our nation; and would they once duly consider, that true greatness does not consist in surpassing others merely in pomp and profusion, but in distinguishing themselves by solid merit; were they, in a word, to make it their delight and glory to perfect themselves in the art of war, to study it in all its branches, and acquire the true

scope and design of it, without omitting any of the means which conduce to their perfection in it; how illustrious a set of officers, commanders, and heroes, would France produce! One single man inspired the breast of the Achæans with this ardour and emulation. How much were it to be wished (and why should we not hope it?) that some one of our princes, great in all things, in valour as well as birth, would revive in our armies this taste of the ancients for simplicity, frugality, and generosity; and direct the taste of the French nation to things truly beautiful, solid, and just! All conquests would be infinitely short of such a glory.

SECTION VI.—VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF PHILIP AND SULPITIUS. A DIGRESSION OF POLYBIUS UPON SIGNALS MADE BY FIRE.

WE have already said, that Sulpitius the proconsul, and king Attalus, had continued in winter quarters at Ægina.² As soon as spring appeared they quitted them, and sailed to Lemnos with their fleets, which together amounted to sixty galleys. Philip, on the other side, having appointed Larissa, a city in Thessaly, as the rendezvous of his army, advanced towards Demetrias, that he might be able to oppose the enemy either by sea or land, whither the ambassadors of the allies came from all parts to implore his aid in the imminent danger to which they were exposed. Philip gave them a favourable reception; and promised to furnish them with such succours as the present juncture and the necessity of their affairs might require. He kept his promise, and sent bodies of soldiers into different places, to secure them from the attacks of the enemy. He repaired to Scotussa, and made his troops march thither from Larissa, which lies very near it; and then returned to Demetrias. And in order to enable himself to give seasonable succour to such of his allies as should be attacked, he fixed signals in Phocis, Eubœa, and in the little island Peparethos; and placed, in that part where he lay, on Tiseum, a very lofty mountain of Thessaly, men to observe them, that he might have speedy notice of the enemy's march, and of the places he might design to attack. I shall explain the nature of these signals hereafter.

The proconsul and king Attalus advanced towards Eubœa, and laid siege to Orem, one of its chief cities. It was defended by two castles strongly fortified, and was able to hold out a long time; but Plator, who commanded it for Philip, surrendered it treacherously to the besiegers. He had purposely made the signals too late, that Philip might not have an opportunity of succouring it. But the same did not happen with respect to Chalcis, which Sulpitius besieged immediately after the taking of Orem. The signals were made very seasonably there; and the commander, deaf and inaccessible to the offers of the proconsul, prepared for a stout defence. Sulpitius perceived that he had made an imprudent attempt, and was so wise as to desist immediately from it. The city was strongly fortified in itself; and besides, situated on the Euripus, that famous strait,³ in which the sea does not ebb and flow seven times every day, at fixed and sated hours, as (says Livy) is commonly reported, but irregularly, whilst the waves roll on all sides with so much impetuosity, that they seem like torrents rushing down from the mountains; so that ships can never ride there in safety.

Attalus besieged Opus, a city situated not far from the sea-side, among the Locrians, in Achaia. Philip advanced with incredible diligence to its aid, having marched upwards of sixty miles in one day.⁴ The

² Polyb. l. x. p. 612—614. Liv. l. xxviii. p. 5—8.

³ Haud alia infestior classi statio est. Nam et venti ab utriusque terre præaltis montibus subiti ac procellosi se deiciunt, et fretum ipsum Euripi, non septies die, sicut fama fert, temporibus statim reciprocatur; sed temere, in modum venti nunc huc nunc illic verso mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte nec die, quies navibus datur. Liv.

⁴ So Livy has it; which is certainly a prodigious day's march for an army.

¹ Aciem hostium auro purpurâque fulgentem intueri jubebat, prædam non arma gestantem. Irunt, et inbellibus femineis aurum viri eriperent. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 10.

city had been just taken before he arrived at it; and he might have surprised Attalus, who was employed in plundering the place, had not the latter, the instant he heard of his approach, retired with great precipitation. However, Philip pursued him to the sea-side.

Attalus having retired to Orem, and received advice there that Prusias king of Bithynia had entered his territories, returned towards Asia, and Sulpitius to the island of Ægina. Philip, after having taken some small cities, and frustrated the project of Machanidas, the Spartan tyrant, who designed to attack the people of Elis, who were employed in preparing for the solemnization of the Olympic games, repaired to the assembly of the Achæans, which was held at Ægium, where he expected to find the Carthaginian fleet, and to join it with his own; but advice being brought that the ships of the Romans and king Attalus had sailed away, that fleet had done the same.

Philip was truly grieved to find,¹ that though he employed the utmost diligence, he always came too late to put his projects in execution; fortune, he would say, taking a pleasure in bereaving him of every opportunity, and in frustrating all his incursions and expeditions. However, he concealed his uneasiness from the assembly, and spoke with an air of confidence and resolution. Having called the gods and men to witness, that he had never neglected any opportunity of marching out, on all occasions, in quest of the enemy; he added, that he did not know which side used the greatest despatch: whether himself in flying to the aid of his allies, or his enemies in avoiding him by flight; that this was a tacit confession that they thought themselves inferior to him in strength: nevertheless, that he hoped soon to gain so complete a victory over them, as would evidently demonstrate his superiority. This speech greatly encouraged the allies. After having given the necessary orders, and made some expeditions of no great importance, he returned to Macedonia, to carry on the war against the Dardanians.

Digression of Polybius on signals made by fire.

The subject which Polybius here treats is curious enough in itself; and besides, it is so closely connected with the history I am now relating, as to excuse my introducing a digression, that will not be of a great length, and which the reader may pass over, if he finds it tedious. I shall repeat it almost literally as I find it in Polybius. Livy, in his account of the particulars above related, and which he has copied almost word for word from Polybius,² mentions these signals made by fire; but then he only hints at them, because, as they were not invented by the Romans, this was consequently a subject which did not relate so immediately to the history he was writing. But this use of signals, which is a part of the art of war, belongs properly to the history of the Greeks; and shows to how great a perfection they had carried all the branches of that noble art, the judicious reflections they had formed upon every thing connected with it, and the astonishing progress they had made with respect to the construction of machines of war, different kinds of armour, and military signals.

As the method of making signals by fire,³ says Polybius, though of great use in war, has hitherto not been treated with any accuracy, I believe it will be proper not to pass over them superficially, but to dwell a little upon that head, in order to give my readers a more perfect idea of it.

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that opportunity is of great advantage in all things, but espe-

cially in war. Now, among the several things which have been invented to enable men to seize it, nothing can be more conducive to that end than signals made by fire. Whether transactions have happened but a little before or are then actually taking place, they may, by this method, be very easily made known, at places distant three or four days' journey from where they happened, and sometimes at a still greater distance; and by this means the necessary aids may be obtained in time.

Formerly this method of giving notice was of very little advantage, because of its too great simplicity. For, in order to make use of it, it was necessary that certain signals should be agreed upon; and as events are infinitely various, it was impossible to communicate the greatest part of them by this method. As for instance, not to depart from the present history, it was very easy to make known, that a fleet was arrived at Orem, at Peparethos, or at Chalcis; because the parties whom it concerned had foreseen this event, and accordingly had agreed upon such signals as might denote it. But an unexpected insurrection, treason, a horrid murder committed in a city, and such like accidents, as happen but too often, and which cannot be foreseen, this kind of events, which require immediate consideration and a speedy remedy, cannot be signified by a beacon. For it is not possible to agree upon a signal for such events as it is impossible to foresee.

Æneas,⁴ who wrote a treatise on the duties of a general, endeavoured to complete what was wanting on this occasion; but he was far from succeeding so well as could have been wished, or as he himself had proposed, of which the reader may now judge.

Those, says he, who would give signals to one another upon affairs of importance, must first prepare two earthen vessels, exactly equal in breadth and depth: and they need be but four feet and a half deep, and a foot and a half wide. They then must take pieces of cork, proportioned to the mouth of these vessels, but not quite so wide, [that they may sink with ease to the bottom of these vessels.] They next fix, in the middle of this cork, a stick, which must be of equal size in both these vessels. This stick must be divided into portions, of three inches each, very distinctly marked, in order that such events as generally happen in war may be written on them. For example, in one of these intervals the following words may be written: A BODY OF HORSE ARE MARCHED INTO THE COUNTRY. On another: A BODY OF INFANTRY HEAVILY ARMED ARE ARRIVED HITHER. On a third: INFANTRY LIGHTLY ARMED. On a fourth: A BODY OF CAVALRY AND INFANTRY. On another: SHIPS. Then, PROVISIONS; and so on till all the events, which are foreseen as probable to happen in the war that is carrying on, are written down in these intervals.

This being done, each of the two vessels must have a little tube or cock of equal bigness, to let out the water in equal proportion. Then the two vessels must be filled with water; the pieces of cork, with their sticks thrust through them, must be laid upon them, and the cocks must be opened. Now it is plain, that as these vessels are equal, the corks will sink, and the sticks descend lower in the vessels, in proportion as they empty themselves. But to be more certain of this exactness, it will be proper to make the experiment first, and to examine whether all things correspond and agree together, by a uniform execution on both sides.

When this is well ascertained, the two vessels must be carried to the two places where the signals are to be made and observed: water is poured in, and the corks and sticks are put in the vessels. According as any of the events which are written on the sticks shall happen, a torch, or other light, is raised, which

¹ Philippus mœrebat et angebat, cùm ad omnia ipse raptim isset, nulli tamen se rei in tempore occurrisse: et raptim omnia ex oculis elosisse celeritatem suam fortunam. *Lib. i. xviii. n. 8.*

² Philippus, ut ad omnes hostium motus posset occurrere, in Phœdium atque Eubœam, et Peparethum mitti, quolœca alia egerent, unde editi ignes apparerent: ipse in Tisœo [mons est in altitudinem ingentem cœcuminis editi] speculam posuit, ut igitur procul sublati, signum, ubi quid molirentur hostes, momento temporis acciperet. *Lib. i. xviii. n. 5.*

³ Polyb. l. x. p. 614—615.

⁴ Æneas was contemporary with Aristotle. He wrote a treatise on the art of war. Cœnus, one of Pyrrhus's counsellors, made an abridgment of it. Pyrrhus also wrote on the same subject. *Ælian. Tact. cap. i.* Cœno mentions the two last in one of his epistles. *Summum me docuerat literæ tuæ reddiderant. Planè noscibam te iam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros et Cœnæ viduo lectitasse Lib. ix. Epist. 35. ad Papir. Pætum.*

must be held aloft, till such time as another is raised by the party to whom it is directed. [This first signal is only to ascertain that both parties are ready and attentive.] Then the torch must be taken away, and the cocks set running. When the interval, that is, that part of the stick where the event of which notice is to be given is written, shall be fallen to a level with the mouth of the vessels, then the man who gives the signal lifts up his torch; and on the other side the correspondent signal-maker immediately stops the cock of his vessel, and looks at what is written on that part of the stick which touches the mouth of the vessel: on which occasion, if every thing has been executed exactly and equally on both sides, both will read the same thing.

Although this method differs from that which was practised in early ages, in which men agreed only upon a single signal which was to denote the event the other party desired to be informed of, and which had been agreed upon, it nevertheless was too vague and indeterminate. For it is impossible to foresee all the accidents that may happen in a war; and even though they could be foreseen, there would be no possibility of writing them all on a piece of stick. Besides, when any unexpected accident should happen, how could notice be given of it according to this method? Add to this, that the inscription on the stick is nowise exact and circumstantial. It does not tell how many horse and foot are come, what part of the country they are in, how many ships are arrived, nor the quantity of provisions. For before these several particulars could be written on the stick, they must have been foreseen, which was altogether impossible, though these are points of the highest importance; and how can succours be sent, when it is not known how many enemies are to be opposed, nor in what part of the country they are? How can a party either confide in or doubt their own strength? In a word, how will they know what to do, when they are not told how many ships, or what quantity of provisions, are come from the enemy.

The last method was invented by Cleoxenus, while others ascribe it to Democlitus; however, we have brought it to perfection, says Polybius, who continues the sole speaker upon this head. This fixes every circumstance, and enables us to give notice of whatsoever happens. The only thing required, is great care and exactness. This method is as follows:

The twenty-four letters of the alphabet must be taken and divided into five parts; and these must be fixed on a board, from top to bottom, in their natural order in five columns; five letters in each column, the last excepted, which will have but four.

The alphabet being disposed in this manner, the man who is to make the signal must begin by showing two torches or lights; and these he must hold aloft till the other party has also shown two lights. This first signal is only to show that both sides are ready, after which the lights must be removed.

The next point is, to make the other party read, in this alphabet, the information we want to acquaint them with. The person who gives the signal, shall hold up torches to his left, in order to denote to the correspondent party, from which of the columns he must take letters, to write them down in proportion as they shall be pointed out to him; so that if it is the first column, he only holds up one torch; if the second, he shows two, and so on, and always to the left. He must do the same to the right hand, to point out to the person who receives the signal, which letter in the column he must observe and write down. This both parties must agree upon between them.

These several preliminaries being arranged, and each of them taken his post, the man who gives the signal must have a geometrical instrument with two tubes, in order that he may know by one of them the right, and by the other the left of him who is to answer. The board must be set up near to this instrument; and to the right and left a solid must be raised ten feet broad, and about the height of a man: in order that the torches, which shall be lifted up over it,

may spread a strong, clear light; and that when they are to be lowered, they may be entirely hid behind it.

All things being thus disposed on each side, I will suppose, for instance, that advice is to be given that *A hundred Cretans, or Kretans, are gone over to the enemy*. First, it will be necessary to choose such words as will express what is here said in the fewest letters possible, as *Cretans, or Kretans, a hundred have deserted*, which expresses the very same idea in much fewer letters. The following is the manner in which this information will be given.

The first letter is a K, which is in the second column. Two torches must therefore be lifted to the left, to inform the person who receives the signal, that he must look into the second column. Five torches are then to be lifted up to the right, to denote that the letter sought for is the fifth of the second column, that is a K.

Afterwards four torches must be held up to the left, to point out the P, which is in the fourth column; then two to the right, to denote that this letter is the second of the fourth column. The same must be observed with respect to the rest of the letters.

By this method, every event that comes to pass may be communicated in a fixed and determinate manner.

The reason why two sets of lights are used, is because every letter must be pointed out twice; the first time, to denote the column to which it belongs; and the second, to show its place in order in the column pointed out. If the persons employed on these occasions observe the rules here laid down, they will give exact notice: but it must be practised a long time before they will be able to be very quick and exact in the operation.

This is what is proposed by Polybius, who, it is well known, was a great soldier and politician, and for this reason his hints ought to be valued. They might be improved, and put in practice on a great many occasions. These signals were employed in a mountainous country.

A pamphlet was lent me, printed in 1702, and entitled, *The art of making signals both by sea and land*. The pamphlet was dedicated to the king, by the Sieur Marcel, commissioner of the navy at Arles. This author affirms, that he communicated several times, at the distance of two leagues (in as short a space of time as a man could write down and form exactly the letters contained in the advice he communicated,) an unexpected piece of news that took up a page in writing.

I cannot say what this new invention was, nor what success it met with; but in my opinion such discoveries as these ought not to be neglected. In all ages and nations, men have been very desirous of finding out and employing methods for receiving or communicating news with speed, and of these, signals by fire are one of the principal.

In the fabulous times,³ when the fifty daughters of Danaus murdered all their husbands in one night, Hypermnestra excepted, who had spared Lynceus, it is related that when they escaped by flight, and had each arrived at a place of safety, they informed one another of it by signals made by fire; and that this circumstance gave rise to the festival of torches established in Argos.

Agamemnon, at his setting out for the Trojan expedition, had promised Clytemnestra, that the very day the city should be taken, he would give notice of the victory by fires kindled for that purpose. He kept his word, as appears from the tragedy of *Æschylus*, which takes its name from that prince; in which the sentinel, appointed to watch for this signal, declares he had spent many tedious nights in that uncomfortable post.

We also find,⁴ in the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar, that he himself used the same method.

¹ The words are disposed in this manner in the Greek.

² This is the capital letter K in the Greek tongue.

³ Pausan. l. ii. p. 130.

⁴ Celeriter, ut ante Cæsar imperaverat, ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eò concursus est. *Cæs. Bell. Gall. l. i.*

Cæsar gives us an account of another method in use amongst the Gauls. Whenever any extraordinary event happened in their country, or they stood in need of immediate succour, they gave notice to one another by repeated shouts, which were caught from place to place; so that the massacre of the Romans in Orleans at sunrise, was known by eight or nine o'clock in the evening in Auvergne, forty leagues from the other city.

We are told of a much shorter method.¹ It is pretended that the king of Persia, when he carried the war into Greece, had posted a kind of sentinels at proper distances, who communicated to one another, by their voices, such news as it was necessary to transmit to a great distance; and that advice could be communicated from Athens to Susa (upwards of 150 leagues,) in forty-eight hours.

It is also related that a Sidonian proposed to Alexander the Great, an infallible method for establishing a speedy and safe communication between all the countries subject to him. He required but five days for giving notice, through so great a distance as that between his hereditary kingdom, and his most remote conquest in India; but the king, looking upon this offer as a mere chimera, rejected it with contempt; however, he soon repented it, and very justly; for the experiment might have been made with little trouble to himself.

Pliny relates another method,² which is not altogether improbable. Decimus Brutus defended the city of Modena, besieged by Antony, who kept him closely blocked up, and prevented his sending the least advice to the consuls, by drawing lines round the city, and laying nets in the river. However, Brutus employed pigeons, to whose feet he fastened letters, which arrived in safety wherever he thought proper to send them. Of what use, says, Pliny,³ were Antony's intrenchments and sentinels to him? Of what service were all the nets he spread, when the new courier took his route though the air?

Travellers relate, that to carry advice from Alexandria to Aleppo, when ships arrive in that harbour, they make use of pigeons, who have young ones at Aleppo. Letters, containing the advices to be communicated, are fastened to the pigeons' necks, or feet; this being done, the pigeons take wing, soar to a great height, and fly to Aleppo, where the letters are taken from them. The same method is used in many other places.

Description of the instrument employed in signals made by fire.

M. Chevalier, mathematical professor in the royal college, a fellow-member with me, and my particular friend, has been so good as to delineate, at my request, the figure⁴ of the instrument, mentioned by Polybius, and to add the following explication of it.

In this manner I conceive to have been constructed the instruments described by Polybius, for communicating advices at a great distance, by signals made by fire.

AB is a beam about four or five feet long, five or six inches broad, and two or three inches thick. At the extremities of it are, well dove-tailed and fixed exactly perpendicular in the middle, two cross pieces of wood, CD, EF, of equal breadth and thickness with the beam, and three or four feet long. The sides of these cross pieces of timber must be exactly parallel, and their upper superficies very smooth. In the middle of the surface of each of these pieces, a right line must be drawn parallel to their sides; and consequently these lines will be parallel to one another. At an inch and a half or two inches distance from these lines, and exactly in the middle of the length of each cross piece, there must be driven in very strongly, and exactly perpendicular, an iron or brass screw, (2,) whose upper part, which must be

cylindrical, and five or six lines in diameter,⁵ shall project seven or eight lines above the superficies of these cross pieces.

On these pieces must be placed two hollow tubes or cylinders GH, IK, through which the observations are made. These tubes must be exactly cylindrical, and formed of some hard, solid metal, in order that they may not shrink or warp. They must be a foot longer than the cross piece on which they are fixed, and thereby will extend six inches beyond it at each end. These two tubes must be fixed on two plates of the same metal, in the middle of whose length shall be a small convexity (3) of about an inch round. In the middle of this part (3) must be a hole exactly round, about half an inch in diameter; so that applying the plates on which these tubes are fixed, upon the cross pieces of wood CD, EF, this hole must be exactly filled by the projecting and cylindrical part of the screw (2) which was fixed in it, and in such a manner as to prevent its play. The head of the screw may extend some lines beyond the superficies of the plates, and in such a manner as that those tubes may turn with their plates about these screws, in order to direct them on the boards or screens P, Q, behind which the signals by fire are made, according to the different distances of the places where the signals shall be made.

The tubes must be blackened within, in order that when the eye is applied to one of their ends, it may not receive any reflected rays. There must also be placed towards the end, on the side of the observer, a perforated ring, the aperture of which must be about three or four lines; and at the other end must be placed two threads, the one vertical, and the other horizontal, crossing one another in the axis of the tube.

In the middle of the beam AB must be made a round hole, two inches in diameter, in which must be fixed the foot LMNOP, which supports the whole machine, and round which it turns as on its axis. This machine may be called a rule and sights, though it differs from that which is applied to circumferencers, theodolites, and even geometrical squares, which are used to draw maps, take plans and surveys, &c. but it has the same use, which is to direct the sight.

The person who makes the signal, and he who receives it, must each have a similar instrument: otherwise, the man who receives the signal could not distinguish whether the signals are made to the right or left of him who makes them, which is an essential circumstance according to the method proposed by Polybius.

The two boards or screens, PQ, which are to denote the right and left hand of the man who gives the signals, or to display or hide the fires, according to the circumstances of the observation, ought to be greater or less, and nearer or farther distant from one another, according as the distance between the places where the signals must be given and received is greater or less.

In my description of the preceding machine, all I have endeavoured is, to explain the manner how Polybius's idea might be put in execution, in making signals by fire; but I do not pretend to say, that it is of use for giving signals at a considerable distance; for it is certain that how large soever this machine be, signals made by 2, 3, 4, and 5 torches, will not be seen at 5, 6, or more leagues distance, as he supposes. To make them visible at a greater distance, such torches must not be made use of, as can be lifted up and down with the hand, but large wide-spreading fires of whole loads of straw or wood; and consequently, boards or screens of a prodigious size must be employed, to hide or eclipse them.

Telescopes were not known in Polybius's time; they were not discovered or improved till the last century. Those instruments would have made the signals in question visible at a much greater distance than bare tubes could have done: but I still doubt whether they could be employed for the purpose mentioned by Polybius, at a greater distance than two or three leagues. However, I am of opinion,

⁶ Twelfth part of an inch.

¹ Cæsar. Rhodig. l. xviii. c. 3.

² Vigenere, in his remarks on the seventh book of Cæsar's wars in Gaul, relates this without citing directly the author.

³ Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

⁴ Quid vallum, et vigil obsidio, atque etiam nate amne prætexa profuerit Antonio, per cælum equite nuntio.

⁵ Omitted.

that a city besieged might communicate its wants to an army sent to succour it, or give notice how long it could hold out a siege, in order that proper measures might be taken; and that, on the other side, the army sent to its aid might communicate its designs to the city besieged, especially by the assistance of telescopes.

SECTION VII.—PHILOPÆMEN GAINS A FAMOUS VICTORY NEAR MANTINEA, OVER MACHANIDAS, TYRANT OF SPARTA. THE HIGH ESTEEM IN WHICH THAT GENERAL IS HELD. NABIS SUCCEEDS MACHANIDAS. SOME INSTANCES OF HIS AVARICE AND CRUELTY. A GENERAL PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN PHILIP AND THE ROMANS, IN WHICH THE ALLIES ON BOTH SIDES ARE INCLUDED.

THE Romans, wholly employed A. M. 3798. in the war with Hannibal, which Ant. J. C. 206. they resolved to terminate, inter-meddled very little with that of the Greeks, and did not molest them during the two following years.

In the first,¹ Philopœmen was appointed captain-general of the Achæans. As soon as he was invested with this employment, which was the highest in the state, he assembled his allies before he took the field, and exhorted them to second his zeal with courage and warmth, and support with honour both their fame and his. He insisted strongly on the care they ought to take, not of the beauty and magnificence of their dress, which became women only, and those too of little merit; but of the good condition and splendour of their arms, an object worthy of men, intent upon their own glory and the good of their country.

His speech was received with universal applause, inasmuch that at the breaking up of the assembly, all those who were magnificently dressed were pointed at; so great an influence have the words of an illustrious person, not only in dissuading men from vice, but in inclining them to virtue; especially when his actions correspond with his words, for then it is scarce possible to resist his exhortations. This was the character of Philopœmen. Plain in his dress, and frugal in his diet, he took very little care of his body. In conversation he suffered patiently the ill temper of others, even when they used contemptuous expressions: and for himself, he was particularly careful never to give the least offence to any one. It was his study, during his life, to speak nothing but the truth: and indeed, the slightest expressions of his were heard with respect, and immediately believed. And he was not obliged to employ a great many words to persuade, his conduct being a model of what every body else ought to do.

The assembly being dismissed, all returned to their respective cities, in the highest admiration of Philopœmen, whose words as well as actions had charmed them; and fully persuaded, that as long as he should preside at the head of affairs, the state would never suffer any loss. He immediately visited the several cities, and gave the necessary orders in them. He assembled the people in every place, acquainted them with every thing that was necessary to be done, and raised troops. After spending near eight months in making the various preparations for the war, he took the field.

Machanidas,² tyrant of Lacedæmonia, was watching at the head of a powerful army, for an opportunity to subject all Peloponnessus. The moment advice was brought of his arrival in the territories of Mantinea, Philopœmen prepared to give him battle.

The tyrant of Sparta set out upon his march at day-break, at the head of the heavy-armed infantry, and posted to the right and left on the same line, but a little more advanced, the light infantry composed of foreigners; and behind them chariots laden with catapultæ,³ and darts to sustain them. It appears by the sequel, that before him lay a ditch, that ran along part of the plain, beyond which his troops extended at each end.

At the same time Philopœmen marched his army in three bodies out of the city. The first, consisting of the Achæan horse, was posted to the right. The second, composed of heavy-armed foot, was in the centre, and advanced to the ditch. The third, composed of Illyrians, cuirassiers, foreigners, light-armed troops, and some Tarentine horse,⁴ were on the left, with Philopœmen at their head.

The time for beginning the battle approaching, and the enemy in view, that general, flying up and down the ranks of the infantry, encouraged his men in few but energetic words. Most of them were even not heard; for he was so dear to his soldiers, and they reposed such confidence in him, that they were sufficiently inclined of themselves to fight with incredible ardour. In a kind of transport they animated their general, and pressed him to lead them on to battle. All he endeavoured to make them understand was, that the time was come in which their enemies would be reduced to an ignominious captivity, and themselves restored to a glorious and immortal liberty.

Machanidas marched his infantry in a kind of column, as if he intended to begin the battle by charging the right wing: but when he was advanced to a proper distance, he on a sudden made his infantry wheel about, in order that it might extend to his right, and form a front equal to the left of the Achæans; and to cover it, he caused all the chariots laden with catapultæ to advance forward. Philopœmen plainly saw that his design was to break his infantry, by overwhelming it with darts and stones: however, he did not give him time for it, but caused the Tarentine horse to begin the battle with great vigour, on a spot where they had room enough to engage in. Machanidas was forced to do the same, and to lead on his Tarentines. The first charge was very furious. The light-armed soldiers advancing a little after to sustain them, in a moment the foreign troops were universally engaged on both sides; and, as in this attack they fought man to man, the battle was a long time doubtful. At last the foreigners in the tyrant's army had the advantage; their numbers and dexterity, acquired by experience, giving them the superiority. The Illyrians and cuirassiers, who sustained the foreign soldiers in Philopœmen's army, could not withstand so furious a charge. They were entirely broke, and fled with the utmost precipitation towards the city of Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle.

Philopœmen seemed now lost to all hopes. On this occasion, says Polybius, appeared the truth of a maxim, which cannot reasonably be contested, That the events of war are generally successful or unfortunate, only in proportion to the skill or ignorance of the generals who command. Philopœmen, so far from desponding at the ill success of the first charge, or losing his presence of mind, was solely intent upon taking advantage of the errors which the enemy might commit. Accordingly they were guilty of a great one, which indeed is but too frequent on these occasions, and for that reason cannot be too strongly guarded against. Machanidas, after the left wing was routed, instead of improving that advantage, by charging in front that instant with his infantry the centre of that of the enemies, and taking it at the same time in flank with his victorious wing, and thereby terminating the whole affair, suffers himself, like a young man, to be hurried away by the fire and impetuosity of his soldiers, and pursues without order or discipline, those who were flying; as if, after having given way, fear alone would not have carried them to the gates of the city.

Philopœmen, who upon this defeat had retired to his infantry in the centre, takes the first cohorts, commands them to wheel to the left, and at their head marches and seizes the post which Machanidas had abandoned. By this movement he divided the centre of the enemy's infantry from his right wing. He then commanded these cohorts to stay in the post they had just seized, till farther orders; and at

¹ Polyb. l. xi. p. 629—631.

² Polyb. l. xi. p. 631—637. Plut. in Philop. p. 361.

³ Engines to discharge darts or stones, &c.

VOL. II.—17

⁴ The Tarentine horsemen had each two horses. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 23.

the same time directed Polybius,¹ the Megalopolitan to rally all the Illyrians, cuirassiers, and foreigners, who without quitting the ranks, and flying, as the rest had done, had drawn off to avoid the fury of the conqueror; and, with these forces, to post himself on the flank of the infantry in his centre, to check the enemy in their return from the pursuit.

But now the Lacedæmonian infantry, elate with the first success of their right wing, without waiting for the signal, advance with their pikes lowered towards the Achæans as far as the brink of the ditch. When they came up to it, whether that from being so near the enemy, they were shamed not to go on, or that they did not value the ditch, because it was dry and had no hedge; and besides, being no longer able to retire, because the advanced ranks were pushed forward by those in the rear, they rushed into the ditch at once. This was the decisive point of time which Philopœmen had long awaited, and thereupon he orders the charge to be sounded. His troops, levelling their pikes, fell with dreadful shouts on the Lacedæmonians. The latter, who at their descending into the ditch, had broken their ranks, no sooner saw the enemy above them, than they immediately fled; nevertheless, great numbers of them were left in the ditch, having been killed either by the Achæans or their own soldiers.

To complete the glory of this action, it now remained to prevent the tyrant from escaping the conqueror. This was Philopœmen's only object. Machanidas, on his return, perceived that his army fled: and being sensible of his error, he endeavoured, but in vain, to force his way through the Achæans. His troops perceiving that the enemy were masters of the bridge which lay over the ditch, were quite dispirited, and endeavoured to save themselves as well as they could. Machanidas himself, finding it impossible to pass the bridge, hurried along the side of the ditch, in order to find a place where he might pass it. Philopœmen knew him by his purple mantle and the trappings of his horse: so that, after giving the necessary orders to his officers, he passed the ditch, in order to stop the tyrant. The latter having found a part of the ditch which might easily be crossed, claps spurs to his horse, which springs forward in order to leap over. That very instant Philopœmen hurled his javelin at him, which laid him dead in the ditch. The tyrant's head being struck off, and carried from rank to rank, gave new courage to the victorious Achæans. They pursued the fugitives, with incredible ardour, as far as Tegæa, entered the city with them, and being now masters of the field, the very next day they encamped on the banks of the Eurotas.

The Achæans did not lose many men in this battle, but the Lacedæmonians lost not less than 4000, without including the prisoners, who were still more numerous. The baggage and arms were also taken by the Achæans.

The conquerors, struck with admiration at the conduct of their general, to whom the victory was entirely owing, erected a brazen statue to him in the same attitude in which he had killed the tyrant; which statue they afterwards placed in the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

Polybius justly observes, that this signal victory must not be ascribed either to chance, or a concurrence of circumstances, but entirely to the abilities of the general, who had foreseen and made every necessary disposition for this great event. And, indeed, from the beginning (it is Polybius who still speaks, and continues his reflections) Philopœmen had covered himself with the ditch: not to avoid coming to battle, as some have imagined, but because, like a judicious man and a great soldier, he had reflected, that should Machanidas attempt to make his army pass the ditch, before he had examined it, his troops would certainly be cut to pieces,

and entirely defeated; or if, being stopped by the ditch, he should change his resolution, and break his order of battle through fear, that he would be thought the most unskillful of generals, in abandoning victory to the enemy, without daring to come to a battle, and in carrying off no other marks of his enterprise, than the ignominy of having renounced it. Polybius also highly applauds the presence of mind and resolution of Philopœmen, in not desponding or losing courage when his left wing was routed; but in having made that very defeat an occasion of his gaining a glorious victory.

It appears to me that these small battles, where there are not many combatants on either side, and in which, for that reason, one may follow, as it were, with the eye, the several steps of the commanding officers, observe the several orders they give, the precautions they take, and the errors they commit, may be of great service to those who are one day to command armies; and this is one of the chief advantages resulting from the study of history.

It is related that, in the assembly of the Nemean games, which were solemnized this year after this famous battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen being elected general of the Achæans a second time, and having then no employment for his forces, upon account of the festival, caused his phalanx, very splendidly clothed, to pass in review before all the Greeks, and made them perform their usual exercises, to show with what dexterity, strength, and agility, they performed the several military movements, without ever breaking or disordering their ranks. He afterwards went into the theatre, in which the musicians were disputing for the prize in their art, accompanied by those youths in their coats of arms, all of a graceful stature, and in the flower of their age; all filled with the highest veneration for their general, and fired at the same time with a martial intrepidity; sentiments with which their glorious battles and success, under this illustrious general, had inspired them.

The very instant that this flourishing troop of youths entered with Philopœmen, Pylades the musician, who was singing to his lyre the *Persians* of Timotheus,² happened accidentally to repeat the following verse:

The wreath of liberty to me you owe.

The grandeur of the poetry being finely expressed by the singer, who had an exquisite voice, struck the whole assembly. At the same time all the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen, and clapping their hands and raising shouts of joy, they called to mind the glorious ages of triumphant Greece; soothing themselves with the pleasing hopes, that they should revive those ancient times, and their pristine glory, so greatly did a general like Philopœmen increase their confidence, and inflame their courage.

And indeed, says Plutarch, as we find young colts are always fond of those they are used to, and that in case any other person attempts to mount them, they are restive, and prance about with their new rider; the same disposition appeared in the Achean league. The instant they were to embark in a new war, and a battle was to be fought, if any other general was appointed, immediately the deputies of the confederate powers would be discouraged, and turn their eyes in quest of Philopœmen; and the moment he appeared, the whole league revived and were ready for action; so strongly were they persuaded of his great valour and abilities; well knowing that he was the only general whose presence the enemy dreaded, and whose name alone made the enemy tremble.

Can there, humanly speaking, be more pleasing, more affecting, or more solid glory for a general or a prince, than to see himself esteemed, beloved, and revered, by the army and by nations, in the manner Philopœmen was? Is it possible for any man to be

A. M. 3799.

Ant. J. C. 205.

¹ The late [French] translator of Polybius mistakes this officer for our historian, and here introduces him speaking; which is otherwise in the original. Polybius the historian was not born at that time. It is true indeed that this person had the same name, and was a native of the same city, which makes the error the more excusable.

² This was a dithyrambic poet, who lived about the 95th Olympiad, i. e. 268 years before Christ. One of his pieces was entitled the *Persians*.

so void of taste and sound sense, as to prefer, or even compare, to the honour which the exalted qualities of Philopœmen acquired him, the pretended glory which so many persons of quality imagined they derived from their equipages, buildings, furniture, and the ridiculous expense of their tabics? Philopœmen affected magnificence more than they do; but then he placed it in what it really consists; the clothing his troops splendidly; providing them good horses and shining arms; supplying, with a generous hand, all their wants both public and private; distributing money seasonably to encourage the officers, and even the private men: in acting thus, Philopœmen, though dressed in a very plain habit, was looked upon as the greatest and most magnificent general of his time.

Sparta did not recover its ancient liberty by the death of Machanidas, the only consequence of which was, its changing one oppressor for another. The tyrant had been extirpated, but not the tyranny. That unhappy city, formerly so jealous of its liberty and independence, and now abandoned to slavery, seemed by its indolence studious of nothing but to make itself new chains, or to support its old ones. Machanidas was succeeded by Nabis, a still greater tyrant than the former, yet the Spartans did not show the least spirit, or make the least effort to shake off the yoke of slavery.

Nabis,¹ in the beginning of his government, was not desirous to undertake any foreign expedition; but employed his whole endeavours in laying the solid foundation of a lasting and cruel tyranny. For that purpose he made it his particular care to destroy all the remaining Spartans in that republic. He banished from it all such as were distinguished for their quality and wealth, and gave their estates and wives to the chief men of his party. We shall speak of these persons hereafter under the name of the *Exiles*. He had taken into his pay a great number of foreigners, all plunderers and assassins, and capable of perpetrating the blackest crimes for gain. This kind of people, who had been banished their country for their crimes, flocked round the tyrant, who lived in the midst of them as their protector and king; employing them as his attendants and guards, to strengthen his tyranny, and confirm his power. He was not satisfied with banishing the citizens; he acted in such a manner that they could not find any secure asylum, even in foreign countries; some were butchered in their journey by his emissaries, and he recalled others from banishment with no other view but to murder them.

Besides these barbarities, he invented a machine which may be called an infernal one, representing a woman magnificently dressed, and exactly resembling his wife. Every time that he sent for any person to extort money from him, he would first converse with him in the kindest and most gentle terms, on the danger with which the whole country, and Sparta in particular, was menaced by the Achæans; the number of foreigners he was obliged to keep in pay for the security of the state; the great sums he expended for the worship of the gods, and for the good of the public. In case the person spoken to was wrought upon by his words, he proceeded no farther, this being all he wanted: but, if he was refractory, and refused to give him money, he would say, "Probably the talent of persuasion is not mine; but I hope that Apega will be able to persuade you." Apega was the name of his wife. He no sooner uttered these words than his machine appeared. Nabis, taking her by the hand, raised her from her chair, and led her to the person. The hands, the arms, and breast of this machine were stuck with sharp iron points, concealed under the clothes. The pretended Apega embraced the unhappy wretch, folded him in her arms; and laying hers round his waist, clasped him to her bosom, whilst he uttered the most lamentable cries. The machine was made to perform these several motions by secret springs. In this manner did the tyrant put many to death, from whom he could not otherwise extort the sums he demanded.

Would one believe that a man could be capable of contriving, in cold blood, such a machine, merely to torture his fellow-creatures, and to feed his eyes and ears with the cruel pleasure of seeing their agonies and hearing their groans? It is astonishing that in such a city as Sparta, where tyranny was had in the utmost detestation; where men thought it glorious to confront death; where religion and the laws, so far from restraining men as among us, seemed to arm them against all who were enemies to liberty, it is astonishing, I say, that so horrid a monster should be suffered to live one day.

I have already observed, that the Romans, employed in a more im- A. M. 3800.
portant war, had intermeddled very Ant. J. C. 204.
little with the affairs of Greece.²

The Ætolians, finding themselves neglected by that powerful people, who were their only refuge, made a peace with Philip. Scarce was the treaty concluded, when P. Sempronius the proconsul arrived with 10,000 foot, 1000 horse, and thirty-five ships of war. He was very much offended at them for making this peace without having first obtained the consent of the Romans, contrary to the express words of the treaty of alliance. The Epirots also, tired with the length of the war, sent deputies (with the proconsul's leave) to Philip, who now was returned to Macedonia, to exhort him to agree to a general peace; hinting to him, that they were almost sure, if he consented to have an interview with Sempronius, they would easily agree upon the conditions. The king was greatly pleased with these overtures, and went to Epirus. As both parties were desirous of peace; Philip, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his kingdom; and the Romans, that they might be able to carry on the war against Carthage with greater vigour; a treaty was soon concluded. The king caused Prusias king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots, to be included in it; and the Romans included the people of Ilum, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis the Spartan tyrant, successor to Machanidas, the people of Elis, the Messenians, and the Athenians. In this manner the war of the allies was terminated by a peace which was of no long continuance.

SECTION VIII.—THE GLORIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF ANTIOCHUS INTO MEDIA, PARTHIA, HYRCANIA, AND AS FAR AS INDIA. AT HIS RETURN TO ANTIOCH, HE RECEIVES ADVICE OF PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR'S DEATH.

The history of the wars in Greece obliged us to interrupt the relation of the transactions in Asia, and therefore we now return to them.

Antiochus,³ after the death of Achæus, having employed some A. M. 3792.
time in settling his affairs in Asia Ant. J. C. 212.
Minor, marched towards the East, to reduce those provinces which had revolted from the empire of Syria. He began with Media, of which the Parthians had just before dispossessed him. Arsaces, son to him who founded that empire, was their king. He had taken advantage of the troubles in which the wars of Antiochus with Ptolemy and Achæus had involved him, and had conquered Media.

This country, says Polybius, is the most powerful kingdom in all Asia, as well for its extent, as for the number and strength of the men, and the great quantity of horses it produces. Media furnishes all Asia with those beasts; and its pastures are so good, that the neighbouring monarchs send their studs thither. Ecbatana is its capital city. The edifices of this city surpass in richness and magnificence all others in the world, and the king's palace is 700 fathoms round. Though all the wood-work was of cedar and cypress, yet not the least piece of timber was visible; the joints, the beams, the ceilings, and columns which sustained the porticoes and piazzas, being covered with silver or gold plates. All the tiles were of silver. The greatest part of these rich materials had been carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and the rest plundered by Antigonus and

¹ Polyb. l. xiii. p. 674, 675.

² Liv. xxix. n. 12.

³ Polyb. l. x. p. 597—602.

Seleucus Nicator. Nevertheless, when Antiochus entered this kingdom, the temple of Æna was still surrounded with gilded columns, and the soldiers found in it a great number of silver tiles, a few golden bricks, and a great many of silver. All this was converted into specie, and stamped with Antiochus's image; the whole amounting to 4000 talents, or about 600,000*l.* sterling.

Arasces expected that Antiochus would advance as far as this temple; but he never imagined that he would venture to cross, with his numerous army, a country so barren as that which lies near it; and especially as no water can be found in those parts, none appearing on the surface of the earth. There are indeed rivulets and springs under ground; but no one, except those that know the country, can find them. On this subject, a true story is related by the inhabitants of the country, that the Persians, when they conquered Asia, gave to those who should raise water in places where none had been before, the profits arising from such places to the fifth generation inclusively. The inhabitants, animated by these promises, spared neither labour nor expense to convey water under ground from mount Taurus, whence a great quantity flows, as far as these deserts; insomuch that at this time, says Polybius, those who make use of these waters, do not know from what springs the subterraneous rivulets flow that supply them with it.

It were to be wished that Polybius, who generally is diffusive enough, had been more circumstantial here, and had explained to us in what manner these subterraneous canals (for such were the wells here spoken of) were constructed, and the methods employed by Arasces to stop them. From the account he gives of the prodigious labour employed, and the vast sums expended to complete this work, we are led to suppose that water had been conveyed into every part of this vast desert, by stone aqueducts built under ground, with openings at proper distances, which Polybius calls wells.

When Arasces saw that Antiochus was crossing the deserts, in spite of the difficulties which he imagined would impede his march, he gave orders for stopping up the wells. But Antiochus, having foreseen this, sent a detachment of horse, which posted itself near these wells, and beat the party that came to stop them. The army passed the deserts, entered Media, drove Arasces out of it, and recovered all that province. Antiochus stayed there the rest of the year in order to regulate the affairs of the province, and to make the preparations necessary for carrying on the war.

The year following, he entered very early into Parthia, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in Media; Arasces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he imagined that by securing some passes of the mountains which separate it from Parthia, it would be impossible for the Syrian army to disturb him.

However, he was mistaken: for as soon as the season would permit, Antiochus took the field; and after incredible difficulties, attacked all those posts at the same time with his whole army, which he divided into as many bodies as there were attacks to be made, and soon forced them all. He afterwards reassembled them in the plains, and marched to besiege Serings, which was the capital of Hyrcania. Having besieged it for some time, he at last made a great breach, and took the city by storm, upon which the inhabitants surrendered at discretion.

In the mean time Arasces was very busy. As he retired, he reassembled troops, which at last formed an army of 120,000 foot and 20,000 horse. He then took the field against the enemy, and checked their progress with the utmost bravery. His resistance protracted the war, which seemed almost at an end. After many engagements, Antiochus perceiving he gained no advantage, judged that it would be extremely difficult to reduce so valiant an enemy, and

drive him entirely out of the provinces, where by length of time he had so strongly established himself. For this reason he began to listen to the overtures which were made him for terminating so tedious a war.

At last a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated that Arasces should continue in possession of Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist Antiochus in recovering the rest of the revolted provinces.

A. M. 3796.

Ant. J. C. 208.

Antiochus, after this peace, turned his arms against Euthydemus, king of Bactria. We have already shown in what manner Theodotus had disunited Bactria from the empire of Syria, and left it to his son of the same name with himself. This son had been defeated and dispossessed by Euthydemus, a brave and prudent man, who maintained for a long time a war against Antiochus. The latter used his utmost endeavours to recover Bactria;² but they all were rendered ineffectual by the valour and vigilance of Euthydemus. During the course of this war, Antiochus displayed his bravery in the most extraordinary manner. In one of these battles his horse was killed under him, and he himself received a wound in the mouth, which, however, was not dangerous, being attended with only the loss of some of his teeth.

A. M. 3797.

Ant. J. C. 207.

At last he grew weary of a war in which he plainly perceived that it would be impossible for him to dethrone this prince. He therefore gave audience to Euthydemus's ambassadors, who represented to him, that the war he was carrying on against their sovereign was not just: that he had never been his subject, and consequently that he ought not to avenge himself on their king, because others had rebelled against him; that Bactria had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire under other monarchs long before him; that he possessed this kingdom by right of conquest over the descendants of those chiefs of the rebellion, and preserved it as the reward of a just victory. They also insinuated to him that the Scythians, observing both parties had weakened themselves by this war, were preparing to invade Bactria with great fury; and that should they persist obstinately in disputing for it, those barbarians might very possibly dispossess both of it.

A. M. 3798.

Ant. J. C. 206.

This reflection made an impression on Antiochus, who by this time was grown quite weary of so unprofitable and tedious a war; and for this reason he granted them such conditions as ended in peace. To confirm and ratify it, Euthydemus sent his son to Antiochus. He gave him a gracious reception; and judging, by his agreeable mien, his conversation, and the air of majesty conspicuous in his whole person, that he was worthy of a throne, he promised him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other articles of the treaty were put into writing, and the alliance was confirmed by the usual oaths.

Having received all Euthydemus's elephants, which was one of the articles of the peace, he passed mount Caucasus, and entered India, and then renewed his alliance with the king of that country. He also received elephants from him, which, with those Euthydemus had given him, amounted to 150. He marched from thence into Arachosia, afterwards into Drangiana, thence into Carmania, establishing his authority and good order in all those provinces.

He passed the winter in the latter country. From thence he returned by Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, and at last arrived at Antioch, after having spent seven years in this expedition. The vigour of his enterprises, and the prudence with which he had conducted the whole war, acquired him the character of a wise and valiant prince, and made him formidable to Europe as well as Asia.

A. M. 3799.

Ant. J. C. 205.

¹ Justin. l. xli. c. 5.

² Polyb. l. x. p. 620, 621, & l. xi. p. 651, 652.

A little after his arrival at Antioch, advice was brought him of the death of Ptolemy Philopator. That prince, by his intemperance and excesses, had quite ruined his constitution, which was naturally strong and vigorous. He died, as ge-

nerally happens to those who abandon themselves to pleasure, before he had run half his course. He was little more than twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned but seventeen years. He was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes his son, then five years old.

SEQUEL OF THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

BOOK XIX.

CHAPTER I

SECTION I.—PTOLEMY EPIPHANES SUCCEEDS PHILOPATOR HIS FATHER IN THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT. ANTIOCHUS AND PHILIP ENTER INTO AN ALLIANCE TO INVADE HIS DOMINIONS. THE ROMANS BECOME GUARDIANS OF THE YOUNG KING. ANTIOCHUS SUBDUES PALESTINE AND COELE-SYRIA. THE WAR OF PHILIP AGAINST THE ATHENIANS, ATTALUS, AND THE RHODIANS. HE BESIEGES ABYDOS. THE UNHAPPY FATE OF THAT CITY. THE ROMANS DECLARE WAR AGAINST PHILIP. SULPITIUS THE CONSUL IS SENT INTO MACEDONIA.

I RELATED in the preceding book

A. M. 3800. how Ptolemy Philopator, worn out Ant. J. C. 204. with riots and excesses, had closed his life, after having reigned seventeen years. As the only persons present when that monarch expired were Agathocles, his sister, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as possible from the public, in order that they might have time to carry off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace. They also formed a plan to maintain themselves in the same authority they had enjoyed under the late king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his son, named Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five years old. They imagined this might easily be done, if they could but take off Tlepolemus, who had succeeded Sosibius in the ministry; and accordingly they concerted measures to despatch him.

At last they informed the public of the king's death. Immediately a great council of the Macedonians² was assembled, in which Agathocles, and Agathoclea his sister, were present. Agathocles, after shedding abundance of tears, begins, by imploring their protection for the young king, whom he held in his arms. He tells them, that his royal father, in his expiring moments, had committed him to the care of Agathoclea, whom he pointed out to them; and had recommended him to the fidelity of the Macedonians: that for this reason he was come to implore their assistance against Tlepolemus, who, as he was well informed, had meditated a design of usurping the crown. He added, that he had brought witnesses expressly to prove his treason, and at the same time offered to produce them. He imagined

that by this weak artifice Tlepolemus would be immediately despatched, and that in consequence he might easily obtain the regency; but the artifice was too gross, and the people immediately swore the destruction of Agathocles, his sister, and all their creatures. This last attempt recalling to their remembrance their other crimes, all the inhabitants of Alexandria rose against them. The young king was taken out of their hands, and seated on the throne in the Hippodrome. After which Agathocles, his sister, and Enauthe his mother, were brought before the king, and all three put to death, as by his order. The populace exposed their dead bodies to all the indignities possible; dragging them through the streets, and tearing them to pieces. All their relations and creatures met with the same treatment, and not one of them was spared; the usual and just end of those unworthy favourites, who abuse the confidence of their sovereign to oppress the people; but which does not effect the reformation of those who resemble them.

Philammon, the assassin, who had been hired to murder Arsinoe, being returned from Cyrene to Alexandria two or three days before this tumult broke out, the ladies of honour of that unfortunate queen had immediate notice of it, and taking this opportunity, which the distractions of the city gave them, they resolved to revenge their mistress's death. Accordingly they broke open the door of the house where he was, and killed him with clubs and stones.

The care of the king's person, till otherwise provided for, was given to Sosibius, son to him who had governed during the last three reigns. History does not inform us whether the father was still alive; but it is certain that he lived to a great age, as he had passed above threescore years in the administration. No minister was ever more cunning or more corrupt than this Sosibius.³ He made no scruple of committing the blackest crimes, provided they conducted to his ends. Polybius imputes to him the murder of Lysimachus, son of Ptolemy, and of Arsinoe, daughter of that Lysimachus; of Magas, son of Ptolemy, and of Berenice, daughter of Magas; of Berenice, mother of Ptolemy Philopator; of Cleomenes, king of Sparta; and lastly, of Arsinoe, daughter of Berenice. It is surprising that, notwithstanding the inhumanity and cruelty of his administration, he should have supported himself so long in it, and at last come to a peaceable end.

¹ Justin, l. xxx. c. 2. Polyb. l. xv. p. 712—720.

² Polybius gives this name to the Alexandrians who were descended from the Macedonians, and the posterity of the founders of Alexandria, or of those to whom the same privileges had been granted.

³ Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 64.

Antiochus king of Syria,¹ and A. M. 3801. Philip king of Macedonia, during Ant. J. C. 203. the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, had discovered the strongest zeal for the interest of that monarch, and were ready to assist him on all occasions. Yet, no sooner was he dead, leaving behind him an infant, whom the laws of humanity and justice enjoined them not to disturb in the possession of his father's kingdom, than they immediately join in a criminal alliance, and excite each other to take off the lawful heir, and divide his dominions between them. Philip was to have Caria, Libya, Cyrenaica, and Egypt; and Antiochus all the rest. With this view, the latter entered Coele-syria and Palestine; and, in less than two campaigns, made an entire conquest of those two provinces, with all their cities and dependencies. Their guilt, says Polybius, would not have been quite so glaring, had they, like tyrants, endeavoured to gloss over their crimes with some specious pretence; but so far from doing this, their injustice and cruelty were so barefaced, that to them was applied what is generally said of fishes, that the larger ones, though of the same species, prey on the lesser. One would be tempted, continues the same author, at seeing the most sacred laws of society so openly violated, to accuse Providence of being indifferent and insensible to the most horrid crimes; but it fully justified his conduct, by punishing those two kings according to their deserts; and made such an example of them, as ought in all succeeding ages to deter others from following their conduct. For, whilst they are meditating to dispossess a weak and helpless infant of his kingdom, by piecemeal, Providence raised up the Romans against them, who entirely subverted the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus, and reduced their successors to almost as great calamities as those with which they intended to crush the infant king.

During that time,² Philip was engaged in a war against the Rhodians, over whom he gained an inconsiderable advantage, in a naval engagement near the island of Lade, opposite to the city of Miletus.

The next year he attacked Attalus, A. M. 3802. Ius,³ and advanced as far as Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. Ant. J. C. 202.

But all his efforts in assaulting that city being to no purpose, he turned his rage and fury against the gods; and not satisfied with burning their temples, he demolished their statues, broke to pieces their altars, and even pulled up the stones from the foundations, that not the least footsteps of them might remain.

He was not more successful against the Rhodians. Having already fought them with but indifferent success, he ventured a second battle off the island of Chios. Attalus had united his fleet to that of the Rhodians, and Philip was defeated with considerable loss. There were killed, in his army, 3000 Macedonians, and 6000 allies; and 2000 Macedonians and confederates, with 700 Egyptians, were taken prisoners. The Rhodians lost but sixty men, and Attalus threescore and ten.

Philip ascribed all the glory of this engagement to himself, and that for two reasons; the first was, that having repulsed Attalus to the shore, he had taken that prince's ship; and the second, that having cast anchor near the promontory of Argennum, he had taken his station even among the wrecks of his enemies. But though he assumed the best air he could, he was sensible of his great loss, and could neither conceal it from others nor himself. This prince had never lost so great a number of men either by sea or land in one day. He was highly afflicted upon it, and was forced to abate much of his former vivacity.

Nevertheless,⁴ the ill success of this battle did not make Philip despond. The character of that prince was to be unshaken in his resolu-

tions, and not to be dejected by disappointments, but to overcome difficulties by indelible constancy and perseverance; and accordingly he continued the war with fresh bravery. I am not certain whether we may not date, about this time, the cruelties which Philip exercised over the Cians; a barbarity with which he is often reproached, the particulars of which have unhappily been lost. Cios, whose inhabitants are called Ciansians, was a small city of Bithynia. The governor of it had been raised to that post by the Ætolians, who at that time were in alliance with Philip. We find that he besieged it at the request of his son-in-law Prusias, king of Bithynia, who pretended to have received some insult from it. The city was in all probability taken by storm. A great number of the inhabitants suffered the most cruel torments; the rest were reduced to a state of captivity, which to them was worse than death; and the city was razed to the very foundations. This barbarity alienated the Ætolians from him, and particularly the Rhodians, who were allies and friends to the inhabitants of Cios. Polybius seems to ascribe its destruction to the imprudence of the Ciansians themselves, who used to bestow all posts and preferments on their most worthless citizens, and to follow so blindly their pernicious opinions in every thing, as even to persecute those who ventured to oppose them. He adds, that a people, who act in this manner, plunge voluntarily into the greatest calamities; and that it is surprising they do not correct themselves in this respect by the experience of all ages; which shows, that the ruin of the most powerful states is solely owing to the ill choice they make of those to whom they confide either the command of their armies, or the administration of their political affairs.

Philip marched afterwards to Thrace and the Chersonesus, where several cities surrendered voluntarily. However, Abydos shut her gates against him, and even refused to hear the deputies he had sent, so that he was forced to besiege it. This city is in Asia, and stands on the narrowest part of the Hellespont, now called the Dardanelles, and opposite to the city of Sestos in Europe. The distance between these two cities was about two miles. The reader will suppose that Abydos must be a city of great importance, as it commanded the straits, and made those who were possessed of it masters of the communication between the Euxine sea and the Archipelago.

Nothing of what is generally practised, in the assaulting and defending of cities, was omitted in this siege. No place was ever defended with greater obstinacy, which might be said at length, on the side of the besieged, to have risen to fury and brutality. Confiding in their own strength, they repulsed with the greatest vigour the first approaches of the Macedonians. On the side next the sea, the machines of war no sooner came forward, than they immediately were either dismounted by the balistæ, or consumed by fire. Even the ships, on which they were mounted, were in danger; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the besiegers saved them. On the land side, the Abydenians also defended themselves for some time with great courage, and did not despair even of defeating the enemy. But finding that the outward wall was sapped, and that the Macedonians were carrying their mines under the inward one, which had been raised to supply the place of the other, they sent deputies to Philip, offering to surrender their city upon the following conditions: that such forces, as had been sent them by the Rhodians and king Attalus, should return to their respective sovereigns under his safe conduct; and that all free citizens should retire whithersoever they pleased, with the clothes they then had on. Philip answering, that the Abydenians had only to choose, whether they would surrender at discretion, or continue to defend themselves valiantly, the deputies retired.

This report being made, the besieged, in transports of despair, assemble together, and consider what was to be done. They came to this resolution: first, that the slaves should be made free, to animate them to defend the city with the utmost vigour; secondly, that all the women should be shut up in the temple

¹ Polyb. l. iii. p. 159. Ibid. l. xv. p. 707 & 708.

² Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 70 & 73.

³ Polyb. ib. p. 66. Diod. ib. p. 294.

⁴ Polyb. l. xvi. p. 733-739. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 16. 18. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 745. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 31. Strab. l. xii. p. 563. Polyb. l. xv. p. 709-711.

of Diana, and all the children, with their nurses, in the Gymnasium: that they then should bring into the great square all the gold and silver in the city, and carry all the rest of the valuable effects into the Quadrirème of the Rhodians, and the Trireme of the Cyziceniens. This resolution having passed unanimously, another assembly was called, in which they chose fifty of the wisest and most ancient of the citizens, but who at the same time had vigour enough left to execute what might be determined; and they were made to take an oath in presence of all the inhabitants, that the instant they saw the enemy master of the inward wall, they would kill the women and children, set fire to the two galleys laden with their effects, and throw into the sea all their gold and silver which they had heaped together: then sending for their priests, they took an oath either to conquer or die, sword in hand; and after having sacrificed the victims, they obliged the priests and priestesses to pronounce, before the altar, the greatest curses on those who should break their oath.

This being done, they left off countermining, and resolved, the instant the wall should fall, to fly to the breach, and fight to the last. Accordingly, the inward wall tumbling, the besieged, true to the oath they had taken, fought in the breach with such unparalleled bravery, that though Philip had perpetually sustained with fresh soldiers those who had mounted to the assault, yet when night separated the combatants, he was still doubtful with regard to the success of the siege. Such Abydenians as marched first to the breach, over the heaps of the slain, fought with fury; and not only made use of their swords and javelins, but, after their arms were broken to pieces, or forced out of their hands, they rushed headlong upon the Macedonians, knocked down some, and broke the sarissæ or long spears of others, and with the pieces struck their faces, and such parts of their bodies as were uncovered, till they made them entirely despair of the event.

When night had put an end to the slaughter, the breach was quite covered with the dead bodies of the Abydenians; and those who had escaped were so overwhelmed with fatigue, and had received so many wounds, that they could scarce support themselves. Things being brought to this dreadful extremity, two of the principal citizens, unable to bring themselves to execute the dreadful resolution that had been taken, and which at that time displayed itself to their imaginations in all its horror, agreed, that to save their wives and children, they should send to Philip, by day-break, all their priests and priestesses, clothed in their pontifical habits, to implore his mercy, and open the gates to him.

Accordingly, next morning, the city, as had been agreed, was surrendered to Philip: while the greatest part of the Abydenians who survived vented millions of imprecations against their fellow-citizens, and especially against the priests and priestesses, for delivering up to the enemy those whom they themselves had devoted to death with the most dreadful oaths. Philip marched into the city, and seized, without the least opposition, all the rich effects which the Abydenians had heaped together in one place. But now he was greatly terrified with the spectacle he saw. Among these ill-fated citizens, whom despair had made furious and distracted, some were smothering their wives and children, and others stabbing them with their own hands; some were running to strangle them, others were plunging them into wells, whilst others again were precipitating them from the tops of houses; in a word, death appeared in all its variety of horrors. Philip, pierced with grief, and seized with horror at this spectacle, stopped the soldiers, who were eager for plunder, and published a declaration, importing, that he would allow three days to all who were resolved to lay violent hands on themselves. He was in hopes, that during this interval, they would change their determination; but their resolution was fixed. They thought it would be degenerating from those who had lost their lives in

fighting for their country should they survive them. The individuals of every family killed one another, and none escaped this murderous expedition, but those whose hands were tied, or were otherwise kept from destroying themselves.

A little before the city surrendered, an ambassador from the Romans to Philip arrived. This embassy was sent on various accounts, all which it will be proper to explain. The fame and glory of this people had just before been spread through all parts of the world, by the victory which Scipio gained over Hannibal in Africa; an event that so gloriously (with regard to the Romans) terminated the second Punic war. The court of Egypt, being in so much danger from the union that had been formed between Philip and Antiochus against their infant king, had had recourse to the Romans for protection, and offered them the guardianship of the king, and the regency of his dominions during his minority; declaring, that the late monarch at his death had recommended them thus to act. It was the interest of the Romans not to suffer the power of Philip and Antiochus to increase by the addition of so many rich provinces, of which the empire of Egypt at that time consisted. It was not difficult to foresee, that they would soon be engaged in war with those two princes, with one of whom they already had had some differences, which threatened much greater. For these reasons they had not hesitated in accepting the guardianship; and in consequence had appointed three deputies, who were ordered to acquaint the two kings with their resolution, and to enjoin them not to infest the dominions of their royal pupil, for that otherwise they should be forced to declare war against them. Every reader will perceive, that the declaring so generously in favour of an oppressed infant monarch, was making a just and noble use of their power.

At the same time there arrived in Rome ambassadors from the Rhodians and from king Attalus, to complain also of the enterprises of the two kings; and to inform the Romans, that Philip, either in person or by his deputies, was soliciting several cities of Asia to take up arms, and was certainly meditating some great design. This was a fresh motive for hastening the departure of the three ambassadors.

Being arrived at Rhodes, and hearing of the siege of Abydos, they sent to Philip the youngest of their colleagues, named Æmilius, who, as has been observed, arrived at Abydos, at the very time that the city was upon the point of being surrendered. Æmilius acquainted Philip, that he was ordered, in the name of the senate, to exhort him not to make war upon any of the states of Greece, nor to invade any part of Ptolemy's dominions; but to refer to a just arbitration the claims which he had upon Attalus and the Rhodians. That, provided he acquiesced with these remonstrances, he would continue in peace; but that if he refused, the Romans would proclaim war against him. Philip endeavoured to show, that the Rhodians had occasioned the rupture. "But," says Æmilius, interrupting him, "did the Athenians and Abydenians attack you first?" Philip, who had not been used to hear truth, was offended at the boldness of such an answer addressed to a king; "Your age," says he to the ambassador, "your beauty, (for Polybius informs us that this ambassador had really a fine person,) and especially the Roman name, exalt your pride to a prodigious degree. For my part, I wish your republic may observe punctually the treaties it has concluded with me; but, in case I should be invaded by it, I hope to show, that the empire of Macedonia does not yield to Rome either in valour or reputation." The deputy withdrew from Abydos

² Justin. l. xxx. c. 2 & 3, & l. xxxi. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1, 2, & 18.

³ *Insuper ut audire, ferocior oratio rica est quam quæ habenda vera regem esset. Atque, inquit, et forma, et super omnia Romanum nomen te ferociores facit. Ego autem primum velim vos fœderum memores servare mecum pœnem. Si bello laceraveritis, mini quoque in animo est facere, ut regnum Macedonum nomenque haud minus quam Romanum nobile bello sentiat. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 18.*

¹ Quadrirèmes were galleys with four benches of oars, and Triremes those with three.

with this answer, and Philip having taken that city, left a strong garrison in it, and returned to Macedonia.

Æmilius seems to have gone into Egypt, whilst the two other ambassadors went very probably to Antiochus. Æmilius, being arrived at Alexandria, assumed the guardianship of Ptolemy, in the name of the Romans, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the senate at his setting out; and settled every thing to as much advantage as the state of affairs in Egypt would then admit. He appointed Aristomenes, the Acarnanian, to superintend the education and person of the young monarch, and made him prime minister. This Aristomenes had grown old in the court of Egypt, and acted with the utmost prudence and fidelity in the employment conferred upon him.

In the mean time the forces of Philip¹ laid Attica waste, the pretence of which invasion was as follows: Two young men of Acarnania being in Athens, at the time when the great mysteries were solemnizing there, had entered with the crowd into the temple of Ceres, not knowing that it was forbidden. Though their fault proceeded entirely from ignorance, they were immediately massacred, as guilty of impiety and sacrilege. The Acarnanians, justly exasperated at so cruel a treatment, had recourse to Philip, who gladly embraced this opportunity, and gave them a body of forces, with which they entered Attica, ravaged the whole country, and returned home laden with spoils.

The Athenians² carried their complaints against this enterprise to Rome, and were joined on that occasion by the ambassadors of the Rhodians and king Attalus. The Romans only sought for an opportunity to break with king Philip, at whom they were very much offended. He had infringed the conditions of the treaty of peace, concluded with him three years before, in not ceasing to infest the allies who were included in it. He had just before sent troops and money to Hannibal in Africa; and a report was spread, that he was at that time very busy in Asia.

This made the Romans uneasy, who called to mind the trouble which Pyrrhus had brought upon them, with only a handful of Epirots, a people very much inferior to the Macedonians. Thus, having ended the war against Carthage, they imagined it advisable to prevent the enterprises of this new enemy, who might become formidable, in case they should give him time to increase his strength. The senate, after making such an answer that pleased all the ambassadors, ordered M. Valerius Levinus, the propretor, to advance towards Macedonia with a fleet, in order to examine matters nearer at hand, and be in a condition to give immediate aid to the allies.

In the mean time the Roman senate³ deliberated seriously on what was to be done in the present juncture. At the very time it assembled to consider that important affair, a second embassy arrived from the Athenians, which brought advice that Philip was upon the point of invading Attica in person; and that in case they were not immediately succoured he would infallibly make himself master of Athens. They also received letters from Levinus the propretor, and from Aurelius his lieutenant, by which they were informed, that they had the strongest reasons to believe that Philip had some design against them; and that the danger being imminent, they had no time to lose.

Upon this news,⁴ the Romans resolved to proclaim war against Philip. Accordingly, P. Sulpitius the consul, to whom Macedonia had fallen by lot, put to sea with an army, and soon arrived there. Here he was soon informed that Athens was besieged, and implored his assistance. He detached a squadron of twenty galleys, commanded by Claudius Cento, who set sail that instant. Philip had not laid siege to Athens in person, but deputed one of his lieutenants for that purpose; having himself taken the field against Attalus and the Rhodians.

SECTION II.—EXPEDITIONS OF THE CONSUL SULPITIUS IN MACEDONIA. THE ÆTOLIANS WAIT FOR THE EVENT, IN ORDER TO DECLARE THEMSELVES. PHILIP LOSES A BATTLE. VILLIUS SUCCEEDS SLPITIUS. NO CONSIDERABLE TRANSACTION HAPPENS DURING HIS GOVERNMENT. FLAMININUS SUCCEEDS HIM. ANTIOCHUS RECOVERS CELESYRIA, OF WHICH HE HAD BEEN DISPOSSESSED BY ARISTOMENES, THE PRIME MINISTER OF EGYPT. VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF THE CONSUL INTO PHOCIS. THE ACHÆANS, AFTER LONG DEBATES, DECLARE FOR THE ROMANS.

CLAUDIUS CENTO,⁵ whom the consul had sent to succour Athens, having entered the Piræus with his galleys, revived the drooping courage of the inhabitants. He was not satisfied with placing the city and the country round it in a state of security; but as he had been informed that the garrison of Chalcis did not observe the least order or discipline, as considering themselves remote from danger, he sailed out with his fleet, arrived near the city before day, and finding the sentinels asleep, entered it without molestation; set fire to the public magazines, which were full of corn and to the arsenal, that was well provided with machines of war; cut the whole garrison to pieces; and after carrying on board his ships the immense booty he had amassed, he returned to the Piræus.

Philip, who was then at Demetrias, the instant he heard of the disaster which had befallen that confederate city, flew thither, in hopes of surprising the Romans. However, they were gone; so that he seemed to have come for no other purpose, but to view the mournful spectacle presented by that city, still burning and half ruined. He would certainly have treated Athens in the same manner, if one of the couriers, called Hemerodromi,⁶ who perceived the king's troops from the eminence where he was posted, had not carried the news of it immediately to Athens, where the inhabitants were all asleep. Philip arrived a few hours after, but before day-break. Perceiving that his stratagem had not taken effect, he resolved to attack the city. The Athenians had drawn up their soldiers in order of battle without the walls, at the gate Dipylus; Philip, marching at the head of his army, attacked them with vigour, and having killed several of them with his own hand, repulsed them back into the city, whither he did not think it advisable to pursue them. But he wreaked his vengeance on the country seats, on the places for the public exercises, as the Lyceum, and especially on such temples as stood without the city; setting fire to every thing, and ruining whatever came in his way, not sparing either the tombs or the most sacred places.

He marched from hence with a view of surprising Eleusis, where his project also proved abortive. He then proceeded towards Corinth, when hearing that the Achæans held their assembly at Argos, he went thither.

They were deliberating how to act in regard to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, who had succeeded Machanidas, and infested the whole country with his incursions. Philip offered to undertake alone the management of that war, and his proposal was received with universal joy. However, he added a condition which abated it very much: that they should furnish him with as many troops as were necessary for garrisoning Oreum, Chalcis, and Corinth; that he might not leave the places behind without defence, whilst he was fighting for them. They perceived that his design was to draw out of Peloponnesus all the Achæan youth, in order to make himself master of it, and engage it in the war against the Romans. Cycliadus, who presided in the assembly, eluded the proposal, by observing, that it was not allowed by their laws, to debate on any subject but that for which the assembly had been summoned. They therefore broke

¹ Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.

² Ibid. n. 5.

³ Ibid. n. 1—3.

⁴ Ibid. n. 14.

⁵ Liv. l. xxxi. n. 22—26.

⁶ They were so called for running a great number of miles in one day.

up, after having resolved upon the war against Nabis; and the hopes of Philip were again defeated.

He made a second attempt upon Athens, which succeeded no better than the former, except that he completed the demolition of such temples, statues, and valuable works, as remained in that country. After this expedition, he retired into Boeotia.

The consul,¹ who was encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, sent to Macedonia a considerable detachment, under the command of Apustius, his lieutenant, who laid waste the open country, and took several small cities. Philip, who was returned into Macedonia, carried on his military preparations with prodigious vigour.

The great object which both parties had in view, was to engage the Ætolians on their side. They were now going to hold their general assembly, to which Philip, the Romans, and Athenians, sent their ambassadors; he who was deputed by Philip spoke first. All he required was, that the Ætolians should observe strictly the conditions of the peace which they had concluded three years before with Philip; having then experienced how useless their alliance with the Romans was to them. He instanced several cities, of which that people had possessed themselves, upon pretence of succouring them, as Syracuse, Tarentum, Capua; the last city especially, which was no longer Capua, but the grave of the Campanians, and the skeleton, as it were, of a city, having neither senate, inhabitants, or magistrates; having been more barbarously used by those who had left it to be inhabited in this condition, than if they had entirely destroyed it. "If foreigners," says he, "who differ from us more by their language, their manners, and their laws, than by the wide distance of land and sea which separate us from them, should dispossess us of this country, it would be ridiculous in us to expect more humane treatment from them than their neighbours have met with. Among us, who are of the same country, whether Ætolians, Acarnanians, or Macedonians, and who speak the same language, slight disputes may arise of little or no consequence or duration; but with foreigners, with barbarians, we, as Greeks, are, and shall for ever be, at war. In this same assembly three years since you concluded a peace with Philip; the same causes still subsist; and we hope that you will act in the same manner."

The Athenian ambassadors, by the consent of the Romans, spoke next. They began by displaying, in an affecting manner, the impious and sacrilegious fury which Philip had exercised on the most sacred monuments of Attica, on the most august temples, and the most venerated tombs; as if he had declared war, not only against men, and the living, but against the manes of the dead and the majesty of the gods. That Ætolia and all Greece must expect the same treatment, if Philip should have the like occasion. They concluded with conjuring the Ætolians to take compassion on Athens, and to undertake, under the auspices of the gods, and of the Romans, whose power that of the gods alone could equal, so just a war as that proposed to them.

The Roman ambassador, after having refuted very circumstantially the reproaches of the Macedonian, with respect to the treatment which Rome had made the conquered cities suffer; and adduced as an example to the contrary, the instance of Carthage, which but just before had been allowed a peace, and was restored to its liberty; declared, that the only circumstance the Romans had to fear was, that the too great mildness and lenity which they exercised towards those they conquered, would prompt other nations to take up arms against them, because the vanquished might depend on the Roman clemency. He represented in a short, but strong and pathetic speech, the criminal actions of Philip, the murders committed by him on his own family and his friends; his infamous debaucheries, which were still more detested than his cruelty; all facts more immediately known to the persons whom he then addressed, as they were nearer neighbours to Macedonia. "But to confine my speech to what relates directly to you," says the

ambassador, addressing himself to the Ætolians, "we engaged in the war against Philip, with no other view than to defend you; and you have concluded a separate peace with him. Possibly you may observe in your own justification, that seeing us employed in the war against the Carthaginians, and being awed by fear, you were obliged to submit to whatever conditions the victor was pleased to prescribe; whilst we, on the other side, employed in affairs of greater importance, neglected a war which you had renounced. However, having now put an end (thanks to the gods) to the Carthaginian war, we are going to turn the whole force of our arms against Macedonia. This gives you an opportunity of returning to our friendship and alliance, unless you should choose to perish ingloriously with Philip, rather than conquer with the Romans.

Damocritus, the Ætolian prætor, plainly perceived that this speech would gain all the voices. It is said, that he had been bribed by Philip. Without seeming inclined to either side, he represented the affair as too important to be determined immediately, and required time for a more mature deliberation. By this artifice he eluded the effect which the assembly would otherwise have had; and boasted his having done a very essential service to the republic, which now, he said, might wait the event before it took up arms, and then declare for the strongest army.

In the mean time,² Philip was preparing for a vigorous war both by sea and land; but the consul had already begun it. He had entered Macedonia, and advanced towards the Dassaretæ. Philip also took the field. Neither party knew which way the enemy had marched; but each sent out a detachment upon the discovery, and the two parties met. As both consisted entirely of chosen troops, a bloody skirmish ensued, and the victory was doubtful. Forty Macedonian troopers, and thirty-five of the Romans, were killed on the spot.

The king, persuaded that the care he should take to bury those who had lost their lives in this skirmish, would contribute very much to gain him the affection of his soldiers, and excite them to behave gallantly in his service, caused their dead bodies to be brought into the camp, in order that the whole army might be eyewitnesses of the honours paid to their memory.

Nothing³ is less to be relied upon than the sentiments and dispositions of the vulgar. The spectacle, which Philip imagined would animate the soldiers, had quite a contrary effect, and damped their courage. Hitherto he had engaged in a war with none but Greeks and Illyrians, who employed scarce any other weapons than arrows, javelins, and lances; and for that reason the wounds they made were not so deep. But when they saw the bodies of their comrades covered with deep and wide gashes, made by the Spanish sabres, whole arms cut off, shoulders lopped away, and heads separated from the bodies, they were terrified at the sight, and plainly perceived against what kind of enemy they were to act.

The king himself, who had never yet seen the Romans engaged in a regular battle, was terrified at the sight. Being informed by some deserters of the place where the enemy had halted, he took guides and marched thither with his army, consisting of 20,000 foot and 4000 horse; and posted himself at a little above 200 paces from their camp, near the city of Athacus, on an eminence which he fortified with good ditches and strong intrenchments. Surveying from the top of the hill the order and disposition of the Roman camp, he cried out, That what he saw was not the camp of barbarians.⁴

The consul and the king were quiet for the first two days, each waiting till the other should make some movement. On the third day, Sulpitius came out of his camp, and drew up his troops in order of battle. Philip, being afraid of coming to a general battle, detached against the enemy a body consisting

¹ Liv. l. xxxi. n. 33—39.

² Nihil tam incertum nec tam inestimabile est quam animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad subeundam omnem dimicationem videbatur faciorum, id metum pigritiamque incussit. Liv.

⁴ The same words are ascribed to Pyrrhus.

of about 1500 men, the one half horse and the other foot; against whom the Romans opposed an equal number, who had the advantage and put the other to flight. They avoided, with no less prudence, an ambuscade, which the king had laid for them. These two advantages, the one gained by open force and the other, by stratagem, inflamed the courage of the Roman soldiers. The consul marched them back into the camp, and after allowing them a day's repose, he led them out and offered the king battle, which he did not think proper to accept, and lay close in his camp, in spite of all the insults and reproaches of Sulpitius, who charged him with meanness of spirit and cowardice.

As foraging, where two armies lay so near one another, would be very dangerous, the consul drew off to about eight miles' distance, and advanced towards a village, called Octolophos, where the foragers dispersed themselves all over the neighbouring country in separate platoons. The king at first lay close in his intrenchments, as if afraid of venturing out: in order that the enemy, growing bolder on that account, might for that reason be less vigilant. This happened directly as Philip had foreseen. When he saw great numbers of them spread over the plains, he quitted his camp on a sudden with all his horse, whom the Cretans followed as fast as it was possible for infantry to march, and rode full speed to post himself between the Roman camp and the foragers.

There, dividing his forces, he detached part of them against the foragers; ordering them to cut to pieces all who should come in their way, whilst he himself seized all the passes by which they could return. And now nothing was seen on all sides but blood and slaughter; during which the Romans did not know what was doing out of their camp, because such as fled were intercepted by the king's forces; and those who guarded the passes killed a much greater number than the others detached in pursuit of the enemy.

At last the melancholy news of the slaughter arrived in the Roman camp; upon which the consul ordered the cavalry to march out and succour their comrades wherever they could; as for himself, he made the legions quit the camp, and marched them in a hollow square against the enemy. The troopers, being dispersed up and down, lost their way at first, being deceived by the shouts and cries which echoed from different places. Many of these parties fell in with the enemy, and skirmishes were fought in different places at the same time. The warmest engagement was where the king himself commanded, and which, by the great number of the horse and foot that composed it, formed almost an army: not to mention that these troops, being prodigiously animated by the presence of the king, and the Cretans, fighting in a compact body, and with the utmost vigour, against enemies dispersed and in disorder, killed great numbers of them. It is certain that, had they not pursued the Romans so vigorously, this day might have decided, not only the present battle, but perhaps the success of the whole war. But, by abandoning themselves to a rash and inconsiderate ardour, they fell into the midst of the Roman cohorts, who had advanced with their officers. And now the soldiers who fled perceiving the Roman ensigns, faced about, and pushed their horses against the enemy, who were all in disorder. In an instant the face of the battle was quite changed; those who pursued before, now flying in their turn, many were killed in close fight, and many lost their lives in flying; and numbers fell, not by the sword alone, as several plunging into morasses were swallowed up, with their horses, in the mire. The king himself was in very great danger; for having been thrown by his horse, which had received a severe wound, multitudes were going to attack him, had not a trooper leaped that moment from his horse, and mounted him on it; but the man himself, being unable to keep pace with the troopers who fled, was killed by the enemy. Philip, after having taken a long compass round the fens, came at last to the camp, where he had been given over for lost.

We have already seen on many occasions, and it cannot be too strongly inculcated on those of the military profession, in order to their avoiding the like

error, that battles are often lost by the too great ardour of the officers, who, solely intent upon pursuing the enemy, forget and neglect what passes in the rest of the army, and suffer themselves to be deprived, through an imprudent desire of glory, of a victory which they had in their hands, and which they might have secured.

Philip had not lost a great number of men in this action, but he dreaded coming to a second; and was afraid lest the conqueror should advance to attack him suddenly. He therefore despatched a herald to the consul, to desire a suspension of arms in order to bury the dead. The consul, who was at dinner, sent word that he should have an answer on the morrow. Upon this, Philip, to conceal his march from the Romans, having left a great number of fires in his camp, set out, without noise, the instant it was dark; and having got a whole night's march before the consul, and part of the following day, he thereby put it out of his power to pursue him.

Sulpitius began his march the next day, not knowing which way the king had taken. Philip had flattered himself with the hopes of intercepting him at some passes, the entrance of which he fortified with ditches, intrenchments, and great works of stones and trees; but the patience of the Romans was superior to all these difficulties. The consul, after laying waste the country, and seizing upon several fortresses of importance, marched his army back to Apollonia, from whence he had set out in the beginning of the campaign.

The Ætolians, who only waited the event in order to choose their side, no longer hesitated to declare for the Romans, and the Athamanians followed their example. Both nations made some incursions into Macedonia, but with ill success, Philip having defeated them on several occasions. He also defeated the Dardanians, who had entered his country during his absence; and with these small advantages consoled himself for his ill success against the Romans.

In this campaign the Roman fleet joined that of Attalus,² and came into the Piræus, to the great joy of the Athenians. The hatred they bore to Philip, which fear had forced them to dissemble for a long time, now broke out immediately, at the sight of so powerful a succour. In a free city like that of Athens,³ where eloquence was all powerful, the orators had gained so great an ascendancy over the minds of the people, that they made them form whatever resolutions they pleased. Here the people, at their request, ordained that all the statues and images of Philip and his ancestors should be destroyed; that the festivals, sacrifices, and priests, established in honour of them, should be abolished: that every place where any monument had been set up, or inscription engraved relating to them, should be declared impure and profane: that the priests, every time they offered up prayers to the gods for the Athenians, their allies, their armies, and fleets, should also denounce imprecations and curses of every kind against Philip, his children, and kingdom, his forces both by sea and land; in a word, against the Macedonians in general, and all that belonged to them. To this decree was added, that whatever might be afterwards proposed, which tended in any manner to dishonour and bring an odium on Philip, would be grateful to the people: and that whosoever should dare to say or do any thing in favour of Philip, or against the decrees in question, might be killed on the spot, without any formality. The last clause was, that whatever had been enacted against the Pisistratidæ, should likewise be enacted against Philip. In this manner the Athenians made war against Philip by their decrees and ordinances,⁴ which at that time were their only strength. Carrying all things to extremes, they now lavished encomiums, honours, and homage of every kind on Attalus and the Romans.

¹ Liv. l. xxxi. n. 39—43.

² Ibid. n. 44—47.

³ Nec unquam ibi desunt linguæ promptæ ad plebem concitandam; quod genus, cùm in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum præcipue Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur. Liv.

⁴ A theienses quidem literis verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philippum gerbant. Liv.

The fleet, at its leaving Piræus, attacked and took several fortresses and small islands; after which Attalus and the Romans separated and went into winter quarters.

In Rome, the year following,¹
A. M. 3805. new consuls being chosen, Villius
Ant. J. C. 199. had Macedonia for his province.

Philip, whilst he made preparations for carrying on the ensuing campaign, was exceedingly anxious with regard to the success of the war he had undertaken. Besides his having to deal with powerful and formidable enemies, he was afraid that the hope of protection from the Romans would draw off many of his allies from him; and that the Macedonians, uneasy at, and dissatisfied with, his government, would rebel against him.

To obviate these dangers, he gave up some cities to the Achæans, thinking to attach them the more strongly to his interest by this unexpected generosity; and at the same time he sent ambassadors into Achaia, to make the allies take the oath which was to be renewed every year. But could he possibly look upon this ceremony as a strong tie, and one capable of keeping the confederates in their duty; when he himself professed an open violation of all oaths, and did not make the least scruple to forfeit his promise, nor show the least veneration for the Supreme Being, religion, and all that mankind consider as most sacred?

As to the Macedonians,² he endeavoured to recover their love and affection, by sacrificing Heracles, one of his ministers and confidants, whom the people hated and detested on account of his rapine and grievous oppressions; all which had made the government odious to them. He was of very mean extraction, and born in Tarentum, where he had exercised the meanest and most contemptible offices, and had been banished from thence, for attempting to deliver up the city to the Romans. He had fled to Philip, who, finding him a man of sense, of a lively genius, a daring spirit, and at the same time so insatiably ambitious as not to scruple at the commission of the blackest crimes, had attached him to himself in a particular manner, and trusted him with all his secrets; a fit instrument for a prince, who had neither probity nor honour. Heracles, says Polybius, was born with all those qualities which constitute the consummate villain. From his most tender years he had prostituted himself in the most infamous manner. Haughty and terrible to all his inferiors, he behaved with the meanest and most grovelling adulation towards his superiors. He was in such great credit and authority with Philip, that, according to the same author, he almost ruined a powerful kingdom, by the universal discontent which his injustice and oppression occasioned. At last the king caused him to be seized and thrown into prison, which occasioned a universal joy amongst the people. As we have only a few fragments of Polybius on this subject, history does not inform us what became of Heracles, nor whether he came to the end his crimes deserved.

Nothing considerable was transacted during this campaign any more than the foregoing, because the consuls did not enter Macedonia till very late; and the rest of the time was spent in slight skirmishes, either to force certain passes, or to carry off convoys.³

T. Quintius Flaminius⁴ having
A. M. 3806. been nominated consul, and Mace-
Ant. J. C. 199. donia falling to him by lot, he did not follow the example of his predecessors but set out from Rome at the opening of the spring, with Lucius his brother, who, by leave of the senate, was to command the fleet.

At the beginning of this year, Antiochus attacked Attalus very vigorously both by sea and land. The ambassadors of the latter king came to Rome, and informed the senate of the great danger to which their sovereign was exposed. They entreated the Romans in Attalus's name, either to undertake his defence with the forces of the republic, or to permit king Attalus to recall his troops. The senate made answer,

that as nothing could be more just and reasonable than Attalus's demand, he therefore was at full liberty to recall his forces; that the Romans never intended to incommode their allies in any manner; but that they would employ all their influence with Antiochus, to dissuade him from molesting Attalus. Accordingly, the Romans sent ambassadors to the former, who remonstrated to him, that Attalus had lent them his troops as well as ships, which they now employed against Philip their common enemy: that they should think it an obligation, if he would not invade that prince; that it was fitting that such kings as were confederates and friends to the Romans should be at peace with each other. These remonstrances being made to Antiochus, he immediately drew off his forces from the territories of king Attalus.

The instant he had, at the request of the Romans, laid aside his designs against that prince, he marched in person into Cœle-syria, to recover those cities of which Aristomedes had dispossessed him. The Romans had intrusted this general with the administration of Egypt. The first thing he had endeavoured was, to defend himself against the invasion of the two confederate kings, and for this purpose he raised the best troops he could. He sent Scopas into Ætolia with large sums of money,⁵ to levy as many troops as possible; the Ætolians being at that time looked upon as the best soldiers. This Scopas had formerly enjoyed the highest posts in his own country,⁶ and was thought to be one of the bravest and most experienced generals of his time. When the time of continuing in his employment expired, he had flattered himself with the hopes of being continued in it, but was disappointed. This gave him disgust, so that he left Ætolia, and engaged in the service of the king of Egypt. Scopas had such good success in his levies, that he brought 6000 soldiers from Ætolia; a good reinforcement for the Egyptian army.

The administration of Alexandria,⁷ seeing Antiochus employed in Asia Minor in the war which
A. M. 3805.
Ant. J. C. 199. had broken out between him and Attalus king of Pergamus, sent Scopas into Palestine and Cœle-syria, to endeavour to recover these provinces. He carried on the war there so successfully, that he recovered several cities, retook Judea, threw a garrison into the citadel of Jerusalem, and, upon the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria; whither he brought (besides the glory of his victories) exceeding rich spoils taken in the conquered countries. We find, by the sequel, that the great success of this campaign was owing principally to Antiochus's being absent, and to the little resistance which had therefore been made.

He no sooner arrived there in person,⁸ than the face of things changed immediately, and victory
A. M. 3806.
Ant. J. C. 198. declared in his favour. Scopas, who was returned with an army, was defeated at Paneas, near the source of the river Jordan, in a battle wherein a great slaughter was made of his troops. He was forced to fly to Sidon, where he shut himself up with the 10,000 men he had left. Antiochus besieged him in it, and reduced him to such extremities, that being in absolute want of provisions, he was forced to surrender the city, and content himself with having his life spared. However, the government of Alexandria had employed its utmost efforts to relieve him in Sidon, and three of the best generals at the head of the choicest troops of the state had been sent to raise the siege. But Antiochus made such judicious arrangements, that all their efforts were defeated, and Scopas was obliged to accept of the ignominious conditions above mentioned; after which he returned to Alexandria, naked and disarmed.

Antiochus went from thence to Gaza,⁹ where he

¹ Liv. l. xxxi. n. 43.

⁶ Excerpt. Polyb. p. 60.

² Hieron. n. c. xi. Dan. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

³ Liv. l. xxxii. n. 8. Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 77. &c.

Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

⁵ Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 87, & Exc. Leg. 72. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 19.

¹ Liv. l. xxxi. n. 49, & l. xxxii. n. 3.

² Polyb. l. i. xiii. p. 672, 673.

³ Liv. l. xxxii. n. 9—15.

⁴ Plutarch calls him Flaminius, but it is an error, these being two different families.

met with so strong a resistance as exasperated him; and accordingly, having taken the city, he abandoned the plunder of it to his soldiers. This being done, he secured the passes through which the troops were to come that might be sent from Egypt; and returning back, subjected all Palestine and Coele-syria.

The instant that the Jews,¹ who at that time had reason to be displeased with the Egyptians, knew that Antiochus was advancing towards their country, they came very zealously to meet him, and delivered up the keys of all their cities; and when he came to Jerusalem, the priests and elders came out in pomp to meet him, paid him all kinds of honour, and assisted him in driving out of the castle the soldiers which Scopas had left in it. In return for these services, Antiochus granted them a great many privileges; and enacted, by a particular decree, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the temple; a prohibition which seemed visibly to have been made on account of Philopator's attempt, who would have forced his way thither.

Antiochus,² in his eastern expeditions, had received so many services from the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, and depended so much on their fidelity, that when a sedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he sent 2000 Jewish families to quell it and keep the country in peace, and granted them a variety of extraordinary favours. From these Jews, transplanted at this time, descended many of those who were *dispersed or scattered abroad*,³ whom we shall afterwards find so numerous, especially in the gospel times.

Antiochus, having thus subjected all Coele-syria and Palestine, resolved, if possible, to make the like conquests in Asia Minor. The great object he had in view was, to raise the empire of Syria to its pristine glory, by reuniting to it all that his predecessors had ever possessed, and particularly Seleucus Nicator, its founder. As it would be necessary,⁴ for succeeding in his design, to prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests, at a time that he should be at a distance from his kingdom, he sent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria, to offer his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to king Ptolemy; but on this condition, that they should not celebrate their nuptials till they should be a little older; and that then, on the very day of their marriage, he would give up those provinces to Egypt as his daughter's dowry. This proposal being accepted, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the Egyptians relying on his promises, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation.

I now resume the affairs of Ma-

A. M. 3806. cedonia. I observed that Quintus Ant. J. C. 193. Flamininus (by either of which names I shall call him hereafter) had set out from Rome as soon as he had been appointed consul, and had carried with him Lucius his brother to command the fleet. Being arrived in Epirus, he found Villius encamped in presence of Philip's army, who, for a long time, had kept the passes and defiles along the banks of the Apsus, a river of the country of the Taulantians, between Epirus and Illyria. Having upon himself the command of the forces, the first thing he did was to consider and examine the situation of the country. As this pass seemed impracticable to any army, because there was but one narrow steep path in it, cut in the rock, and that the enemy were masters of the eminences; he therefore was advised to take a large compass, as this would bring him to a wide smooth road. But, besides that he must have employed too much time in this circuitous march, he was afraid to move too far from the sea, from whence he had all his provisions. For this reason, he resolved to go over the mountains, and to force the passes, whatever might be the consequence.

Philip having in vain made proposals of peace, in an interview between him and the consul, in which they could not agree upon terms, was obliged to have recourse again to arms. Accordingly, several slight skirmishes were fought in a pretty large plain; the Macedonians coming down in platoons from their mountains to attack the enemy, and afterwards retreating by steep craggy ways. The Romans, hurried on by the fury of the battle, pursuing them to those places, were greatly annoyed; the Macedonians having planted on all these rocks catapultæ and balistæ, overwhelmed them with stones and arrows. Great numbers were wounded on both sides, and night separated the combatants.

Matters being in this state, some shepherds, who fed their sheep in these mountains, came and told Flamininus, that they knew a by-way, which was not guarded; and promised to guide him to the top of the mountains, in three days at farthest. They brought with them, as their guarantee, Charops, a person of the greatest distinction among the Epirots, who secretly favoured the Romans. Flamininus having such a voucher, sends a general with 4000 foot and 300 horse. These shepherds, whom the Romans had chained together for fear of a surprise, led the detachment. During these three days, the consul contented himself with only a few slight skirmishes to amuse the enemy. But on the fourth, at day-break, he caused his whole army to stand to their arms; and having perceived on the mountains a great smoke, which was the signal agreed upon between them, he marches directly against the enemy, perpetually exposed to the darts of the Macedonians, and still fighting hand to hand against those who guarded the passes. The Romans redouble their efforts, and repulse the enemy with great vigour into the most craggy ways; making great shouts, in order that they might be heard by their comrades on the mountain. The latter answered from the heights, with a most dreadful noise; and at the same time fall upon the Macedonians, who, seeing themselves attacked both in front and rear, are struck with a panic, and fly with the utmost speed. However, not above 2000 of them were killed, the paths being so craggy and steep, that it was impossible to pursue them far. The victors plundered their camp, and seized their tents and slaves.

Philip had marched at first towards Thessaly; but being afraid that the enemy would follow and attack him again there, he turned off towards Macedonia, and halted at Tempe, that he might be the better able to succour such cities as should be besieged.

The consul marched by Epirus, but did not lay waste the country, although he knew that all the persons of the greatest distinction in it, Charops excepted, had opposed the Romans. However, as they submitted with great cheerfulness, he had a greater regard to their present disposition, than to their past fault; a conduct that won him entirely the hearts of the Epirots, and conciliated their affection. From thence he marched into Thessaly. The Ætolians and Athamanians had already taken several cities in that country; and he made himself master of the most considerable of them. Atrax, a city he besieged, detained him a long time, and made so stout a defence, that he at last was forced to leave it.

In the meantime, the Roman fleet,⁵ reinforced by those of Attalus and the Rhodians, was also active. They took two of the chief cities of Eubœa, Eretria, and Carystus, garrisoned by Macedonians, after which, the three fleets advanced towards Cenchrea, a port of Corinth.

The consul having marched into Plocis, most of the cities surrendered voluntarily. Elatia was the only city that shut her gates against him; so that he was obliged to besiege it in form. Whilst he was carrying on this siege, he meditated an important design; and this was, to induce the Achæans to abandon Philip, and join the Romans. The three united fleets were upon the point of laying siege to Corinth; however, before he began it, he thought proper to offer the Achæans to make Corinth enter again into their league and to deliver it up to them, provided

¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

² Ibid.

³ They are thus called by St. James and St. Peter. To the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad. James i. 1. To the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, Asia, and Bithynia. I Peter i. 1.

⁴ Hieron. in c. xi. Daniel.

⁵ Liv. l. xxxii. n. 16—25.

they would declare for the Romans. Ambassadors sent in the consul's name by Lucias, his brother, and in the name of Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians, carried this message. The Achæans gave them audience in Sicyon.

The Achæans were very much at a loss in regard to the resolution it was necessary to take. The power of the Lacedæmonians, their perpetual enemies, kept them in awe; and, on the other side, they were in still greater dread of the Romans. They had received, from time immemorial, and very lately, great favours from the Macedonians; but Philip was suspected, on account of his perfidy and cruelty; and they were afraid of being enslaved by him, when the war should be terminated. Such was the disposition of the Achæans. The Roman ambassador spoke first, and afterwards those of Attalus, the Rhodians, and Philip; the Athenians were appointed to speak last, in order that they might refute what Philip's ambassadors should advance. They spoke with greater virulence against the king, because no people had been so cruelly treated by him; and they gave a long detail of his injustice and cruelty in regard to them. These speeches took up the whole day, so that the assembly was put off till the morrow.

All the members being met, the herald, as was the custom, gave notice, in the name of the magistrates, that all those who intended to speak might begin. But no one rose up; and all, gazing upon one another, continued in a deep silence. Upon this Aristæus, chief magistrate of the Achæans, in order that the assembly might not break up without doing business, spoke as follows: "What then is become of that warmth and vigour with which you used to dispute, at your tables, and in your conversations, about Philip and the Romans; which generally rose to so great a height, that you were ready to cut one another's throats? And now, in an assembly summoned for no other purpose, after hearing the speeches and arguments on both sides, you are mute! Surely, if the love of your country cannot loose your tongues, ought not the party zeal which has biased each of you in private, either for or against Philip and the Romans, to oblige you to speak; especially as there is none of you but knows that it will be too late, after the resolution should be once taken?"

These reproaches, though so judicious and reasonable, and made by the principal magistrate, could not prevail with any of the members to give his opinion; nor even occasion the least murmur, the least noise in this assembly, though so very numerous, and composed of the representatives of so many states. Every body continued dumb and motionless.

Aristæus then spoke again to this effect: "Chiefs of the Achæans; I perceive plainly that you want courage more than counsel, since not one among you dares to speak his sentiments, with regard to the common interest, at the risk of danger to himself. Was I a private man, I possibly might act as you do; but being the chief magistrate of the Achæans, it is my opinion, either that the ambassadors should not have been allowed a seat in our assembly, or that they should not be dismissed without some answer. Now, how will it be possible for me to make any, unless you authorize me by a decree? But, since not one among you is willing, or dares to speak his thoughts, let us suppose for a moment, that the speeches of the ambassadors which we heard yesterday, are so many counsels they give, not for their own interest, but purely for ours; and let us weigh them maturely. The Romans, the Rhodians, and Attalus, desire our friendship and alliance; and they request us to assist them in their war against Philip. On the other side, the latter puts us in mind of the treaty which we concluded with him, and sealed and ratified by an oath: one moment he requires us to join with him, and the next he insists upon our observing a strict neutrality. Is no one among you surprised to hear those who are not yet our allies, demand more than he who has long been one? Doubtless, it is not either modesty in Philip, nor temerity in the Romans, which prompts them to act and speak as they do. This difference in their sentiments, arises from the disparity of their strength and situation. My mean-

ing is; we see nothing here belonging to Philip, but his ambassador; whereas the Roman fleet now lies at anchor near Cenchrea, laden with the spoils of Eubœa; and the consul and his legions, who are but at a little distance from the fleet, lay waste Phocis and Locris with impunity. You are surprised that Cleomedon, Philip's ambassador, should have advised you, in so fearful and reserved a manner, to take up arms in favour of the king against the Romans. If, in consequence of the treaty in question, and of the oath on which he lays such stress, we should require Philip to defend us against Nabis, the Lacedæmonians, and the Romans; he would not have any answer to make, much less would he be able to give us any real succour. This we experienced last year, when, notwithstanding the express words of our alliance, and the mighty promises he made us, he suffered Nabis and the Lacedæmonians to ravage our lands without any opposition. In my opinion, Cleomedon seemed evidently to contradict himself in every part of his speech. He spoke with contempt of the war against the Romans, pretending it would have the same success as that which they had already made with Philip. Why then does he implore our succour at a distance, and by an ambassador, instead of coming and defending us in person (we who are his ancient allies) against Nabis and the Romans? Why did he suffer Eretria and Carystus to be taken? Why has he abandoned so many cities of Thessaly, and every part of Phocis and Locris? Why does he suffer Elatia to be besieged at this instant? Was it superior strength; was it fear, or his own will, that made him abandon the defiles of Epirus, and give up to the enemy those insuperable barriers, to go and conceal himself in the most remote part of the kingdom? If he has voluntarily abandoned so many allies to the mercy of the enemy, ought he to keep them from providing for their own safety? If he was actuated by fear, he ought to forgive the same weakness in us. If he has been forced to it, do you, Cleomedon, believe, that it is possible for us, Achæans, to make head against the Roman arms, to which the Macedonians have been obliged to submit? No comparison can be made between the past and the present war. The Romans, at that time employed in affairs of greater importance, gave their allies little or no aid. Now, that they have put an end to the Punic war, which they sustained sixteen years in the very heart of Italy, they do not send succours to the Ætolians, but they themselves, at the head of their armies, invade Philip both by sea and land. Quintus, the third consul whom they have sent against him, having found him in a post which seemed inaccessible, did nevertheless force him from it, plundered his camp, pursued him to Thessaly, and took, almost in his sight, the strongest fortresses belonging to his allies. I will take it for granted, that whatever the Athenian ambassador has advanced concerning the cruelty, the avarice, and the excesses, of Philip, is not true; that the crimes which he committed in Attica do not any way affect us, any more than those he perpetrated in many other places against the gods, celestial and infernal; that we even ought to bury in everlasting oblivion the injuries we ourselves have suffered from him. In a word, let us suppose that we are not treating with Philip, but with Antigonus, a mild and just prince, and from whom we all have received the greatest services; would he make a demand like that which has been insisted on to-day, so evidently adverse to our safety and preservation? In case Nabis and his Lacedæmonians should come and invade us by land, and the Roman fleet by sea, will it be possible for the king to support us against such formidable enemies, or shall we be able to defend ourselves? Past transactions point out to us what we must expect hereafter. The medium which is proposed, of our standing neuter, will infallibly render us a prey to the conqueror, who will not fail to attack us as cunning politicians, who waited for the event, before we would declare ourselves. Believe what I say, when I assure you there is no medium. We must either have the Romans for our friends or for our enemies; and they are come to us with a strong fleet, to offer us their friendship and their aid. To

refuse so advantageous an offer, and slight so favourable an occasion, which will never return, would be the highest folly, and show, that we run voluntarily on our own destruction."

This speech was followed by a great noise and murmuring throughout the whole assembly, some applauding it with joy, and others opposing it with violence. The magistrates, called *Demiurgi*, were no less divided among themselves. Of these, who were ten in number, five declared that each of them would deliberate upon the affair in his assembly, and before his people; the other five protested against it, upon pretence that the laws forbade both the magistrate to propose and the assembly to pass any decree contrary to the alliance concluded with Philip. This day was entirely spent in quarrels and tumultuous cries. There remained but one day more, as the laws appointed the assembly to end at that time. The debates grew so hot, with regard to what was to be concluded in it, that fathers could scarce forbear striking their sons. Memnon of Pellene was one of the five magistrates who refused to refer the debate. His father, whose name was Rhisiases, entreated and conjured him a long time, to let the Achæans provide for their own safety; and not expose them by his obstinacy, to inevitable ruin. Finding his prayers could not avail, he swore that he would kill him with his own hands, if he did not come into his opinion, considering him not as his son, but the enemy of his country. These terrible menaces made such an impression on Memnon, that he at last suffered himself to yield to paternal authority.

The next day, the majority in the assembly desiring to have the affair debated, and the people discovering plainly enough their own sentiments, the Dymeans, Megalopolitans, and some of the Argives, withdrew from the assembly before the decree passed; and no one took offence at this, because they had particular obligations to Philip, who had even very lately done them considerable services. Gratitude is a virtue common to all ages and nations, and ingratitude is abhorred every where. All the other states, when the votes were to be taken, confirmed immediately, by a decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; and suspended the entire conclusion of that with the Romans, till ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to obtain the ratification from the people, without which nothing could be concluded.

In the meantime, three ambassadors were sent to Quintus; and the whole army of the Achæans marched to Corinth, which Lucius, the consul's brother, had already besieged, having before taken Cenchrea. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, from the hopes that a quarrel would soon arise between the garrison and the inhabitants. However, finding the city was quiet, the machines of war were made to approach on all sides, and various assaults were made, which the besieged sustained with great vigour, and always repulsed the Romans. There was in Corinth a great number of Italian deserters, who, in case the city was taken, expected no quarter from the Romans, and therefore fought in despair. Philoctes, one of Philip's captains, having thrown a fresh reinforcement into the city, and the Romans despairing to force it, Lucius at last acquiesced in the advice of Attalus, and accordingly the siege was raised. The Achæans being sent away, Attalus and the Romans returned on board the fleet. The former sailed to the Piræus, and the latter to Corcyra.

Whilst the fleets besieged Corinth, T. Quintus the consul was employed in the siege of Elatia, where he was more successful; for, after the besieged had made a stout and vigorous resistance, he took the city, and afterwards the citadel.

At the same time such of the inhabitants of Argos as had declared for Philip, found means to deliver up their city to Philoctes, one of his generals. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the Achæans had just before concluded with the Romans, Philip still possessed two of their strongest cities, Corinth and Argos.

PEACE. THE ÆTOLIANS, AND NABIS, TYRANT OF SPARTA, DECLARE FOR THE ROMANS. SICKNESS AND DEATH OF ATTALUS. FLAMININUS DEFEATS PHILIP IN A BATTLE NEAR SCOTUSSA AND CYNOSCEPHALE IN THESSALY. A PEACE CONCLUDED WITH PHILIP, WHICH PUTS AN END TO THE MACEDONIAN WAR. THE EXTRAORDINARY JOY OF THE GREEKS AT THE ISTHMIAN GAMES, WHEN PROCLAMATION IS MADE THAT THEY ARE RESTORED TO THEIR ANCIENT LIBERTY BY THE ROMANS.

New consuls were appointed at Rome;¹ but as the slow progress A. M. 3807. which had been made in the affairs Ant. J. C. 197. of Macedonia was justly ascribed to the frequent changing of those who were charged with them, Flamininus was continued in his command, and recruits were sent him.

The season being already advanced,² Quintus had taken up his winter quarters in Phocis and Locris, when Philip sent a herald to him, to desire an interview. Quintus complied very readily, because he did not yet know what had been resolved upon at Rome with regard to himself; and a conference would give him the liberty either to continue the war, in case he should be continued in the command, or to dispose matters so as to bring about a peace, if a successor were appointed him. The time and place being agreed upon, both parties met. Philip was attended by several Macedonian noblemen, and Cycliades, one of the chiefs of the Achæans, whom that people had banished a little before. The Roman general was accompanied by Amynder, king of Athamania, and by deputies from all the allies. After some disputes with regard to the ceremonial, Quintus made his proposals, and every one of the allies their demands. Philip answered them; and as he began to inveigh against the Ætolians, Pheneas, their magistrate, interrupted him in these words: "We are not met here merely about words; our business is, either to conquer sword in hand, or to submit to the most powerful."—"A blind man may see that," replied Philip, ridiculing Pheneas, whose sight was bad. Philip was very fond of jests,³ and could not refrain from them, even in treating on the most serious affairs; a behaviour very unbecoming in a prince.

This first interview being spent in altercation, they met again the next day. Philip came very late to the place of meeting, which it is believed he did purposely, in order that the Ætolians and Achæans might not have time sufficient for answering him. He had a private conference with Quintus, who, having acquainted the confederates with his proposals, not one approved them; and they were upon the point of breaking off the conference, when Philip desired that the decision might be suspended till the next day; promising that he himself would comply, in case it were not in his power to bring them into his opinion. At their next meeting, he earnestly entreated Quintus and the allies not to oppose a peace; and he now merely requested time for sending ambassadors to Rome, promising, either to agree to a peace on the conditions which he himself should prescribe, or accept of such as the senate might require. They could not refuse so reasonable a demand; and accordingly a truce was agreed upon, but on condition that his troops should immediately leave Phocis and Locris. After this, the several parties sent ambassadors to Rome.

Being arrived there, those of the allies were heard first. They inveighed heavily against Philip upon several accounts; but they endeavoured particularly to prove, by the situation of the places, that in case he should continue possessed of Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia (cities which he himself justly, though insolently, called the shackles of Greece,) it would be impossible for that

¹ Liv. l. xxxii. n. 27 and 28.

² Ibid. n. 32—37. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 742—752. Plut. in Flamin. p. 371.

³ Erat diceior naturâ quàm regem decet, et ne inter seria quidem risu satis temperans. Liv.

country to enjoy its liberty. The king's ambassadors were afterwards called in. As they began a prolix harangue, they were interrupted and asked at once, whether they would give up the three cities in question or not? Having answered, that no orders or instructions had been given them on that head, they were sent back without being gratified in a single demand. It was left to the option of Quintius, either to conclude a peace, or carry on the war. By this he perceived that the Senate would not be dissatisfied at the latter; and he himself was much better pleased to put an end to the war by a victory, than by a treaty of peace. He therefore would not agree to an interview with Philip; and sent to acquaint him, that hereafter he would never agree to any proposals he might offer with regard to peace, if he did not engage by way of preliminary entirely to quit Greece.

Philip now seriously engaged in making the necessary preparations for war.¹ As it would be difficult for him to preserve the cities of Achaia, on account of their great distance from his hereditary dominions, he thought it expedient to deliver up Argos to Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, but only as a trust, which he was to surrender back to him, in case he should be victorious in this war; but, if things should fall out otherwise, he then was to possess it as his own. The tyrant accepting the conditions, was brought in the night into the city. Immediately the houses and possessions of such of the principal men as had fled were plundered: and those who stayed behind were robbed of all their gold and silver, and taxed in very heavy sums. Those who gave their money readily and cheerfully were not molested farther; but such as were either suspected of concealing their riches, or discovering only part of them, were cruelly whipped with rods like so many slaves, and treated with the utmost indignity. At length Nabis having summoned the assembly, the first decree he enacted was for abolishing of debts; and the second for dividing the lands equally among the citizens. This is the double bait generally hung out to win the affections of the common people, and exasperate them against the rich.

The tyrant soon forgot from whom and on what condition he held the city. He sent ambassadors to Quintius and to Attalus, to acquaint them that he was master of Argos; and to invite them to an interview, in which he hoped that they would agree, without difficulty, to the conditions of a treaty which he was desirous of concluding with them. His proposal was accepted; in consequence of which the proconsul and the king had an interview with him near Argos; a step which seemed very unbecoming the dignity of either. In this meeting the Romans insisted that Nabis should furnish them with troops, and discontinue the war with the Achæans. The tyrant agreed to the first article, but would consent only to four months' truce with the Achæans. The treaty was concluded on those conditions. This alliance with such a tyrant as Nabis, so infamous for his injustice and cruelty, reflects dishonour on the Romans; but in war, soldiers think themselves allowed to take all advantages, at the expense even of honour and equity.

Nabis, after putting a strong garrison into Argos, had plundered all the men and deprived them of all their riches: a little after he sent his wife thither, to use the ladies in the same manner. Accordingly, she sent for the women of the greatest distinction, either separately or in company; when, partly by civility, and partly by threats, she extorted from them at different times, not only all their gold, but also their richest clothes, their most valuable furniture, and all their precious stones and jewels.

When the spring was come,² (for the incidents I have here related happened in the winter,) Quintius and Attalus resolved, if possible, to secure the alliance of the Bœotians, who till then had been uncertain and wavering. In this view they went, with some ambassadors of the confederates, to Thebes, which was the capital of the country, and the place where

the common assembly met. They were secretly favoured and supported by Antiphus the chief magistrate. The Bœotians thought at first that they had come without forces and unguarded; but were greatly surprised when they saw Quintius followed by a considerable detachment of troops, whence they immediately judged that things would be carried on in an arbitrary manner in the assembly. It was summoned to meet on the morrow. However, they concealed their grief and surprise; and indeed it would have been of no use, and even dangerous, to have discovered them.

Attalus spoke first, and expatiated on the services which his ancestors and himself had done to all Greece, and the republic of the Bœotians in particular. Being hurried away by his zeal for the Romans, and speaking with greater vehemence than suited his age, he fell down in the midst of his speech, and seemed half dead; so that they were forced to carry him out of the assembly, which interrupted their deliberations for some time. Aristenus, captain general of the Achæans, spoke next: and after him, Quintius, who said but little; and laid greater stress on the fidelity of the Romans, than on their power or arms. Afterwards the votes were taken, when an alliance with the Romans was unanimously resolved upon; no one daring to oppose or speak against it.

As Attalus's disorder did not seem dangerous, Quintius left him at Thebes, and returned to Elatia: highly satisfied with the double alliance he had concluded with the Achæans and Bœotians, which entirely secured him behind, and gave him an opportunity of employing his whole attention and efforts on the side of Macedonia.

As soon as Attalus had recovered a little strength, he was carried to Pergamus³ where he died soon after, aged threescore and twelve years, of which he had reigned fifty-four. Polybius observes that Attalus did not imitate most men, to whom great riches are generally the occasion of plunging into vices and irregularities of every kind. His generous and magnificent use of riches, directed and tempered by prudence, gave him an opportunity of enlarging his dominions, and of adorning himself with the title of king. He imagined he was rich, only that he might do good to others; and thought that he put out his money at a high and very lawful interest, in expending it in acts of bounty and in purchasing friends. He governed his subjects with the strictest justice, and always observed inviolable fidelity towards his allies. He was a generous friend, a tender husband, an affectionate father; and perfectly discharged all the duties of a king, and of a private man. He left four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Philætærus, and Athenæus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

The armies on both sides had set out upon their march,⁴ in order to terminate the war by a battle. The forces were pretty equal on both sides, and each consisted of about 25 or 26,000 men. Quintius advanced into Thessaly, where he was informed the enemy were also arrived; but being unable to discover exactly the place where they were encamped, he commanded his soldiers to cut stakes, in order to make use of them upon occasion.

Here Polybius, and Livy, who frequently copies him, show the different manner in which the Greeks and Romans used the stakes with which they fortified their camp. Among the former, the best stakes were those round whose trunk a great number of branches were spread, which made them so much the heavier; besides, as the arms of the Grecian soldiers were so ponderous that they could scarce support them, they consequently could not easily carry stakes at the same time. Now the Romans did not leave above three, at the most four, branches to each stake they cut, and all of them on the same side. In this manner the soldier was able to carry two or three of them, when tied together, especially as he was not incommoded with his arms; his buckler being thrown over

¹ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 38—40. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372.

² Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 1, 2.

³ Liv. l. xxiv. n. 21. Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 191, 192.

⁴ Polyb. l. xvii. p. 734—762. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 3—11. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372, 373. Justin. l. xxx. c. 4.

his shoulders, and having only two or three javelins in his hand.

Besides, the latter kind of stakes do much greater service. Those of the Greeks might very easily be pulled up. As this stake, whose trunk was large, was single and detached from the rest; and besides, as the branches of it were strong and many in number, two or three soldiers could easily pull it out, and by that means open a way to the camp; not to mention that all the stakes near it must necessarily have been loosened, because their branches were too short to interweave one with the other. But it was not so with the stakes cut by the Romans; their branches being so closely interwoven, that it was scarce possible to discover the stake to which they belonged. Nor could any man pull up those stakes by thrusting his hand into the branches, as they were so closely intertwined, that no vacant place was left; besides which, all the ends of them were sharp-pointed. But even supposing any hold could have been laid on them, yet the stake could not easily be torn up, for two reasons; first, because it was driven so deep in the ground, that there was no moving it; and secondly, because the branches were so closely interwoven, that it was impossible to pull up one without forcing away several others at the same time. Though two or three men put their whole strength to them, it was yet impossible for them to force the stakes away. And yet, even if by shaking and moving them about, they at last were forced out of their places, still the opening made in that manner was almost imperceptible. Thus these kind of stakes were preferable, on three accounts, to those of the Greeks; they were to be had every where, could be carried with ease, and were a strong palisade to a camp, which could not easily be broken through.

These sort of digressions, made by so great a master as Polybius, which relate to the usages and practices of war, commonly please persons of the military profession, to whom they may furnish useful hints; and, in my opinion, I ought to neglect nothing that may in any respect conduce to the public utility.

After the general had taken the precautions above mentioned, he marched out at the head of all his forces. After some slight skirmishes, in which the Ætolian cavalry signalized themselves and were always victorious, the two armies halted near Scotussa. Exceeding heavy rains, attended with thunder, having fallen the night before, the next day was so cloudy and dark, that a man could scarce see two spaces before him. Philip then detached a body of troops, with orders to seize upon the summit of the hills called Cynoscephale, which separated his camp from that of the Romans. Quintus also detached ten squadrons of horse, and about 1000 light-armed troops, to reconnoitre the enemy; and at the same time directed them, in the strongest terms, to beware of ambuscades, as the weather was so very gloomy. This detachment met that of the Macedonians which had seized the eminences. At first both parties were a little surprised at meeting, and afterwards began to skirmish. Each party sent advice to their general of what was going forward. The Romans, being severely handled, despatched a courier to their camp to desire a reinforcement. Quintus immediately sent Archdamus and Eupolemus, both Ætolians, and with them two tribesmen, each of whom commanded 1000 men, with 500 horse, which joining the former, soon changed the face of the engagement. The Macedonians behaved valiantly enough; but being oppressed with the weight of their arms, they fled to the hills, and from thence sent to the king for succour.

Philip, who had detached a party of his soldiers for forage, being informed of the danger his first troops were in, and the sky beginning to clear up, despatched Heraclides, who commanded the Thessalian cavalry, Leo, who commanded that of Macedonia, and Athenagoras, under whom were all the hired soldiers, those of Thrace excepted. When this reinforcement joined the first detachment, the courage of the Macedonians revived, they returned to the charge, and drove the Romans from the hills. They even would have gained a complete victory, had it

not been for the resistance made by the Ætolian cavalry, who fought with astonishing courage and intrepidity. This was the best of all the Grecian cavalry and was particularly famous for skirmishes and single combats. These so well sustained the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, that had it not been for their bravery, the Romans would have been repulsed into the valley. At some distance from the enemy they took breath a little, and afterwards returned to the fight.

Couriers came every moment to inform Philip, that the Romans were terrified and fled, and that the time was come for defeating them entirely. Philip was not pleased either with the place or the weather, but could not withstand the repeated shouts and entreaties of his soldiers, who besought him to lead them on to battle; and accordingly, he marched them out of his entrenchments. The proconsul did the same, and drew up his soldiers in order of battle.

The leaders on each side, in this instant which was going to determine their fate, animated their troops by all the most affecting motives. Philip represented to his soldiers, the Persians, Bactrians, Indians, in a word, all Asia and the whole East, subdued by their victorious arms; adding, that they ought now to behave with the greater courage, as they now were to fight, not for sovereignty, but for liberty, which, to valiant minds, is more dear and valuable than the empire of the universe. The proconsul put his soldiers in mind of the victories they had so lately gained; on one side, Sicily and Carthage; on the other, Italy and Spain, subdued by the Romans; and to say all in a word, Hannibal, the great Hannibal, certainly equal, if not superior to Alexander, driven out of Italy by their triumphant arms; and, which ought to rouse their courage the more, this very Philip, whom they now were going to engage, defeated by them more than once, and obliged to fly before them.

Fired by these speeches, the soldiers, who, on one side, called themselves victors of the East; and on the other, conquerors of the West; the former elated with the glorious achievements of their ancestors, and the latter proud of the trophies and the victories they had so lately gained, prepared on each side for battle. Flamininus, having commanded the right wing not to move from its post, placed the elephants in the front of this wing; and, marching with a haughty and intrepid air, led on the left wing against the enemy in person. And now the skirmishers, seeing themselves supported by the legions, return to the charge, and begin the attack.

Philip, with his light-armed troops, and the right wing of his phalanx, hastened towards the mountains; commanding Nicanor to march the rest of the army immediately after him. When he approached the Roman camp, and found his light armed troops engaged, he was exceedingly pleased at the sight. However, not long after, seeing them give way, and in exceeding want of support, he was obliged to sustain them, and engage in a general battle, though the greatest part of his phalanx was still upon their march towards the hills where he then was. In the mean time he receives such of his troops as had been repulsed; posts them, whether horse or foot, on his right wing; and commands the light armed soldiers and the phalanx to double their files, and to close their ranks on the right.

This being done, as the Romans were near, he commands the phalanx to march towards them with their pikes presented, and the light-armed to extend beyond them on the right and left. Quintus had also, at the same time, received into his intervals those who had begun the fight, and now charged the Macedonians. The onset being begun, each side sent up the most dreadful cries. Philip's right wing had visibly all the advantage; for as he charged with impetuosity from the heights with his phalanx on the

¹ His adhortationibus utrinque concitati milites, prælio concurrunt, alteri Orientis, alteri Occidentis imperio gloriantes ferentesque in bellum, alii majorum suorum antiquam et obsoletam gloriam, alii vicinam recentibus experimentis virtutis florem. *Justin.*

Romans, the latter could not sustain the shock of troops so well closed and covered with their shields, and whose front presented an impenetrable hedge of pikes. The Romans were obliged to give way.

But it was different with regard to Philip's left wing, which was but just arrived. As its ranks were broken and separated by the hillocks and uneven ground, Quintius flew to his right wing, and charged vigorously the left wing of the Macedonians; persuaded, that if he could but break it, and put it in disorder, it would draw after it the other wing, although victorious. The event answered his expectations. As this wing, on account of the unevenness and ruggedness of the ground, could not keep in the form of a phalanx, nor double its ranks to give it depth, in which the whole strength of the body consists, it was entirely defeated.

On this occasion a tribune, who had not above twenty companies under him, made a movement that contributed very much to the victory. Observing that Philip, who was at a great distance from the rest of the army, was charging the left wing of the Romans with vigour, he leaves the right where he was, (it not being in want of support,) and consulting only his own reason, and the present disposition of the armies, he marches towards the phalanx of the enemy's right wing, and charges them in the rear with all his troops. The phalanx, on account of the prodigious length of the pikes, and the closeness of its ranks, cannot face about to the rear, nor fight man to man. The tribune breaks into it, killing all before him as he advanced; and the Macedonians, not being able to defend themselves, throw down their arms and fly. What increased the slaughter was, that the Romans who had given way, having rallied, were returned to attack the phalanx in front at the same time.

Philip, judging at first of the rest of the battle from the advantage he had obtained in his wing, assured himself of a complete victory. But when he saw his soldiers throw down their arms, and the Romans pouring upon them behind, he drew off with a body of troops to some distance from the field of battle, and from thence took a survey of the whole engagement: when perceiving that the Romans, who pursued the left wing, extended almost to the summit of the mountains, he got together all the Thracians and Macedonians he could assemble, and endeavoured to save himself by flight.

After the battle, in every part of which victory had declared for the Romans, Philip retired to Tempe, where he halted to wait for those who had escaped the defeat. He had been so prudent as to send orders to Larissa, to burn all his papers, that the Romans might not have an opportunity of distressing any of his friends. The Romans pursued for some time those who fled. The Ætoliens were accused of having occasioned Philip's escape, for they amused themselves in plundering his camp, whilst the Romans were employed in pursuing the enemy; so that when they returned, they found scarcely any thing in it. They reproached them at first on that account, and afterwards quarrelled outright, each side loading the other with the grossest invectives. On the morrow, after having got together the prisoners and the rest of the spoils, they marched towards Larissa. The Romans lost about 700 men in this battle, and the Macedonians 13,000, whereof 8000 died in the field, and 5000 were taken prisoners. Thus ended the battle of Cynoscephale.

The Ætoliens had certainly signalized themselves in this battle, and contributed very much to the victory; but they were so vain, or rather insolent, as to ascribe the success of it entirely to themselves; declaring, without reserve or modesty, that they were far better soldiers than the Romans; and spread this report throughout all Greece. Quintius, who was already offended at them, for their greedy impatience in seizing the plunder without waiting for the Romans, was still more enraged at them for their insolent reports in regard to their superior valour. From that time he behaved with great coldness towards them, and never informed them of any thing relating to public affairs, affecting to humble their pride on all occasions.

These reports seem to have made too strong an impression on Quintius, who did not act with due prudence and caution towards allies so useful to the Romans; for by thus alienating their affections, he paved the way, at a distance, for that open defection, to which the resentment of the Ætoliens afterwards carried them. But had he discerned wisely; had he shut his eyes and ears to many things, and appeared sometimes ignorant of what the Ætoliens might say or do improperly, he might perhaps have remedied every thing.

Some days after the battle, Philip sent ambassadors to Flamininus, who was at Larissa, upon pretence of desiring a truce for burying their dead; but in reality to obtain an interview with him. The proconsul agreed to both requests, and was so polite as to bid the messenger tell the king, "that he desired him not to despond." The Ætoliens were highly offended at this message. As these people were not well acquainted with the character of the Romans, and judged of their disposition from their own, they imagined that Flamininus would not have appeared favourable to Philip, if the latter had not corrupted him with bribes; and they were not ashamed to spread such reports among the allies.

The Roman general set out, with the confederates for the appointed place of meeting, which was at the entrance of Tempe. He assembled them before the king arrived, to inquire what they thought of the conditions of peace. Anyander, king of Athamania, who spoke in the name of the rest, said, that such a treaty ought to be concluded as might enable Greece to preserve peace and liberty even in the absence of the Romans.

Alexander the Ætolian spoke next, and said, that if the proconsul imagined that in concluding a peace with Philip, he should procure a solid peace for the Romans, or lasting liberty for the Greeks, he was greatly mistaken: that the only way to put an end to the Macedonian war, would be to drive Philip out of his kingdom; and that this might be very easily effected, provided he would take the advantage of the present occasion. After corroborating what he had advanced with several reasons he sat down.

Quintius, addressing himself to Alexander; "You do not know," says he, "either the character of the Romans, my views, or the interest of Greece. It is not usual with the Romans, after they have engaged in war with a king, or other power, to ruin him entirely; and of this Hannibal and the Carthaginians are a manifest proof. As to myself, I never intended to make an irreconcilable war against Philip; but have always been inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he should yield to the conditions that should be prescribed him. You yourselves, Ætoliens, in the assemblies which were held for that purpose, never once mentioned depriving Philip of his kingdom. Should victory inspire us with such a design? How shameful are such sentiments! When an enemy attacks us in the field, it is our business to repel him with bravery and haughtiness; but when he is fallen, it is the duty of the victor to show moderation, gentleness, and humanity. With regard to the Greeks, it is their interest, I confess, that the kingdom of Macedonia should be less powerful than formerly; but it no less concerns their welfare, that it should not be entirely destroyed. That kingdom serves them as a barrier against the Thracians and the Gauls, who, were they not checked by it, would certainly pour down upon Greece, as they have frequently done before."

Flamininus concluded with declaring, that his opinion and that of the council, was, that if Philip would promise to observe faithfully all the conditions which the allies had formerly prescribed, that then a peace should be granted him, after having consulted the senate about it; and that the Ætoliens might adopt whatever resolution they pleased on this occasion. Phœneas, prator of the Ætoliens, having represented, in very strong terms, that Philip, if he should escape the present danger, would soon form new projects,

1 A great number of Gauls had settled in the countries adjoining to Thrace.

and light up a fresh war; "I shall take care of that," replied the proconsul; "and shall take effectual methods to put it out of his power to undertake any thing against us."

The next day Philip arrived at the place appointed for the conference; and three days after, the council being met again, he came into it, and spoke with so much prudence and wisdom, as softened the whole assembly. He declared that he would accept, and execute, whatever conditions the Romans and the allies should prescribe; and that with regard to every thing else, he would rely entirely on the discretion of the senate. Upon these words the whole council were silent. Only Phœneas the Ætolian started some difficulties, which were altogether improper, and for that reason entirely disregarded.

But what prompted Flamininus to urge the conclusion of the peace was, his having advice, that Antiochus, at the head of an army, was marching out of Syria, in order to make an irruption into Europe. He apprehended that Philip might think of putting his cities into a condition of defence, and thereby might gain time. Besides, he was sensible that should another consul come in his stead, all the honour of that war would be ascribed to him. These reasons prevailed with him to grant the king a four month's truce; whereupon he received 400 talents¹ from him, took Demetrius his son, and some of his friends, as hostages, and gave him permission to send to Rome to receive such farther conditions from the senate, as they should prescribe. Matters being thus adjusted, the parties separated, after having mutually promised, that in case a peace should not be concluded, Flamininus should return Philip the talents and the hostages. This being done, the several parties concerned sent deputations to Rome; some to solicit peace, and others to throw obstacles in its way.

Whilst these measures were concerting to bring about a general peace,² some expeditions, of little importance, were undertaken in several places. Androthènes, who commanded under the king, at Corinth, had a considerable body of troops, consisting of above 6000 men: he was defeated in a battle by Nicostratus, pretor of the Achæans, who came upon him unawares, and attacked him at a time when his troops were dispersed up and down the plains, and plundering the country. The Acarnanians were divided in their sentiments, some being for Philip, and others for the Romans. The latter had laid siege to Leucas. News being brought of the victory gained at Cynoscephale, the whole country submitted to the conquerors. At the same time the Rhodians took Perea, a small country in Caria, which, as they pretended, belonged to them, and had been unjustly taken from them by the Macedonians. Philip, on the other side, repulsed the Dardanians, who had made an inroad into his kingdom, in order to take advantage of the ill state of his affairs. After this expedition, the king retired to Thessalonica.

At Rome,³ the time for the election of consuls being come, L. Fulvius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus were chosen. At the same time letters arrived from Quintus, containing the particulars of his victory over Philip. They were first read before the senate, and afterwards to the people; and public prayers, during five days, were ordered, to thank the gods for the protection they had granted the Romans in the war against Philip.

Some days after, the ambassadors arrived to treat of the intended peace with the king of Macedonia. The affair was debated in the senate. Each of the ambassadors made long speeches, according to their respective views and interests; but, at last, the majority were for peace. The same affair being brought before the people, Marcellus, who passionately desired to command the armies in Greece, used his utmost endeavours to break the treaty, but all to

no purpose; for the people approved of Flamininus's proposal, and ratified the conditions. The senate then appointed ten of the most illustrious citizens to go into Greece, in order to settle, in conjunction with Flamininus, the affairs of that country, and secure its liberties. In the same assembly, the Achæans desired to be received as allies of the people of Rome; but that affair meeting with some difficulties, it was referred to the ten commissioners.

A sedition had broken out in Bœotia, between the partisans of Philip and those of the Romans, which rose to a great height. Nevertheless, it was not attended with any ill consequences, the proconsul having soon appeased it.

The ten commissioners,⁴ who had set out from Rome to settle the affairs of Greece, arrived soon in that country. The chief conditions of the treaty of peace, which they settled in concert with Flamininus, were as follow: That all the other⁵ cities of Greece, both in Asia and Europe, should be free, and be governed by their own laws: that Philip, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, should evacuate those in which he then had garrisons: that he should restore to the Romans all the prisoners and deserters, and deliver up to them all the ships that had decks, five feluccas excepted, and the galley having sixteen benches of rowers: that he should pay 1000 talents;⁶ one half immediately, and the other half in ten years, fifty every year, by way of tribute. Among the hostages required of him, was Demetrius his son, who accordingly was sent to Rome.

In this manner Flamininus ended the Macedonian war, to the great satisfaction of the Greeks, and very happily for Rome. For, not to mention Hannibal, who, though vanquished, might still have an opportunity of finding the Romans considerable employment; Antiochus seeing his power considerably increased by his glorious exploits, which had acquired him the surname of Great, was at that time meditating to carry his arms into Europe. If, therefore, Flamininus, by his great prudence, had not foreseen what would come to pass, and had not speedily concluded this peace; had the war against Antiochus been joined, in the midst of Greece, with the war carrying on against Philip; and had the two greatest and most powerful kings then in the world, (uniting their views and interests) made head against Rome at the same time; it is certain the Romans would have been engaged in as many battles, and in as great dangers, as those they had been obliged to sustain in the war against Hannibal.

As soon as this treaty of peace was known, all Greece, Ætolia excepted, received the news of it with universal joy. The inhabitants of the latter country seemed dissatisfied, and inveighed privately against it among the confederates, affirming, that it was nothing but empty words; that the Greeks were amused with the name of liberty; with which specious term the Romans covered their interested views: that they indeed suffered the cities in Asia to enjoy their freedom; but that they seemed to reserve to themselves those of Europe, as Orem, Eretria, Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth. That therefore Greece, strictly speaking, was not freed from its chains; and, at most, had only charged its sovereign.

These complaints made the proconsul so much the more uneasy, as they were not altogether without foundation. The commissioners, pursuant to the instructions they had received from Rome, advised Flamininus to restore all the Greeks to their liberty; but to keep possession of the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which were the keys of Greece; and to put strong garrisons into them, to prevent their being seized by Antiochus. He obtained, in the council, to have Corinth set at liberty; but it was resolved there, that a strong garrison should be

⁴ Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 795—800. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 30—35. Plut. in Flam. p. 374—376.

⁵ This word *other*, is put here in opposition to such of the Grecian cities as were subject to Philip, part of which only were restored to their liberties, because the Romans thought it necessary to garrison Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth.

⁶ About 150,000*l*.

¹ Four hundred thousand French crowns.

² Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 14—19.

³ Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 793, 794. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 24 & 27—29.

put into the citadel, as well as in the two cities of Chalcis and Demetrias; and this for a time only, till they should be entirely rid of their fears with regard to Antiochus.

It was now the time in which the Isthmian games were to be solemnized; and the expectation of what was there to be transacted, had drawn thither an incredible multitude of people, and persons of the highest rank. The conditions of the treaty of peace, which were not yet entirely made public, formed the topic of all conversations, and various opinions were entertained concerning them; but very few could be persuaded, that the Romans would evacuate all the cities they had taken. All Greece was in this uncertainty, when, the multitude being assembled in the stadium to see the games, a herald comes forward, and publishes with a loud voice:—"The senate and people of Rome, and Titus Quintus the general, having overcome Philip and the Macedonians, set at liberty from all garrisons, and taxes, and imposts, the Corinthians, the Locrians, the Phocians, the Eubœans, the Phthiot Achæans, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perrhæbians; declare them free, and ordain that they shall be governed by their respective laws and usages."

At these words, which many heard but imperfectly, because of the noise that interrupted them, all the spectators were filled with excess of joy. They gazed upon and questioned one another with astonishment, and could not believe either their eyes or ears; so like a dream was what they then saw and heard. It was thought necessary for the herald to repeat the proclamation, which was now listened to with the most profound silence, so that not a single word of the decree was lost. And now fully assured of their happiness, they abandoned themselves again to the highest transports of joy, and broke into such loud and repeated acclamations, that the sea resounded with them at a great distance: and some ravens, which happened to fly that instant over the assembly, fell down in the stadium; so true it is, that of all the blessings of this life, none are so dear to mankind as liberty! The games and sports were hurried over, without any attention being paid to them; for so great was the general joy upon this occasion, that it extinguished all other sentiments.

The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the Roman general; and every one being eager to see his deliverer, to salute him, to kiss his hand and throw crowns and festoons of flowers over him; he would have run the hazard of being pressed to death by the crowd, had not the vigour of his years (for he was not above thirty-three years old,) and the joy which so glorious a day gave him, sustained and enabled him to undergo the fatigue of it.

And indeed I would ask, whether any mortal ever experienced a more happy or a more glorious day than this was for Flamininus and the Roman people? What are all the triumphs of the world in comparison with what we have seen on this occasion? Should we heap together all the trophies, all the victories, all the conquests of Alexander and the greatest captains, how little would they appear, when opposed to this single action of goodness, humanity, and justice? It is a great misfortune to princes, that they are not so sensible as they ought to be to so refined a joy, to so affecting and exquisite a glory, as that which arises from doing good to mankind.

The remembrance of so delightful a day,² and of

the valuable blessings then bestowed, was continually renewed, and for a long time formed the only subject of conversation at all times and in all places. Every one cried in the highest transports of admiration, and a kind of enthusiasm, "That there was a people in the world, who at their own expense and the hazard of their lives, engaged in a war for the liberty of other nations; and that, not for their neighbours, or people situated on the same continent, but who crossed seas, and sailed to distant climes, to destroy and extirpate unjust power from the earth, and to establish universal law, equity, and justice. That by a single word, and the voice of a herald, liberty had been restored to all the cities of Greece and Asia. That a great soul only could have formed such a design; but that to execute it was the effect at once of the highest good fortune, and the most consummate virtue."

They called to mind all the great battles,³ which Greece had fought for the sake of Liberty. "After sustaining so many wars," said they, "never was its valour crowned with so blessed a reward, as when strangers came and took up arms in its defence. It was then, that almost without shedding a drop of blood, or losing scarce one man, it acquired the greatest and noblest of all prizes for which mankind can contend. Valour and prudence are rare at all times; but of all virtues, justice is most rare. Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, had great abilities for carrying on war, and gaining battles both by sea and land; but then it was for themselves and their country, not for strangers and foreigners, they fought. That height of glory was reserved for the Romans."

Such were the reflections the Greeks made on the present state of affairs; and the effects soon answered the glorious proclamation made at the Isthmian games; for the commissioners separated, to go and put their decree in execution in all the cities.

Flamininus, being returned from Argos, was appointed president of the Nemean games. He discharged perfectly well all the duties of that employment, and used his utmost endeavours to add to the pomp and magnificence of the festival; and he also published by a herald at these games, as he had done at the others, the liberty of Greece.

As he visited the several cities, he established good regulations in them, reformed the administration of justice, restored unity and concord between the citizens, by appeasing quarrels and seditions, and recalling the exiles; infinitely more pleased with being able by the means of persuasion to reconcile the Greeks one to another, and to re-establish unity amongst them, than he had been in conquering the Macedonians; so that even liberty seemed the least of the blessings they had received from him. And, indeed, of what service would liberty have been to the Greeks, had not justice and concord been restored among them? What an example is here for governors of provinces! How happy are the people under magistrates of this character!

It is related that Xenocrates the philosopher, having been delivered at Athens, by Lycurgus the orator, out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were dragging him to prison, in order to make him pay a sum which foreigners were obliged by law to pay into the public treasury, and meeting soon after the sons of his deliverer, he said to them, "I repay with usury the kindness your father did me: for I am the cause that all mankind praise him." But the gratitude which the Greeks showed Flamininus and the Romans, did not terminate merely in causing them to be praised, but also infinitely contributed to the augmentation of their power, by inducing all nations to confide in them, and rely on the faith of their engagements. For they not only received such gene-

¹ *Auditâ voce præconis, majus gaudium fuit, quàm quod universum homines caperent. Vix satis credere se quisque audisse: alii alios intueri, mirabundi velut somni vanam speciem: quod ad quemque pertineret, suarum aurium fidei minimùm credentes, proximos interrogabant. Revocatus præco—iterum pronunciarè eadem. Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantum cum clamore plausus est ortus, totiesque repetitus, ut facillè appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudinì gratius, quàm libertatem, esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum esset, ut nullius eae animi nec oculi spectacula intenti essent. Adhuc unum gaudium præco—paverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatum.*—*Liv.* l. xxxiii. n. 32.

² Nec præsens omnium modò effusa letitia est; sed per multos dies gratis et cogitationibus et sermonibus revocata.

Esse aliquam in terras gentem, quæ suâ impensâ, suo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum; nec hoc finitimis, aut propinque vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis præstat: maria trajiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit, et ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint. Unâ voce præconis liberatas omnes Græciæ atque Asiæ urbes. Hoc spe concipere, audacia animi fuisse: ad effectum adducere, virtutis et fortunæ ingentis. *Liv.* a. 33.

³ *Plut.* in Flamin.

erals as the Romans sent them, but requested earnestly that they might be sent; they called them in, and put themselves into their hands with joy. And not only nations and cities, but princes and kings, who had complaints to offer against the injustice of neighbouring powers, had recourse to them, and put themselves in a manner under their safeguard; so that, in a short time, from an effect of the Divine protection (to use Plutarch's expression,) the whole earth submitted to their empire.

Cornelius, one of the commissioners, who had dispersed themselves up and down, came to the assembly of the Greeks which was held at Thermæ,² a city of Ætolia. He there made a long speech, to exhort the Ætolians to continue firmly attached to the party for whom they had declared; and never to infringe the alliance they had made with the Romans. Some of the principal Ætolians complained, but with modesty, that the Romans, since the victory they had obtained, did not show so much favour as before to their nation. Others reproached him, but in harsh and injurious terms, that had it not been for the Ætolians, the Romans not only would never have conquered Philip, but would never have been able to set foot in Greece. Cornelius, to prevent all disputes and contests, which are always of pernicious consequence, was so prudent as only to refer them to the senate, assuring them that all possible justice would be done them. Accordingly they came to that resolution; and thus ended the war against Philip.

SECTION IV.—COMPLAINTS BEING MADE AND SUSPICIONS ARISING CONCERNING ANTIOCHUS, THE ROMANS SEND AN EMBASSY TO HIM, WHICH HAS NO OTHER EFFECT, THAN TO DISPOSE BOTH PARTIES FOR AN OPEN RUPTURE. A CONSPIRACY IS FORMED BY SCOPAS THE ÆTOLIAN AGAINST PTOLEMY. HE AND HIS ACCOMPLICES ARE PUT TO DEATH. HANNIBAL RETIRES TO ANTIOCHUS. WAR OF FLAMININUS AGAINST NABIS, WHOM HE BESIEGES IN SPARTA: HE OBLIGES HIM TO SUE FOR PEACE, AND GRANTS IT HIM. HE ENTERS ROME IN TRIUMPH.

THE war in Macedonia had ended very seasonably for the Romans, who otherwise would have had upon their hands at the same time two powerful enemies, Philip and Antiochus: for it was evident, that the Romans would soon be obliged to proclaim war against the king of Syria, who enlarged his conquests daily, and undoubtedly was preparing to cross over into Europe.

After having left himself nothing to fear on the side of Cœle-syria Ant. J. C 196. and Palestine,³ by the alliance he had concluded with the king of Egypt, and possessed himself of several cities of Asia Minor, and among them that of Ephesus, he took the most proper measures for the success of his designs; and the reinstating himself in the possession of all those kingdoms which he pretended had formerly belonged to his ancestors.

Smyrna, Lampsacus, and the other Grecian cities of Asia which enjoyed their liberty at that time, seeing plainly that he intended to bring them under subjection, resolved to defend themselves. But being of themselves unable to resist so powerful an enemy, they had recourse to the Romans for protection, which was readily granted. The Romans saw plainly that it was their interest to check the progress of Antiochus towards the West, and how fatal the consequence would be, should they suffer him to extend his power by settling on the coast of Asia, according to the plan he had laid down. They were therefore very glad of the opportunity those free cities gave them, of opposing it; and immediately sent an embassy to him.

¹ Θεοῦ συνσπαραγμένης.

² According to Livy, it was at Thermopylæ. It is doubted whether he has justly translated Polybius in this place, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Θερμακίων συνόδῳ. This is said of an assembly of Ætolians in the city of Thermæ, which is of Ætolia.

³ Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 38—41. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 769, 770. Appian. de bellis Syr. p. 86—88.

Before the ambassadors had time to reach Antiochus, he had already sent off detachments from his army, which had formed the sieges of Smyrna and Lampsacus. That prince had passed the Hellespont in person with the rest of it, and possessed himself of all the Thracian Chersonesus. Finding the city of Lysimachia⁴ all in ruins (the Thracians having demolished it a few years before) he began to rebuild it, with the design of founding a kingdom there for Seleucus his second son: to bring all the country round it under his dominion, and to make this city the capital of the new kingdom.

At the very time that he was revolving all these new projects, the Roman ambassadors arrived in Thrace. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of that country, and were attended by some deputies from the Grecian cities in Asia. In the first conferences, the whole time was passed in mutual civilities, which appeared sincere; but when they proceeded to business, the face of affairs was soon changed. L. Cornelius, who spoke on this occasion, required Antiochus to restore to Ptolemy the several cities in Asia which he had taken from him; to evacuate all those which had been possessed by Philip; it not being just that he should reap the fruits of the war, which the Romans had carried on against that prince; and not to molest such of the Grecian cities of Asia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were greatly surprised at Antiochus, for crossing into Europe with two such numerous armies, and so powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Lysimachia, an undertaking which could have no other view but to invade them.

To all this Antiochus answered that Ptolemy should have full satisfaction, when his marriage, which was already concluded, should be solemnized: that with regard to such Grecian cities as desired to retain their liberties, it was from him and not from the Romans they were to receive it. With respect to Lysimachia, he declared, that he rebuilt it with the design of making it the residence of Seleucus his son; that Thrace, and the Chersonesus, which was part of it, belonged to him; that they had been conquered from Lysimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors; and that he came thither as into his own patrimony. As to Asia, and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he knew not what right the Romans could have to them; and therefore he desired them to interfere no farther in the affairs of Asia than he did with those of Italy.

The Romans desiring that the ambassadors of Smyrna and Lampsacus might be called in, they accordingly were admitted. They spoke with so much freedom, as incensed Antiochus to that degree, that he cried in a passion, that the Romans had no business to judge of those affairs. Upon this the assembly broke up in great disorder; none of the parties received satisfaction, and every thing seemed to tend to an open rupture.

During these negotiations, a report was spread that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus immediately thought himself master of Egypt, and accordingly went on board his fleet, in order to go and take possession of it. He left his son Seleucus at Lysimachia, with the army, to complete the projects he had formed with regard to those parts. He first landed at Ephesus, where he caused all his ships in that port to join his fleet, in order to sail as soon as possible for Egypt. On his arrival at Patara in Lycia, certain advice was brought, that the report which was spread concerning Ptolemy's death was false. He then changed his course, and made for the island of Cyprus, in order to seize it; but a storm that arose sunk many of his ships, destroyed a great number of his men, and frustrated all his measures. He thought himself very happy in having an opportunity of entering the harbour of Seleucia with the remnant of his fleet, which he there refitted, and went and wintered at Antioch, without making any new attempt that year.

The foundation of the rumour which was spread

⁴ This city stood on the isthmus or neck of the peninsula.

of Ptolemy's death,¹ was from a conspiracy having been really formed against his life. This plot was contrived by Scopas. That general seeing himself at the head of all the foreign troops, the greatest part of which were Ætolians as well as himself, imagined that with so formidable a body of well-disciplined veteran forces, it would be easy for him to usurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and had he not let slip the opportunity, by wasting the time in consulting and debating with his friends, instead of acting; he would certainly have succeeded. Aristomenes, the prime minister, being apprised of the conspiracy, laid Scopas under an arrest; after which he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed, with all his accomplices. This plot made the government confide no longer in the Ætolians, who till then had been in great esteem for their fidelity; most of them were removed from their employments, and sent into their own country. After Scopas's death, immense treasures were found in his coffers, which he had amassed, by plundering the provinces over which he commanded. As Scopas, during the course of his victories in Palestine, had subjected Judæa and Jerusalem to the Egyptian empire, the greatest part of his treasures arose, no doubt, from thence. The transition from avarice to perfidy and treason is often very short; and the fidelity of that general, who discovers a passion for riches, cannot be safely relied on.

One of Scopas's principal accomplices was Dichearchus, who had formerly been admiral to Philip, king of Macedonia. A very strange action is related of this man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the islands called Cyclades, in open violation of the most solemn treaties, before he came out of the harbour he set up two altars, one to Injustice and the other to Impiety, and offered sacrifices on both, to insult, as one would imagine, at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so greatly distinguished himself by his crimes, Aristomenes distinguished him also from the rest of the conspirators in his execution. He despatched all the others by poison, but as for Dichearchus, he caused him to die in exquisite torments.

The contrivers of the conspiracy being put to death, and all their measures entirely defeated, the king was declared of age, though he had not yet quite attained the years appointed by the laws, and was set upon the throne with great pomp and solemnity. He thereby took the government upon himself, and accordingly began to transact business. As long as Aristomenes was in administration under him, all things went well: but when the king conceived disgust for that faithful and able minister, and not long after put him to death, (to rid himself of a man whose virtue was offensive to him,) the remainder of his reign was one continued series of disorder and confusion. His subjects laboured now under as many evils, and even greater, than in his father's reign, when vice was most triumphant.

When the ten commissioners,²

A. M. 3809. who were sent to settle the affairs Ant. J. C. 195. of Philip, were returned to Rome, and made their report, they told their senate, that they must expect and prepare for a new war, which would be still more dangerous than that they had just before terminated: that Antiochus had crossed into Europe with a strong army, and a considerable fleet: that upon a false report which had been spread concerning Ptolemy's death, he had set out, in order to possess himself of Egypt, and that otherwise he would have made Greece the seat of the war: that the Ætolians, a people naturally restless and turbulent, and ill-affected to Rome, would certainly rise on that occasion: that Greece fostered in its own bosom a tyrant (Nabis) more avaricious and cruel than any of his predecessors, who was meditating how to enslave it; and that thus having been restored in vain to its liberty by the Romans, it would only change its sovereign, and would fall under a

more grievous captivity than before, especially if Nabis should continue in possession of the city of Argos.

Flamininus was commanded to have an eye on Nabis, and they were particularly vigilant over all Antiochus's steps. He had just before left Antioch, in the beginning of the spring, in order to go to Ephesus; and had scarce left it, when Hannibal arrived there, and claimed his protection. That general had lived unmolested in Carthage, during six years from the conclusion of peace with the Romans: but he was now suspected of holding a secret correspondence with Antiochus, and of forming with him the design of carrying the war into Italy. His enemies sent advice of this secretly to the Romans, who immediately deputed an embassy to Carthage, to inform themselves more particularly as to the fact; with orders, in case the proof should be manifest, to require the Carthaginians to deliver up Hannibal to them. But that general had too much penetration and foresight, and had been too long accustomed to prepare for storms, even in the greatest calms, not to suspect their design; so that before they had an opportunity to execute their commission, he withdrew privately, got to the coast, and went on board a ship which always lay ready by his order against such an occasion. He escaped to Tyre, and went from thence to Antioch, where he expected to find Antiochus, but was obliged to follow him to Ephesus.

He arrived there exactly at the time that the prince was in suspense whether he should engage in a war with the Romans. The arrival of Hannibal gave him great satisfaction. He did not doubt, but with the counsel and assistance of a man who had so often defeated the Romans, and who had thereby justly acquired the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to complete all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests: accordingly war was resolved, and all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations. Nevertheless, during that time, embassies were sent on both sides, upon pretext of an accommodation; but, in reality, to gain time, and see what the enemy were doing.

With regard to Greece,⁴ all the states except the Ætolians, whose secret discontent I noticed before, enjoyed the sweets of liberty and peace, and in that condition admired no less the temperance, justice, and moderation, of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his courage and intrepidity in the field. Such was the state of things, when Quintus received a decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war against Nabis. Upon this, he convenes the confederates at Corinth, and after acquainting them with the cause of their meeting, "You perceive," says he, "that the subject of the present deliberation solely regards you. Our business is to determine, whether Argos, an ancient and most illustrious city, situated in the midst of Greece, shall enjoy its liberty in common with the rest of the cities, or whether it shall continue subject to the tyrant of Sparta, who has seized it. This affair concerns the Romans no otherwise, than as the slavery of a single city hinders their glory in having delivered all Greece from being full and complete. Consider therefore what is to be done, and your resolutions shall determine my conduct."

No doubt could be entertained as to the sentiments of the assembly: the Ætolians alone could not forbear showing their resentment against the Romans, which they carried so high, as to charge them with a breach of faith in keeping possession of Chalcis and Demetrias, at a time that they boasted their having restored liberty to the whole of Greece. They inveighed no less against the rest of the allies, who, in their turn, desired to be secured from the rapine of the Ætolians, who were Greeks only in name, but real enemies in their hearts. The dispute growing warm, Quintus obliged them to debate only on the subject before

¹ Sed res Anibalem non diu latuit, virum ad prospiciendæ cavendæque pericula peritum; nec minus in secundis adversa, quam in adversis secunda cogitantem.—*Justin.*
Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 22—13.

¹ Polyb. l. xvij. p. 771—773.

² Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 44—49, Justin. l. xxxi. c. 2.

them; upon which it was unanimously resolved, that war should be declared against Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, in case he should refuse to restore Argos to its former liberty; and every one promised to send a speedy succour; which was faithfully performed. Aristæus, general of the Achæans, joined Quintius near Cleonæ, with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse.

Philip, on his part, sent 1500 men, and the Thesalians 400 horse. Quintius's brother arrived also with a fleet of forty galleys, to which the Rhodians and king Eumenes joined theirs. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles came to the Roman camp, in hopes of having an opportunity of returning to their native country. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta justly belonged. When but an infant, he had been expelled by Lycurgus, the tyrant, after the death of Cleomenes.

The allies designed at first to besiege Argos, but Quintius thought it more advisable to march directly against the tyrant. He had greatly strengthened the fortifications of Sparta; and had sent for 1000 chosen soldiers from Crete, whom he had joined to the other thousand he had already among his forces. He had 3000 other foreign troops in his service; and, besides these, 10,000 natives of the country, exclusively of the Helots.

At the same time he also concerted measures to secure himself from domestic commotions. Having caused the people to come unarmed to the assembly, and having posted his guards armed round them; after some little preamble, he declared, that as the present juncture of affairs obliged him to take some precautions for his own safety, he therefore was determined to imprison a certain number of citizens, whom he had just cause to suspect; and that the instant the enemy should be repulsed, (whom, he said, he had no reason to fear, provided things were quiet at home,) he would release those prisoners. He then named about eighty youths of the principal families; and throwing them into a secure prison, ordered all their throats to be cut the night following. He also put to death in the villages a great number of the Helots, who were suspected of a design to desert to the enemy. Having by this barbarity spread universal terror, he prepared for a vigorous defence; firmly resolved not to quit the city during the ferment it was in, nor hazard a battle against troops much superior in number to his own.

Quintius having advanced to the Eurotas, which runs almost under the walls of the city, whilst he was forming his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops against him. As the Romans did not expect such a sally, because they had not been opposed at all upon their march, they were at first put into some disorder, but soon recovering themselves, they repulsed the enemy to the walls of the city. On the morrow, Quintius leading his troops in order of battle, near the river on the other side of the city, when the rear-guard had passed, Nabis caused his foreign troops to attack it. The Romans instantly faced about, and the charge was very violent on both sides; but, at last the foreigners were broken and put to flight. Great numbers of them were killed; for the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the country, pursued them every where, and gave them no quarter. Quintius encamped near Amyclæ, and after ravaging all the beautiful plains that lay round that city, he removed his camp towards the Eurotas; and from thence laid waste the valleys, at the foot of Mount Taygetus, and the lands lying near the sea.

At the same time, the proconsul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, laid siege to Gythium, at that time a strong and very important city. The fleet of Eumenes and the Rhodians came up very seasonably; for the besieged defended themselves with great courage. However, after making a long and vigorous resistance, they surrendered.

The tyrant was alarmed at the taking of this city; and therefore sent a herald to Quintius, to demand an interview, which was granted. Besides several other arguments in his own favour on which Nabis laid great stress, he insisted strongly on the late alliance which the Romans, and Quintius himself, had concluded with him in the war against Philip: an

alliance on which he ought to rely the more, as the Romans professed themselves faithful and religious observers of treaties, which they boasted they never having violated: that no change had taken place on his part since the treaty: that he was then what he had always been; and had never given the Romans any new occasion for complaints or reproaches.—These arguments were very just; and, to say the truth, Quintius had no solid reasons to oppose to them. Accordingly, in his answer, he only expatiated in random complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty, and tyranny. But was he less covetous, cruel, and tyrannical, at the time of the treaty? Nothing was concluded in this first interview.

The next day, Nabis agreed to abandon the city of Argos, since the Romans required it; as also, to give them up their prisoners and deserters. He desired Quintius, in case he had any other demands, to put them into writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends: to which Quintius consented. The Roman general also held a council with his allies. Most of them were of opinion, that they should continue the war against Nabis, which could only terminate gloriously, either by extirpating the tyrant, or at least his tyranny; for that otherwise nobody could be assured that the liberty of Greece was restored: that the Romans could not make any kind of treaty with Nabis, without acknowledging him in a solemn manner, and giving a sanction to his usurpation. Quintius was for concluding a peace, because he was afraid that the Spartans were capable of sustaining a long siege, during which the war with Antiochus might break out on a sudden, and he not be in a condition to act with his forces against him. These were his pretended motives for desiring an accommodation; but the true reason was, his being apprehensive that a new consul would be appointed to succeed him in Greece, and by that means deprive him of the glory of having terminated this war: a motive which commonly influenced the resolutions of the Roman generals, more than the good of the public.

Finding that none of his reasons could make the least impression on the allies, he pretended to accede to their opinion, and by that artifice brought them all over to his own. "Let us besiege Sparta," says he, "since you think it proper, and exert ourselves to the utmost for the success of our enterprise. As you are sensible that sieges are often protracted to a greater length than is generally desired, let us resolve to take up our winter quarters here, since it must be so; this is a resolution worthy of your courage. I have a sufficient number of troops for carrying on this siege; but the more numerous they are, the greater supply of provisions and convoys will be necessary. The winter that is coming on exhibits nothing to us but a naked, ruined country, from which we can have no forage. You see the great extent of this city, and consequently the great number of catapultæ, battering rams, and other machines of all kinds, that will be wanting. Write each of you to your cities, in order that they may furnish you speedily, in an abundant manner, with all things necessary. We are obliged in honour to carry on this siege vigorously: and it would be shameful for us, after having begun it, to be reduced to abandon our enterprise." Every one then making his own reflections, perceived a great many difficulties which he had not foreseen; and was fully sensible that the proposals they were to make to their cities would meet with a very ill reception, when private persons would find themselves obliged to contribute, out of their own purses, to the expense of the war. Changing therefore immediately their opinion, they gave the Roman general full liberty to act as he should think proper, for the good of his republic, and the interest of the allies.

Upon which Quintius, admitting none into his council but the principal officers of the army, agreed, in concert with them, on the conditions of peace to be offered the tyrant. The chief were: that, within ten days, Nabis should evacuate Argos, and all the rest of the cities of Argolis, garrisoned by his troops; that he should restore to the maritime cities all the

galleys he had taken from them; and that he himself should keep only two feluccas, with sixteen oars each: that he should surrender up to the cities in alliance with the Romans, all their prisoners, deserters, and slaves: that he should also restore to the Lacedæmonian exiles such of their wives and children as were willing to follow them, without, however, forcing them to do so: that he should give five hostages, to be chosen by the Roman general, of which his son should be one: that he should pay down 100 talents of silver,¹ and afterwards fifty talents, annually, during eight years. A truce was granted for six months, that all parties might have time to send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the treaty might be ratified there.

The tyrant was not satisfied with any of these articles: but he was surprised, and thought himself happy, that no mention had been made of recalling the exiles. When the particulars of this treaty were known in the city, it raised a general sedition, from the necessity to which it reduced private persons, of restoring many things they were not willing to be deprived of. Thus, no farther mention was made of peace, and the war began again.

Quintus was now resolved to carry on the siege with great vigour, and began by examining very attentively the situation and condition of the city. Sparta had been a long time without walls; disdaining every other kind of fortification than the bravery of its citizens. Walls had been built in Sparta only since the tyrants governed it; and those alone in places which lay open, and were easy of access: all the other parts were defended only by their natural situation, and by bodies of troops posted in them. As Quintus's army was very numerous (consisting of above 50,000 men, because he had sent for all the land as well as naval forces), he resolved to make it extend quite round the city, and to attack it at the same time on all sides, in order to strike the inhabitants with terror, and render them incapable of knowing on which side to turn themselves. Accordingly, the city being attacked on all sides at the same instant, and the danger being every where equal, the tyrant did know how to act, what orders to give, or to which quarter to send succours, and was quite distracted.

The Lacedæmonians sustained for some time the attacks of the besiegers, as long as they fought in defiles and narrow places. Their darts and javelins did little execution, because, as they pressed on one another, they could not stand firm on their feet, and had not their arms at liberty to discharge them with strength. The Romans drawing near the city, found themselves on a sudden overwhelmed with stones and tiles, thrown at them from the house tops. However, laying their shields over their heads, they came forward in the form of the *testudo*, or tortoise, by which they were entirely covered from the darts and tiles: when the Romans advanced into the broader streets, the Lacedæmonians being no longer able to sustain their efforts, nor make head against them, fled and withdrew to the most craggy and rugged eminences. Nabis, imagining the city was taken, was greatly perplexed how to make his escape. But one of his chief commanders saved the city, by setting fire to such edifices as were near the wall. The houses were soon in flames: the fire spread on all sides; and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the enemy. Such as were without the city, and attacked the wall, were forced to move to a distance from it; and those who were got into the city, fearing that the spreading of the flames would cut off their communication, retired to their troops. Quintus then caused a retreat to be sounded; and, after having almost taken the city, was obliged to march his troops back into the camp.

The three following days he took advantage of the terror with which he had filled the inhabitants, sometimes by making new attacks, and at other times by stopping up different places with works; in order that the besieged might have no opportunity to escape, but be lost to all hopes. Nabis, seeing things desperate, deputed Pythagoras to Quintus, to treat of

an accommodation. The Roman general refused at first to hear him, and commanded him to leave the camp. But the petitioner, throwing himself at his feet, after many entreaties, at last obtained a truce upon the same conditions as had been prescribed before. Accordingly the money was paid, and the hostages delivered to Quintus.

While these things were doing, the Argives, who, from the repeated accounts they had one after another, imagined that Lacedæmon was taken, restored themselves to liberty, by driving out their garrison. Quintus, after granting Nabis a peace, and taking leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians, and his brother, (who returned to their respective fleets,) repaired to Argos, whose inhabitants he found in incredible transports of joy. The Nemean games, which could not be celebrated at the usual time because of the war, had been put off till the arrival of the Roman general and his army. He performed all the honours of them, and distributed the prizes; or rather, he himself was the show. The Argives, especially, could not take off their eyes from a man, who had undertaken that war merely on their account, had freed them from a cruel and ignominious slavery, and restored them to their ancient liberty.

The Achæans were greatly pleased to see the city of Argos again united to their league, and restored to all its privileges: but Sparta being still enslaved, and a tyrant suffered in the midst of Greece, gave an alloy to their joy, and rendered it less perfect.

With regard to the Ætolians, it may be affirmed that the peace granted to Nabis was their triumph. From the time of that shameful and inglorious treaty, (for so they called it,) they exclaimed in all places against the Romans. They observed, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had not laid down their arms, till after they had forced that prince to evacuate all the cities of Greece: that here, on the contrary, the usurper was maintained in the peaceable possession of Sparta; whilst the lawful king, (meaning Agesipolis,) who had served under the proconsul, and so many illustrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to pass the remainder of their days in banishment: in a word, that the Romans had made themselves the tyrant's guards and protectors. The Ætolians, in these complaints, confined their views solely to the advantages of liberty: but in great affairs, men should have an eye to all things, should content themselves with what they can execute with success, and not attempt a thousand schemes at once. Such were the motives of Quintus, as he himself will show hereafter.

Quintus returned from Argos to Elatia, from whence he had set out to carry on the war with Sparta. He spent the whole winter in administering justice to the people, in reconciling cities and private families, in regulating the government, and establishing order in all places; things which, properly speaking, are the real fruits of peace, the most glorious employment of a conqueror, and a certain proof of a war's being undertaken on just and reasonable motives. The ambassadors of Nabis being arrived at Rome, demanded and obtained a ratification of the treaty.

In the beginning of the spring, Quintus went to Corinth, where he convened a general assembly of the deputies of all the cities. There he represented to them the joy and ardour with which the Romans had complied with the entreaties of the Greeks when they implored their succour; and had made an alliance with them, which he hoped neither side would have occasion to repent. He gave an account, in few words, of the actions and enterprises of the Roman generals his predecessors; and mentioned his own with a modesty of expression that heightened their merit. He was heard with universal applause, except when he began to speak of Nabis; on which occasion, the assembly, by a modest murmur, discovered their grief and surprise, that the deliverer of Greece should have left, in so renowned a city as Sparta, a tyrant not only insupportable to his own country, but formidable to all the rest of the cities.

Quintus, who was not ignorant of the disposition

¹ A hundred thousand crowns.

of people's minds with regard to him, thought proper to give an account of his conduct in a few words. He confessed, that no accommodation ought to have been made with the tyrant, could this have been done without hazarding the entire destruction of Sparta. But as there was reason to fear, that this considerable city would be involved in the same ruin with Nabis, he therefore had thought it more prudent to let the tyrant live, weakened and incapable of doing harm, as he now was, than perhaps to run the hazard, should they employ too violent remedies, of destroying the city, and that by the very endeavours employed to deliver it.

He added to what he had said of past transactions, that he was preparing to set out for Italy, and to carry with him the whole army thither: that before ten days were elapsed, they should hear that the garrisons of Demetrius and Chalcis were withdrawn, and that he would before their eyes surrender to the Achaean the citadel of Corinth: that this would show, whether the Romans or Ætolians were most worthy of belief: whether the latter had the least foundation for the report they spread universally, that nothing could be of more dangerous consequence to a people, than to trust the Romans with their liberties; and that they only shifted the yoke, in accepting that republic for their master, instead of the Macedonians. He concluded with saying, that it was well known the Ætolians were not over prudent and discreet either in their words or actions.

He hinted to the other cities, that they ought to judge of their friends, not from words but actions; to be cautious whom they trusted, and against whom it was proper for them to guard. He exhorted them to use their liberty with moderation; that with this wise precaution, it was of the highest advantage to private persons as well as to cities; but that without moderation, it became a burden to others, and even pernicious to those who abused it; that the chief men in cities, the different orders that compose them, and the citizens themselves in general, should endeavour to preserve a perfect harmony; that so long as they should be united, neither kings or tyrants would be able to distress them; that discord and sedition opened a door to dangers and evils of every kind, because the party which finds itself weakest within, seeks for support without; and chooses rather to call in a foreign power to its aid, than submit to its fellow-citizens. He concluded his speech with conjuring them in the mildest and most gentle terms, to preserve and maintain by their prudent conduct, the liberty which they owed to foreign arms; and to make the Romans sensible, that in restoring them to their freedom, they had not afforded their protection and beneficence to persons unworthy of it.

This counsel was received as the advice of a father to his children. Whilst he spoke in this manner, the whole assembly wept for joy, and Quintus himself could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expressed the sentiments of all that were present. They gazed upon one another with admiration; and every one exhorted his neighbour to receive, with gratitude and respect, the words of the Roman general, as so many oracles, and imprint the remembrance of them deeply on their hearts.

After this, Quintus causing silence to be made, desired that they would inquire strictly after such Roman citizens as might still remain in slavery in Greece, and send them to him in Thessaly in two months; adding that it would ill become them to leave those in captivity to whom they were indebted for their freedom. All the people replied with the highest applauses, and thanked Quintus in particular, for hinting to them so just and indispensable a duty. The number of these slaves was very considerable. They were taken by Hannibal in the Punic war; but the Romans refusing to redeem them, they had been sold. It cost the Achæans alone 160 talents, that is 100,000 crowns, to reimburse the masters the price they had paid for the slaves, at the rate of about 12*l.* 10*s.* a head:¹ consequently the number here amounted to 1200. The reader may form a judg-

ment, in proportion, of all the rest of Greece. Before the assembly broke up, the garrison was seen marching down from the citadel, and afterwards out of the city. Quintus followed it soon after, and withdrew in the midst of the acclamations of the people, who called him their saviour and deliverer, and implored heaven to bestow all possible blessings upon him.

He withdrew in the same manner the garrisons from Chalcis and Demetrius, and was received in those cities with the like acclamations. From thence he went into Thessaly, where he found every thing in need of reformation, so general was the disorder and confusion.

At last he embarked for Italy, and upon his arrival at Rome entered it in triumph. The ceremony lasted three days, during which he exhibited to the people (amidst the other pomp) the precious spoils he had taken in the war against Philip and Nabis. Demetrius, son of the former, and Armenes, of the latter, were among the hostages, and graced the victor's triumph. But the noblest ornament of it was the Roman citizens, delivered from slavery, who followed the victor's car, with their heads shaved as a mark of the liberty to which they had been restored.

SECTION V.—UNIVERSAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR BETWEEN ANTIOCHUS AND THE ROMANS. MUTUAL EMBASSIES AND INTERVIEWS ON BOTH SIDES, WHICH COME TO NOTHING. THE ROMANS SEND TROOPS AGAINST NABIS, WHO HAD INFRINGED THE TREATY. PHILOPOMEN GAINS A VICTORY OVER HIM. THE ÆTOLIANS IMPORE THE ASSISTANCE OF ANTIOCHUS. NABIS IS KILLED. ANTIOCHUS GOES AT LAST TO GREECE.

ANTIOCHUS and the Romans were preparing for war.² Ambassadors A. M. 3811. were arrived at Rome, in the name Ant. J. C. 193. of all the Greeks, from a great part of Asia Minor, and from several kings. They were favourably received by the senate; but as the affairs of king Antiochus required a long examination, it was referred to Quintus and the commissioners who had been in Asia. The debates were carried on with great warmth on both sides. The ambassadors of the king were surprised, as their sovereign had sent them merely to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans, that the latter should pretend to prescribe laws to him as to a conquered monarch; and nominate those cities which he might keep, and such as he was to abandon. Quintus in concert with his colleagues, after a great many speeches and replies, declare to the king's ambassadors, that the Romans persisted in the resolution they had taken to deliver the Grecian cities of Asia, as they had done those of Europe; and that the ambassadors might see whether Antiochus would approve of that condition. They answered, that they could not enter into any engagement that tended to lessen the dominions of their sovereign. On the morrow, all the rest of the ambassadors were again introduced into the senate. Quintus reported what had been spoken and transacted in the conference, and entreated each of them in particular, to inform their respective cities, that the Romans were determined to defend their liberties against Antiochus, with the same ardour and courage as they had done against Philip. Antiochus's ambassadors conjured the senate not to form any rash resolution in an affair of so much importance; to allow the king time to reflect on matters; and to weigh and consider things maturely on their side, before they passed a decree, in which the tranquillity of the whole world would be involved. They did not yet come to a decision, but deputed to the king Sulpitius, Villius, and Ælius, the same ambassadors who had already conferred with him at Lysimachia.

Scarce were they gone, when ambassadors from Carthage arrived at Rome, and acquainted the senate that Antiochus, at the instigation of Hannibal, was certainly preparing to make war against the Romans.

¹ Five hundred denarii.

² Liv. l. xxiv. n. 57—62.

I have observed before, that Hannibal had fled for refuge to this prince, and had arrived at his court at the very instant the king was deliberating whether he should embark in this war. The presence and counsels of such a general contributed very much to determine him to it. His opinion at that time, (and he always persisted in it,) was, that he ought to carry his arms into Italy: that by this means the enemy's country would furnish them with troops and provisions; that otherwise, no prince nor people could be superior to the Romans, and that Italy could never be conquered but in Italy. He demanded but 100 galleys, 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse. He declared that with this fleet he would first go into Africa, where he hoped to be able to persuade the Carthaginians to join him; but that, should he not succeed, he would sail directly for Italy, and there find effectual means to distress the Romans: that it was necessary that the king should go over into Europe with the rest of the forces, and halt in some part of Greece, and not go immediately into Italy, though he should always seem upon the point of doing it.

The king highly approving this project at first, Hannibal sent a Tyrian, in whom he could confide, to Carthage, to sound the citizens: for he did not dare to venture letters, lest they should be intercepted; not to mention that business is transacted much better by word of mouth than by writing. But the Tyrian was discovered, and escaped with great difficulty. The Carthaginian senate sent immediate advice of this to the Romans, who apprehended being engaged at the same time in a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians.

No people, I at this time, hated A. M. 3812. the Romans more than the Ætolians. Ant. J. C. 192. Thoa's, their general, was for ever incensing them; representing, in the most aggravating terms, the contempt the Romans had for them since their last victory, though it was chiefly owing to them. His remonstrances had the intended effect; and Damocritus was sent ambassador to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicaarchus, Thoa's brother, to Antiochus, charged with particular instructions in regard to each of those princes.

The first represented to the tyrant of Sparta, that the Romans had entirely enervated his power, by dispossessing him of his maritime towns, as they furnished him with galleys, soldiers, and sailors; that, confined within his own walls, he had the mortification to see the Achæans reign over Peloponnesus: that he would never have so favourable an opportunity for recovering his ancient power, as that which then presented itself: that the Romans had no army in Greece: that he might easily seize upon Gythium, which was situated very commodiously for him: and that the Romans would not think it worth while to send their legions again into Greece, on account of the capture of a city of so little consequence.

Nicander employed still stronger motives to rouse Philip, who had been thrown down from a much superior height of greatness, and deprived of abundantly more than the tyrant. Besides which he enlarged on the ancient glory of the kings of Macedonia, and the conquest of the whole world by their arms; that the proposal he made him would not expose him to any danger; that he did not desire him to declare war, till Antiochus should have passed into Greece with his army; and that if he, (Philip,) unassisted by Antiochus, had, with only his own forces, sustained so long a war against the Romans and the Ætolians united, how would it be possible for the Romans to resist him, when he should have both Antiochus and the Ætolians as allies? He did not forget to mention Hannibal, the sworn enemy to the Romans, of whose generals more had been defeated by him than were living at that time.

Dicaarchus employed other arguments with Antiochus. He observed particularly, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had taken the spoils, but that the whole honour of the victory had been due to the Ætolians; that they alone had opened them an

entrance into Greece, and had enabled them to overcome the enemy, by aiding them with their troops. He gave a long detail of the number of horse and foot with which they would furnish him; and the strong towns and sea-ports possessed by them. He did not scruple to affirm, though without foundation, that Philip and Nabis were determined to unite with him against the Romans.

These are the steps the Ætolians took, to raise up enemies against Rome on every side. However, the two kings did not comply with them at that time; and did not take their resolution till afterwards.

With regard to Nabis, he sent immediately to all the maritime towns, to excite the inhabitants of them to a rebellion. He bribed many of the principal citizens, and secretly despatched those who were inflexibly determined to adhere to the party of the Romans. Quintus, at his leaving Greece, had ordered the Achæans to be very vigilant in defending the maritime cities. They immediately sent deputies to the tyrant to put him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the Romans; and to exhort him not to infringe a peace which he had so earnestly solicited. At the same time they sent troops to the relief of Gythium, which the tyrant had already besieged; and ambassadors to Rome, to inform the senate and people of what was doing.

Antiochus did not yet declare himself openly,² but took secret measures for promoting the great design he meditated. He thought it advisable to strengthen himself by good alliances with his neighbours. In this view, he went to Raphia, a frontier city of Palestine towards Egypt. He there gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes; and resigned to that prince, as her dowry, the provinces of Cœle-syria and Palestine, but upon condition, as had been before stipulated, that he should himself receive half the revenues.

At his return to Antioch, he gave another daughter, Antiochia by name, in marriage to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He would have been very glad to have bestowed the third on Eumenes king of Pergamus; but that prince refused her, contrary to the advice of his three brothers, who believed that an alliance with so great a monarch would be a great support to their house. However, Eumenes soon convinced them, by the reasons he gave, that he had examined that affair more deliberately than they. He represented, that should he marry Antiochus's daughter, he would be under a necessity of espousing his interest against the Romans, with whom he plainly saw this monarch would soon be at variance: that should the Romans get the better (as it was highly probable they would,) he should be involved in the same ruin with the vanquished king, which would infallibly prove his destruction: that, on the other side, should Antiochus have the advantage in this war, the only benefit that he (Eumenes) could reap by it, would be, that having the honour to be his son-in-law, he should be one of the first to become his slave. For they might be assured that should Antiochus get the better of the Romans in this war, he would subject all Asia, and oblige all princes to do him homage: that they should have much better terms from the Romans: and therefore he was resolved to continue attached to their interests. The event showed that Eumenes was not mistaken.

After these marriages, Antiochus went with great diligence into Asia Minor, and arrived at Ephesus in the depth of winter. He set out from thence again in the beginning of the spring to punish the Pisidians, who were inclined to revolt; after having sent his son into Syria, for the security of the provinces in the East.

I have said above, that the Romans had deputed Sulpitius, Ælius, and Villius, on an embassy to Antiochus. They had been ordered to go first to the court of Eumenes, and accordingly they went to Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. That prince told them, that he desired nothing so much as that war should be declared against Antiochus. In times of

¹ Liv. l. xxxv. n. 12

² Polyb. l. iii. p. 167. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 13—20. Appian, in Syriac. p. 63—92. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

peace, the having so powerful a king in his neighbourhood gave him very just alarm. In case of a war, he did not doubt but Antiochus would experience the same fate as Philip, and thereby either be entirely ruined, or, should the Romans grant him a peace, Eumenes assured himself that part of his spoils and fortresses would be given him, which would enable him to defend himself, without any foreign aid, against his attacks; that, after all, should things take a different turn, he had rather run the worst hazard in concert with the Romans, than to be exposed, by breaking with them, to submit either voluntarily, or through force, to Antiochus.

Sulpitius being left sick in Pergamus, Villius, who had received advice that Antiochus was engaged in the war of Pisidia, went to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had several conferences with him, in which he endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade him, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans. He had better success in the design he proposed, by treating Hannibal with great courtesy, and making him frequent visits; which was, by such conduct, to render him suspected to the king; which accordingly happened, as we shall soon see.

Livy, on the authority of some historians, relates that Scipio was on this embassy, and that it was at this time that Hannibal made him the celebrated answer I have related elsewhere,¹ when speaking of the most illustrious generals, he gave the first place to Alexander, the second to Pyrrhus, and the third to himself. Some authors look upon this embassy of Scipio as improbable, and the answer of Hannibal to be more so.

Villius went from Ephesus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired, after having ended the war against the Pisidians. In their interview they spoke on much the same topics as those on which the king's ambassadors had debated with Quintus in Rome. Their conferences broke off, on that prince's receiving advice of the death of Antiochus, his eldest son. He returned to Ephesus to lament his loss. But notwithstanding these specious appearances of affliction, it was generally believed that his show of grief was merely political; and that he himself had sacrificed him to his ambition. He was a young prince of the greatest hopes, and had already given such shining proofs of wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, as had secured to him the love and esteem of all who knew him. It was pretended that the old king, growing jealous of him, had sent him from Ephesus into Syria, under the pretext of having an eye to the security of the provinces of the East; and that he had caused some eunuchs to poison him there, to rid himself of his fears. A king, and at the same time a father, ought not to be suspected of so horrid a crime, without the strongest and most evident proofs.

Villius, that he might not be importunate at a time of mourning and sorrow, was returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpitius perfectly recovered. The king sent for them soon after. They had a conference with his minister, which ended in complaints on both sides; after which, they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing.

The instant they were gone, Antiochus held a great council on the present affairs; in which every one exclaimed against the Romans, knowing that to be the best method of making their court to the king. They aggravated the haughtiness of their demands, and said it was strange, that they should attempt to prescribe laws to the greatest monarch of Asia, as if they were treating with a conquered Nabis. Alexander of Acarnania, who had great influence with the king, as if the matter in deliberation were, not whether they should make war, but how and in what manner they should carry it on, assured the king, that he would be infallibly victorious, in case he should cross into Europe, and settle in some part of Greece: that the Etolians, who were in the centre of it, would be the first to declare against the Romans; that at the two extremities of this country, Nabis, on one side, to recover what he had lost, would

raise all Peloponnesus against them; and that on the other, Philip, who was still more disgusted, would not fail at the first signal of war to take up arms also: that they had no time to lose: and that the decisive point was, to seize upon the most advantageous posts, and to make sure of allies. He added, that Hannibal ought to be sent immediately to Carthage, to perplex and employ the Romans.

Hannibal, whom his conferences with Villius had rendered suspected to the king, was not summoned to this council. He had perceived on several other occasions, that the king's friendship for him was very much cooled, and that he no longer reposed the same confidence in him. However, he had a private conference with him, in which he unbosomed himself without the least disguise. Speaking of his infant years, in which he had sworn on the altar to be the eternal enemy of the Romans, "It is this oath," says he, "it is this hatred, that prompted me to keep the sword drawn during thirty-six years; it was the same animosity that occasioned my being banished from my country in a time of peace, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. If you defeat my hopes, guided by the same hatred, which can never expire but with my life, I will fly to every part of the world where there are soldiers and arms, to raise up enemies against the Romans. I hate them, and am hated by them. As long as you shall resolve to make war against them, you may consider Hannibal as the first of your friends; but if there are any motives which incline you to peace, take counsel of others, not of me." Antiochus, struck with these words, seemed to restore him his confidence and friendship.

The ambassadors being returned to Rome, it appeared evident from their report, that a war with Antiochus was inevitable, but they did not think it yet time to proclaim it against him. They did not act so cautiously with regard to Nabis, who had been the first to violate the treaty, and was then actually besieging Gythium, and laying waste the territories of the Achæans. Acilius, the prætor, was sent with a fleet into Greece, to protect the allies.

Philopemen was general of the Achæans that year.² He was not inferior to any captain with respect to land service, but had no skill in naval affairs. Notwithstanding this, he took upon himself the command of the Achæan fleet,³ flattering himself that he should be as successful by sea as he had been by land: but he learned, to his cost, not to depend so much upon his own judgment, and found how greatly useful experience is on all occasions; for Nabis, who had fitted out some vessels with expedition, defeated Philopemen, and he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This disaster however did not discourage him, but only made him more prudent and circumspect for the future. Such is the use judicious men ought to make of their errors, which, by that means, are frequently more advantageous to them than the greatest successes. Nabis triumphed now, but Philopemen trusted to make his joy of short duration. Accordingly, a few days after, having surprised him when he least expected him, he set fire to his camp, and made a great slaughter of his troops. In the mean time Gythium surrendered, which very much augmented the pride and haughtiness of the tyrant.

Philopemen saw plainly that it was necessary to come to a battle. In this lay his chief talent, and no general equalled him in drawing up an army, in making choice of fit posts, in taking all advantages, and profiting by all the errors of an enemy. On this oc-

² Liv. l. xxxv. p. 25—30. Plut. in Philip. p. 363, 364.

³ The great prince of Condé thought and spoke much more wisely. In a conversation upon a sea-fight, the prince said, he should be very glad to see one, purely for his own instruction. A sea-officer who was present, replied, "Sir, were your highness in a sea-fight, there is no admiral but would be proud of obeying your orders." "My orders!" interrupted the prince, "I should not presume even to give my advice; but should stand quietly on the deck, and observe all the motions and operations of the battle, for my own instruction."

casion, fired by jealousy, and animated with revenge against Nabis, he employed all his ability in the art of war. The battle was fought not far from Sparta. In the first attack, the auxiliary forces of Nabis, which formed his greatest strength, broke the Achæans, threw them into disorder, and forced them to give way. It was by Philipœmen's order that they fled, to draw the enemy into ambuscades he had laid for them. Accordingly they fell headlong into them; and whilst they were shouting as victorious, those who fled faced about, and the Achæans charged them on a sudden from their ambuscades, and made a great slaughter. As the country was full of thickets, and very difficult for the cavalry to act in, from the rivulets and morasses with which it was intersected, the general would not suffer his troops to abandon themselves to their ardour, in pursuing the enemy; but causing a retreat to be sounded, he encamped on that very spot, though long before it was dark. As he was fully persuaded, that as soon as it should be night, the enemy would return from their flight, and retire towards the city in small parties, he posted ambuscades on all the passes round, on the rivulets and hills, who killed or took great numbers of them; so that Nabis hardly saved a fourth of his army. Philipœmen, having blocked him up in Sparta, ravaged Laconia for a month; and after having considerably weakened the forces of the tyrant, he returned home, laden with spoils and glory.

This victory did Philipœmen great honour, because it was manifestly owing solely to his prudence and ability. A circumstance is related of him, which is perhaps peculiar to him; and which young officers should propose to themselves as a model. Whenever he was upon a march, whether in times of peace or war, and came to any difficult pass, he halted, and asked himself (in case he were alone,) or else inquired of those who were with him, in what manner it would be necessary to act, in case the enemy should come suddenly upon them; if he charged them in front, flank, or rear; if he came on in order of battle; or in less order, as when an army is on its march; what post would it be proper for him to take? In what places to dispose of his baggage, and how many troops would be necessary to guard it? Whether it would be convenient for him to march forward, or to return back the way he came? Where to pitch his camp? Of what extent it ought to be? By what method he could best secure his forage, and provide water? What route he should take the next day, after he should decamp, and in what order it were best to march? He had accustomed himself so early, and exercised himself so much, in all these parts of military knowledge, that nothing was new to him; and he never was disconcerted by any unforeseen accident, but resolved and acted immediately as if he had foreseen every thing that happened. These things form the great captain; but the only method to be such, is to love one's profession, to think it an honour to succeed in it, to study it seriously, and to despise the common topics of discourse of the indolent and insignificant part of an army, who have neither elevation of mind, nor views of honour and glory.

During this expedition of the Achæans against Nabis, the Ætolians had sent ambassadors to Antiochus, to exhort him to cross into Greece. They not only promised to join him with all their forces, and to act in concert with him, but also assured him, that he might depend upon Philip king of Macedon, on Nabis king of Lacedæmonia, and on several other Grecian powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, and only awaited his arrival to declare against them. Thoas, the first of the ambassadors, expatiated upon all these advantages in the strongest and most pompous terms. He observed to him, that the Romans, by drawing their army out of Greece, had left it in a defenceless condition; that this would be the finest opportunity for him to possess himself of it; that all the Greeks would receive him with open arms; and that the instant he came among them, he would be master of the country. This flattering description of the state of the Grecian affairs made so deep an

impression on him, that he could scarce give himself time to deliberate in what manner it would be most proper for him to act.

The Romans, on the other side, who were not ignorant of the measures taken by the Ætolians to disengage their allies from their interest, and increase their enemies on all sides, had sent ambassadors into Greece, among whom was Quintus. At his arrival he found all the nations very well disposed with regard to the Romans, except the Magnesians, who had been alienated from them, by the report which was spread of their intending to restore to Philip his son, who had been given to them as a hostage; and to deliver up to that monarch the city of Demetrias, which belonged to the Magnesians. It was necessary to undeceive them, but in so dexterous a manner as not to disgust Philip, whom it was much more their interest to oblige. This Quintus effected with great address. The author of these false reports was Eurylochus, at that time chief magistrate. As he let drop some harsh and injurious expressions against the Romans, which gave Quintus an opportunity of severely reproaching the Magnesians with their ingratitude; Zeno, one of the oldest among them, directed himself to Quintus and the rest of the ambassadors, with tears conjured them not to impute to a whole people the rancour of one man, who, he said, ought alone to be answerable for it: that the Magnesians were obliged to Quintus and the Romans, not only for their liberty, but for whatever else is most dear and valuable among men: that as for themselves, they would sooner part with their lives than renounce the friendship of the Romans, and forget the obligations they owed to them. The whole assembly applauded this speech, and Eurylochus, perceiving plainly that there was no longer any safety for him in the city, took refuge among the Ætolians.

Thoas, the chief man of that people, was returned from Antiochus's court, from whence he had brought Menippus, whom the king had sent as his ambassador to the Ætolians. Before the general assembly was convened, these two had endeavoured, in concert, to prepare and prepossess the people, by exaggerating the king's forces by sea and land; his numerous bodies of horse and foot; the elephants he had caused to be brought from India; and above all (which was the strongest motive with regard to the populace) the immense treasures which the king would bring with him, sufficient to buy even the Romans themselves.

Quintus had regular notice sent him of whatever was said or done in Ætolia. Though he looked upon all things as lost on that side, yet, that he might have nothing to reproach himself with, and to lay the blame still more on the side of the Ætolians, he thought proper to depute to their assembly some ambassadors from the confederates, to put them in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be ready to reply freely to whatever Antiochus's ambassador might advance. He gave this commission to the Athenians; the dignity of their city, and their former alliance with the Ætolians, making them more proper to execute it than any other people.

Thoas opened the assembly, by announcing that an ambassador was arrived from Antiochus. Being introduced, he began with saying, that it would have been happy for the Greeks, as well as Asiatics, had Antiochus concerned himself sooner in their affairs, and before Philip had been reduced; that then every people would have preserved their rights, and all would not have been subjected to the Roman power. "But still," says he, "if you execute the designs you have formed, Antiochus may, by the assistance of the gods and your aid, restore the affairs of Greece to their ancient splendour, how desperate soever their condition may be."

The Athenians, who were next admitted to audience, contented themselves (without saying a word of the king) with putting the Ætolians in mind of the alliance they had concluded with the Romans, and the service Quintus had done to all Greece; conjuring them not to form any rash resolution in an affair of so much importance as that in question: that bold resolutions, adopted with heat and vivacity,

might have a pleasing prospect at first, but that the difficulty of putting them in execution appeared afterwards, and that they were very rarely successful: that the Roman ambassadors, among whom was Quintus, were not far off: that as things were still undecided, it would show more wisdom to weigh and examine deliberately, in peaceable interviews, their several claims and pretensions, than to involve precipitately Europe and Asia in a war, of which the consequences could not but be deplorable.

The populace, who are ever greedy of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even against admitting the Romans into the assembly; so that the oldest and wisest among them were forced to employ all their influence, before they could prevail to have them called in. Accordingly Quintus came thither not so much from any hopes he entertained of being able to make the least impression on minds so prejudiced, as to prove to all mankind, that the Ætoliens were the sole cause of the war which was going to break out; and that the Romans would be forced to engage in it against their will, and merely through necessity. He began, by recalling to their memories the time in which the Ætoliens had concluded an alliance with the Romans; he made a transient mention of the many points in which they had infringed it; and after saying very little with regard to the cities which were the pretext of their quarrel, he only observed, that if they imagined themselves aggrieved, it would appear much more reasonable to make their remonstrances to the senate, who were always ready to hear their complaints, than out of mere wantonness to kindle a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would disturb the peace of the universe, and infallibly terminate in the ruin of those who promoted it.

The event proved the truth of his representations, which however were disregarded at that time. Thoas, and those of his faction, were heard with great attention; and obtained without delay, and even in the presence of the Romans, that a decree should be made, to invite Antiochus to come and deliver Greece, and be the arbiter of the differences between the Ætoliens and Romans. Quintus desiring a copy of this decree, Damocritus (then in office) was so incensed as to answer in the most insolent tone, that he had business of much greater consequence upon his hands at that time; but that he himself would soon carry this decree into Italy, and encamp on the banks of the Tiber: so violent and furious a spirit had seized all the Ætoliens, and even their principal magistrates. Quintus and the rest of the ambassadors returned to Corinth.

The Ætoliens,¹ in a private council, formed in one day three very astonishing resolutions; to seize, by a treacherous stratagem, Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon; and three of the principal citizens were charged with the execution of these three expeditions.

Diocles set out for Demetrias, where, being assisted by the faction of Eurylochus, who was an exile, but appeared then at the head of the forces which Diocles had brought, he made himself master of the city.

But Thoas was not so successful in Chalcis, which he had imagined he should be able to seize by the help of an exile: for the magistrates, who were strongly attached to the Romans, having received advice of the attempt that was meditating against their city, put it in a good posture of defence, and secured it against all attacks. Thus Thoas, failing in his design, returned back in the utmost confusion.

The enterprise against Sparta was much more delicate, and of greater importance. No access could be had to it, but under the mask of friendship. Nabis had long solicited the aid of the Ætoliens. Alexamenes was therefore ordered to march 1000 foot thither. To these were added thirty young men, the flower of the cavalry, who were strictly enjoined by the magistrates to execute punctually their leader's orders, of what nature soever they might be. The tyrant received Alexamenes with great joy. Both used to march out their troops every day, and exercise them in the plain on the side of the Eurotas. One

day Alexamenes, having given the word to his troopers, attacks Nabis, whom he had purposely drawn into a solitary place, and throws him from his horse. Immediately all the troopers fall on, and cover him with wounds. Alexamenes, without losing time, returns to the city to seize on Nabis's palace. Had he convened the assembly that instant and made a speech suitable to the occasion, his business would have been done, and Sparta had declared for the Ætoliens: but he spent the remainder of the day, and the whole night, in searching after the tyrant's treasures, and his troops, by his example, began to plunder the city. The Spartans taking up arms, make a great slaughter of the Ætoliens dispersed in quest of booty, and march directly to the palace, where they kill Alexamenes, whom they found with little or no guard, and solely intent upon securing his rich spoils. Such was the result of the enterprise against Sparta.

Philopœmen,² general of the Achæans, no sooner heard of Nabis's death, than he marched a considerable body of troops towards Sparta, where he found all things in the utmost disorder. He assembled the principal citizens, made a speech to them, as Alexamenes ought to have done, and prevailed so far between arguments and compulsion, that he engaged that city to join in the Achæan league.

This success greatly increased the reputation of Philopœmen with those states; his having brought over to the league a city of so great power and authority as Sparta, being justly esteemed a service of no small importance. By this means he also gained the friendship and confidence of the worthiest men in Lacedæmonia, who hoped he would prove their guarantee, and the defender of their liberty. For this reason, after the palace and furniture of Nabis had been sold, they resolved, by a public decree, to make him a present of the moneys arising from that sale, amounting to 120 talents;³ and sent him a deputation to desire his acceptance of them.

On this occasion, says Plutarch, it was very evident, that the virtue of this great personage was of the purest and most perfect kind; and that he not only appeared a good and virtuous man, but was really such: for not one of the Spartans would undertake the commission of offering him that present. Struck with veneration and fear, they all excused themselves; and therefore it was at last resolved to send Timolaus, who had formerly been his guest.

When he arrived at Megalopolis, he lodged at the house of Philopœmen, who gave him the kindest reception. Here he had an opportunity of considering the gravity of his whole conduct, the greatness of his sentiments, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, that rendered him invincible and incorruptible by money. Timolaus was so astonished at all he saw, that he did not dare so much as to mention to Philopœmen the present he was come to offer him; so that, giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned as he came. Timolaus was sent again, but was not more successful than before. At last, going a third time, he ventured (but with great reluctance) to acquaint Philopœmen with the good will of the Spartans.

Philopœmen heard him with great tranquillity; but the instant he had done speaking, he went to Sparta; where, after expressing the highest gratitude to the Spartans, he advised them not to lay out their money in bribing and corrupting such of their friends as were men of probity, because they might always enjoy the benefit of their virtue and wisdom without expense to themselves; but to keep their gold to purchase and corrupt the wicked, and those who, in councils, perplexed and divided the city by their seditious discourses; in order that, being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. "For it is much more advisable," added he, "to stop an enemy's mouth, than that of a friend." Such was the disinterestedness of Philopœmen. Let the reader compare these great and noble sentiments with the baseness of those grovelling wretches whose whole study is to heap up riches.

¹ Liv. l. xxxv. n. 34—39.

² Plut. in Philop. p. 364, 365.

³ A hundred and twenty thousand crowns.

Thoas had repaired to the court of Antiochus,¹ and by the mighty promises he made that prince, by all he told him concerning the present state of Greece, and especially of the resolutions which had been taken in the general assembly of the Ætoliens, he engaged him to set out immediately for that country. He went with such precipitation, that he did not give himself time to concert the necessary measures for so important a war, nor carry with him a sufficient number of troops. He left behind him Lampsacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities, which he ought to have reduced before he declared war; but Antiochus, without waiting for the troops that were marching to join him from Syria and the East, brought only 10,000 foot and 500 horse. These troops would hardly have sufficed, had he been to possess himself only of a naked and defenceless country, without having so formidable an enemy as the Romans to oppose.

He arrived first at Demetrias; and from thence, after receiving the decree which had been sent by the Ætoliens and their ambassador, he went to Lamia, where their assembly was held. He was received there with the highest demonstrations of joy. He began with apologizing for his being come with much fewer troops than they expected; insinuating that his expedition was a proof of the zeal he had for their interest, since, at the first signal they gave him, he was come, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and without waiting till all things were ready; but that their expectations should soon be answered: that as soon as the season for navigation should arrive, they should see all Greece filled with arms, men, and horses, and all the sea-coasts covered with galleys: that he would spare neither expense, pains, nor danger, for the deliverance of Greece, and to acquire for the Ætoliens the first rank in it: that, with his numerous armies, there would arrive from Asia convoys of every kind: that all he desired of them was, only to provide his troops with whatever might be necessary for their present subsistence. Having ended his speech, he withdrew.

The most judicious in the assembly saw plainly that Antiochus, instead of an effectual and present succour, as he had promised, gave them little more than hopes and promises. They could have wished that they had chosen him only as an arbiter and mediator between them and the Romans, and not leader of the war. However, Thoas having gained a majority, caused Antiochus to be nominated generalissimo. Thirty of their principal men were appointed for his council whenever he should think proper to deliberate with them.

SECTION VI.—ANTIOCHUS ENDEAVOURS TO BRING OVER THE ACHÆANS TO HIS INTEREST, BUT IN VAIN. HE POSSESSES HIMSELF OF CHALCIS AND ALL EUBÆA. THE ROMANS PROCLAIM WAR AGAINST HIM, AND SEND MANIUS ACILIUS THE CONSUL INTO GREECE. ANTIOCHUS MAKES AN ILL USE OF HANNIBAL'S COUNSEL.—HE IS DEFEATED NEAR THERMOPYLÆ. THE ÆTOLIANS SUBMIT TO THE ROMANS.

THE first subject on which the A. M. 3813. king and the Ætoliens deliberated Ant. J. C. 191. was, ² with what enterprise they should begin. It was thought advisable to make a second attempt on Chalcis; and thereupon the troops set out for that city without loss of time. When they were near it, the king permitted the principal Ætoliens to have a conference with such citizens of Chalcis as were come out of it on their arrival. The Ætoliens urged them in the strongest terms to conclude an alliance with Antiochus, but without breaking their treaty with the Romans. They declared, that this prince was come into Greece, not to make it the seat of war, but actually to deliver it, and not merely in words as the Romans had done: that nothing could be of greater advantage to the cities of Greece, than to live in amity with both those powers, because that the one would

always defend them against the other, and that by these means they would hold both in respect: that they would do well to consider, in case they should not agree to the proposal now made them, the great danger to which they would expose themselves, as the aid they might expect from the Romans was at a great distance, whereas the king was present and at their gates.

Miccion, one of the principal citizens of Chalcis, replied, that he could not guess what people it was that Antiochus came to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom, and was come into Greece: that he knew of no city garrisoned by Roman soldiers, nor that paid the least tribute to the Romans, or complained of being oppressed by them: that as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occasion for a deliverer, as they were free; nor of a defender, as they enjoyed the sweets of peace, under the protection, and with the amity, of the Romans: that they did not refuse the amity, either of the king or of the Ætoliens; but that, if they would show themselves friends, the first thing they were desired to do was, to leave their island; that they were fully determined, neither to admit them into their city, nor to make any alliance with them, but in concert with the Romans.

When this answer was reported to the king, as he had brought but few troops, and was not able to force the city, he resolved to return to Demetrias. So imprudent and ill-concerted a first step did him no honour, and was no good omen with regard to the future.

They now addressed themselves to another quarter, and endeavoured to bring over the Achæans and Athamanians. The former gave audience to the ambassadors of Antiochus and those of the Ætoliens, at Æge, where their assembly was held, in presence of Quintius the Roman general.

Antiochus's ambassador spoke first. He was a vain man (as those generally are who live in the courts and at the expense of princes;³) and fancying himself a great orator, he spoke with an imposing and emphatical tone of voice. He told them, that an innumerable body of cavalry was passing the Hellespont into Europe, consisting partly of cuirassiers, and partly of bowmen, who even when they were flying on horseback, turned about, and discharged their arrows with the surest aim. To this cavalry, which, according to him, was able by itself to overwhelm the united forces of Europe, he added a more numerous infantry; the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Cadusians, and many other terrible unknown nations. With regard to the fleet, he affirmed that it would be so large, that no harbour of Greece could contain it; the right wing was to be composed of Tyrians and Sidonians; the left of Aradians and the Sidetes of Pamphylia; nations who were allowed universally to be the best and most experienced mariners in the world: that it would be to no purpose to enumerate the immense sums which Antiochus was bringing with him, every one knowing that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold: that they were to judge, in proportion, of the rest of the military preparations: that consequently the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip or a Hannibal; the latter being only a citizen of Carthage, and the former confined within the narrow limits of Macedonia; but with a prince who was sovereign of all Asia and part of Europe; that nevertheless, though he was come from the most remote parts of the East, purely to restore the liberty of Greece, he did not require any article from the Achæans, that should interfere with the fidelity they might imagine they owed the Romans, their first friends and allies: that he did not desire them to unite their arms with his against that people, but only to stand neuter, and not declare for either party.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambassador, spoke to the same effect; adding, that the safest and wisest course the Achæans could take, would be, to remain mere spectators of the war, and to wait in peace for the

¹ Liv. l. xxxv. n. 43—45.

² Liv. l. xxxv. n. 46—51 Appian. in Syriac. p. 92, 93.

³ Is, ut plerique quos opes regie alunt, vaniloquus, maria terrasque inanî sonitu verborum compleverat.—Liv.

event, without sharing in it, or incurring any hazard. Then growing warmer as he went on, he threw out invectives and reproaches against the Romans in general, and against Quintus in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgotten that they owed to the bravery of the Ætolians not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life, and the safety of their army. For what, continued he, did Quintus do in this battle, worthy a great captain? He declared, that he himself had observed him during the engagement wholly employed in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering up vows, like an augur, or a priest, whilst himself was exposing his person and life to the enemy's darts, for his defence and preservation.

To this Quintus answered, that it was plain which party Archidamus had studied to please by this speech; that knowing the Achæans were perfectly acquainted with the disposition and character of the Ætolians, whose courage consisted solely in words, not in actions, he had not endeavoured to conciliate their esteem, but had studied to ingratiate himself with the king's ambassadors, and, by their means, with the king himself: that if the world had not known till now, what it was that had formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the speeches made by the ambassadors showed it visibly enough, that on both sides, nothing but boasting and falsehood had been employed; that by vaunting of troops which they did not possess, they seduced and puffed up the vanity of each other by false promises and vain hopes; the Ætolians asserting boldly on one side (as you have just now heard) that they had defeated Philip, and preserved the Romans; and that all the cities of Greece were ready to declare for Ætolia; and the king, on the other side, affirming, that he was going to bring into the field innumerable bodies of horse and foot, and to cover the sea with his fleet. "This," says he, "puts me in mind of an entertainment given me in Chalcis, by a friend of mine, a very worthy man, who treats his guests in the best manner. Surprised at the prodigious quantity and variety of dishes that were served up, we asked him how it was possible for him, in the month of June, to get together so great a quantity of game. My friend, who was not vain-glorious like these people, only fell a laughing, and owned sincerely, that what we took for game was nothing but swine's flesh, seasoned several ways, and cooked up with different sauces. The same thing may be said of the king's troop which have been so highly extolled, and whose number has been vainly multiplied in mighty means. For these Dahæ, Medes, Cadusians and Elymeans, are all but one nation, and a nation of slaves rather than of soldiers. Why may not I, Achæans, represent to you all the movements and expeditions of this great king, who one moment hurries to the assembly of the Ætolians, there to beg for provisions and money; and the next goes in person to the very gates of Chalcis, from which he is obliged to retire with ignominy. Antiochus has very injudiciously given credit to the Ætolians, and they, with as little judgment, have believed Antiochus. This ought to teach you not to suffer yourselves to be imposed upon, but to rely upon the good faith of the Romans, which you have so often experienced. I am surprised they can venture to tell you, that it will be safest for you to stand neuter, and to remain only spectators of the war. That would, indeed, be a sure method; I mean, to become the prey of the victor."

The Achæans were neither long nor divided in their deliberations, and the result was, that they should declare war against Antiochus and the Ætolians. Immediately, at the request of Quintus, they sent 500 men to the aid of Chalcis, and the like number to Athens.

Antiochus received no greater satisfaction from the Bœotians, who answered, that they would deliberate upon what was to be done, when that prince should come into Bœotia.

In the mean time, Antiochus made a new attempt, and advanced to Chalcis with a much greater body of troops than before. And now the faction against the Romans prevailed, and the city opened its gates

to him. The rest of the cities soon following their example, he made himself master of all Eubœa. He fancied he had made a great acquisition, in having reduced so considerable an island in his first campaign. But can that be called a conquest, where there are no enemies to make opposition?

But terrible ones were making preparations against that prince.¹ A. M. 3813.

The Romans, after consulting the Ant. J. C. 191. will of the gods by omens and auspices, proclaimed war against Antiochus and his adherents. Processions were appointed during two days, to implore the aid and protection of the gods. They made a vow to solemnize the great games for ten days, in case they should be successful in the war, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods. What a reproach should so religious, though blind a paganism, reflect on Christian generals, who should be ashamed of piety and religion!

At the same time they omitted no human means to their success. The senators and inferior magistrates were forbidden to remove to any distance from Rome, from which they could not return the same day; and five senators were not allowed to be absent from it at the same time. The love of their country took place of every thing. Acilius the consul, to whom Greece had fallen by lot, ordered his troops to assemble at Brundisium on the 15th of May; and set out from Rome himself some days before.

About the same time ambassadors from Ptolemy, Philip, the Carthaginians, and Masinissa, arrived there, to offer the Romans money, corn, men, and ships. The senate said, that the people of Rome thanked them, but would accept of nothing except the corn, and that upon condition of paying for it. They only desired Philip to assist the consul.

In the mean time Antiochus, after having solicited many cities, either by his envoys or in person, to enter into an alliance with him, went to Demetrias, and there held a council of war with the chief commanders of his army, on the operations of the campaign that was going to open. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was present at it, and his opinion was first asked. He began, by insisting on the paramount necessity of using the utmost endeavours to engage Philip in Antiochus's interest; which, he said, was so important a step, that if it succeeded, they might assure themselves of the success of the war. "And indeed," says he, "as Philip alone sustained so long the whole weight of the Roman power, what may not be expected from a war in which the two greatest kings of Europe and Asia will unite their forces; especially as the Romans will have those against them in it, who gave them the superiority before; I mean the Ætolians and Athamanians, to whom alone, as is well known, they were indebted for victory. Now, who can doubt but Philip may easily be brought over from the Roman interest, if what Thoas has so often repeated to the king, in order to induce him to cross into Greece, be true, that this prince, highly incensed to see himself reduced to a shameful servitude under the name of peace, waits only an opportunity to declare himself? And could he ever hope one more favourable than that which now offers itself?" If Philip should refuse to join Antiochus, Hannibal advised him to send his son Seleucus, at the head of the army he had in Thrace, to lay waste the frontiers of Macedonia, and by that means to render Philip incapable of assisting the Romans.

He insisted on a still more important point, and asserted, as he had always done, that it would be impossible to reduce the Romans, except in Italy; which had been his reason for always advising Antiochus to begin the war there: that since another course had been taken, and the king was at that time in Greece, it was his opinion, in the present state of affairs, that the king ought to send immediately for all his troops out of Asia; and not rely on the Ætolians, or his other allies of Greece, who possibly might fail him on a sudden: that the instant those forces should arrive, it would be proper to march towards those coasts of

¹ Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 1—15. Appian. in Syriac, p. 93—96.

Greece which are opposite to Italy, and order his fleet to set sail thither also; that he should employ half of it to alarm and ravage the coast of Italy; and keep the other half in some neighbouring harbour, in order to seem upon the point of crossing into Italy; and actually to keep himself in readiness to do so, in case a favourable opportunity should present itself. By this means, said he, the Romans will be kept at home, from the necessity of defending their own coast; and, at the same time, it will be the best method for carrying the war into Italy, the only place (in his opinion) where the Romans could be conquered. "These," concluded Hannibal, "are my thoughts, and if I am not so well qualified for presiding in another war, I ought at least to have learned, by my good and ill successes, how to act in the field against the Romans. My zeal and fidelity may be depended upon. As to the rest, I beseech the gods to prosper all your undertakings, whatsoever they may be."

The council could not but approve at that time of what Hannibal had said, and indeed it was the only good advice that could be given Antiochus in the present posture of his affairs. However, he complied only with the article which related to the troops of Asia; and immediately sent orders to Polyxenides, his admiral, to bring them over into Greece. With regard to all the rest of Hannibal's plan, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from putting it in execution, by assuring him that he could not fail of being victorious; that should he follow Hannibal's plan, all the honour would be ascribed to Hannibal, because he had formed it: that the king ought to have all the glory of the war, and for that reason it was necessary for him to draw up another plan, without regarding that of the Carthaginian. In this manner are the best counsels frustrated, and the most powerful empires ruined.

The king, having joined the troops of the allies to his own, made himself master of several cities of Thessaly; he was however obliged to raise the siege of Larissa, Bebrius, the Roman prætor, having sent it a speedy aid, after which he retired to Demetrias.

From thence he went to Chalcis, where he fell distractedly in love with the daughter of the person at whose house he lodged. Though he was upwards of fifty, he was so passionately fond of that girl, who was not twenty, that he resolved to marry her. Forgetting the two great enterprises he had formed, the war against the Romans and the deliverance of Greece, he spent the rest of the winter in feasts and diversions on the occasion of his nuptials. This taste for pleasure soon communicated itself from the king to the whole court, and occasioned a universal neglect of military discipline.

He did not wake out of the lethargy into which this effeminate life had thrown him, till news was brought, that Acilius the consul was advancing towards him in Thessaly with the utmost diligence. Immediately the king set out; and finding at the place appointed for the rendezvous but a very small number of the confederate troops, whose officers told him, that it was impossible for them, though they had used their utmost endeavours, to bring more forces into the field; he then found, but too late, how much he had been imposed upon by the splendid promises of Thomas; and the truth of Hannibal's words, that it would not be safe for him to rely on the troops of such allies. All he could do at that time was, to seize the pass of Thermopylæ, and to send to the Ætolians for a reinforcement. Either the inclemency of the weather, or contrary winds, had prevented the arrival of the Asiatic forces, which Polyxenides was bringing, and the king had only those troops which he had brought the year before, which scarce exceeded 10,000 men.

Antiochus imagined he had provided sufficiently for his security against the Romans, who were advancing against him, by having seized the pass of Thermopylæ, and strengthening the natural fortifications of that place with intrenchments and walls. The consul came forward, determined to attack him.

Most of his officers and soldiers had been employed in the war against Philip. These he animated, by putting them in mind of the famous victory they had gained over that king, who was a much braver prince, and infinitely more practised in military affairs, than Antiochus; who, being newly married, and enervated by pleasures and revelling, vainly fancied that war was to be carried on in the same manner as nuptials are solemnized. Acilius had despatched Cato, who acted under him as lieutenant, with a large detachment, in quest of some by-path that led to the hill above the enemy. Cato, after inexpressible fatigues, went over the mountains through the same path where Xerxes and Brennus afterwards opened themselves a passage; when falling suddenly on some soldiers, whom he met there, he soon put them to flight. Immediately he orders the trumpets to sound, and advances at the head of his detachment sword in hand, and with great shouts. A body of 600 Ætolians, who guarded some of the eminences, seeing him come down the mountains, take to flight, and retire towards their army, where they spread universal terror.

At the same instant the consul attacks Antiochus's intrenchments with all his troops, and forces them. The king, having his teeth shattered by a stone, was in such excessive pain, that he was forced to leave the field. After his retreat, no part of his army dared to stand their ground, and wait the coming up of the Romans. The rout now became general in a place where there were scarcely any outlets to escape through; for on one side they were stopped by deep fens, and on the other by craggy rocks; so that there was no getting off either on the right or left. The soldiers, however, crowding and pushing forward, to avoid the enemy's swords, threw one another into the morasses and down the precipices, in which manner a greater number of them perished.

After the battle was over, the consul embraced Cato a long time in his arms, who was still hot and out of breath; and cried out aloud, in the transports of his joy, that neither himself nor the Romans could ever reward his services as they deserved. Cato, who was now lieutenant-general under Acilius, had been consul, and had commanded the armies in Spain: but he did not think that the accepting of a subaltern employment for the service of his country, was any disgrace to him; and this was a frequent practice among the Romans. In the mean time the victorious army continued the pursuit, and cut to pieces all Antiochus's forces, 500 excepted, with whom he escaped to Chalcis.

Acilius sent Cato to Rome, with the news of this victory, and related in his letters how greatly his lieutenant had contributed to it. It is noble in a general to do justice in this manner to the merit of another, and not to suffer so mean a passion as jealousy to harbour in his heart. The arrival of Cato at Rome filled the citizens with a joy so much the greater, as they had been very apprehensive of the success of the war against so powerful and renowned a prince. Orders were thereupon given for public prayers and sacrifices to be offered up to the gods, by way of thanksgiving, for three days together.

The reader has doubtless often observed, with admiration, how careful the heathens were to begin and end all their wars with solemn acts of religion; endeavouring in the first place, by vows and sacrifices, to acquire the favour of those whom they honoured as gods, and afterwards returning them public and solemn thanks for the success of their arms. This was a double testimony which they paid to an important and capital truth, the tradition which (of equal antiquity with the world) has been preserved by all nations; that there is a Supreme Being and a Providence, which presides over all human events. This laudable custom is observed regularly among us, and it is only among Christians, in strictness of speech, that it may be called a religious custom. I only wish that one practice were added to it, which certainly corresponds with the intention of our superiors, as well ecclesiastical as political; I mean, that prayers were offered up at the same time for those brave officers and soldiers who have shed their blood in the defence of their country.

¹ Liv. l. xxxv. n. 16—21. Plut. in Caton. p. 343, 344. Appian in Syr. p. 96—98.

The victory gained over Antiochus was followed by the surrender of all the cities and fortresses which that prince had taken, and especially of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The consul, after his victory, discovered such a moderation on all occasions, as reflected a greater honour on him than the victory itself.

Though the Ætoliens,² by their injurious and insolent conduct, had rendered themselves unworthy of the least regard, Acilius, however, endeavoured to bring them over by gentle methods. He represented, that experience ought to teach them, how little they could depend on Antiochus; that it was not yet too late for them to have recourse to the clemency of the Romans; that, to give an unexceptionable proof of the sincerity of their repentance, they must surrender to him Heraclea, their capital city. These remonstrances being all to no purpose, he saw plainly that he should be obliged to employ force, and accordingly he besieged that place with all his troops. Heraclea was a very strong city, of great extent, and able to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul having employed the balista, catapultæ, and all the other engines of war, attacked the city in four places at the same time. The besieged defended themselves with inexpressible courage, or rather fury. They immediately repaired such parts of the wall as were beaten down. In their frequent sallies, they charged with a violence it was scarce possible to support, for they fought in the highest despair. They burned in an instant the greatest part of the machines employed against them. The attack was continued in this manner for four-and-twenty days, without the least intermission either by day or night.

It was plain, as the garrison did not consist of near so many forces as the Roman army, it must necessarily be greatly weakened by such violent and continued exertions. And now the consul formed a new plan. He discontinued the attack at twelve every night, and did not renew it till about nine the next morning. The Ætoliens, not doubting that this proceeded from the excessive fatigue of the besiegers, and persuaded that they were as much exhausted as themselves, took advantage of the repose allowed them, and retired at the same time with the Romans. They continued this practice for some time; but the consul having drawn off his troops at midnight, as usual, at three in the morning assaulted the city in three places only; placing at the fourth a body of troops, who were commanded not to move till a signal should be given. Such Ætoliens as were asleep, being very drowsy and heavy from fatigue, were waked with the utmost difficulty; and those who were awake ran up and down at random wherever the noise called them. At day-break, the signal being given by the consul, the assault was made on that part of the city which had not yet been attacked, and from whence the besieged, on that account, had drawn off their people. The city was taken in an instant, and the Ætoliens fled with the utmost precipitation into the citadel. The general suffered the city to be plundered, not so much from a spirit of hatred and revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who, till now, had not been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. As the citadel was in want of provisions, it could not hold out long; and accordingly, at the first assault, the garrison surrendered. Among the prisoners was Damocritus, a person of the greatest distinction among the Ætoliens, who in the beginning of the war, had answered Quintus, "That he would bring to him in Italy the decree by which he had just before called in Antiochus."

At the same time Philip was besieging Lamia,³ which was but seven miles from Heraclea. It did not hold out long after the latter was taken.

Some days before the surrender of Heraclea, the Ætoliens had deputed ambassadors, with Thoas at their head, to Antiochus. The king promised them a speedy succour, gave them immediately a considerable sum of money, and kept Thoas, who stayed

very willingly with him, to hasten the execution of his promises.

The Ætoliens,⁴ who were exceedingly discouraged by the taking of Heraclea, considered how they might best put an end to a war, which had already been attended with very unhappy effects, and might have been much worse. But the populace not approving the conditions of peace which were prescribed, the negotiation came to nothing.

In the mean time, the consul laid siege to Naupactus, in which the Ætoliens had shut themselves up with all their forces. The siege had already been carried on two months, when Quintus, who during this time had been employed in Greece, in various concerns, came thither and joined the consul. The destruction of that city would involve almost the whole nation in the same fate. The usage which Quintus had met with from the Ætoliens, had given him the greatest reason to be dissatisfied with them. However, he was moved with compassion, when he saw them on the brink of destruction; and therefore he advanced so near the walls, as to be known by the besieged. The city was reduced to the last extremities. A rumour being spread that Quintus was approaching, immediately the citizens ran from all quarters to the walls. Those unfortunate people, stretching forth their hands towards Quintus, and calling him by his name, all burst into tears, and implored his assistance with the most mournful cries. Quintus, moved with their condition even to shedding of tears, expressed by his gestures that he could do nothing for them, and returned to the consul. In their conversation he represented, that as he had overcome Antiochus, it was but lost time to continue the siege of those two cities, and that the year of his command was near expiring. Acilius agreed with him; but being ashamed to raise the siege, he left Quintus at liberty to act as he pleased. The latter advancing near the walls a second time, the mournful cries were again heard, and the citizens besought him to take compassion on them. Quintus, by a sign with his hand, bid them send deputies to him; when immediately Phœneas and the principal citizens came out, and threw themselves at his feet. Seeing them in that humble posture; "Your calamity," says he "banishes from my mind all thoughts of resentment and revenge. You now find that all things have appeared as I foretold you they would; and you have not the consolation of being able to say, that none of these misfortunes were owing to yourselves. But destined as I am, by Providence, to preserve Greece, your ingratitude shall not cancel my inclination to do good. Depute therefore some persons to the consul, and beg a truce for as much time as may suffice for sending ambassadors to Rome, in order to make your submissions to the senate. I will be your mediator and advocate with the consul." They followed Quintus's advice in every thing. The consul granted them a truce, broke up the siege, and marched back his army to Phocis.

King Philip sent ambassadors to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the happy success of this campaign, and to offer presents and sacrifices to the gods in the Capitol. They were received there with the highest marks of distinction, and the Romans gave up to them Demetrius, the son of Philip, who had been a hostage in their city. Thus ended the war which the Romans carried on against Antiochus in Greece.

SECTION VII.—POLYXENIDES, ADMIRAL OF ANTIOCHUS'S FLEET, IS DEFEATED BY LIVIUS. L. SCIPIO, THE NEW CONSUL, IS APPOINTED TO CARRY ON THE WAR AGAINST ANTIOCHUS. SCIPIO AFRICANUS, HIS BROTHER, SERVES UNDER HIM. THE RHODIANS DEFEAT HANNIBAL IN A SEA-FIGHT. THE CONSUL MARCHES AGAINST ANTIOCHUS, AND CROSSES INTO ASIA. HE GAINS A SIGNAL VICTORY OVER HIM NEAR MAGNESIA. THE KING OBTAINS A PEACE; AND GIVES UP, BY A TREATY, ALL ASIA ON THIS SIDE MOUNT TAURUS. DISPUTE BETWEEN

¹ Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 22—26.

² Multo modestiù post victorium, quam ipsâ victoriâ, inudabilior.—Liv.

³ Both Lamia and Heraclea were in Phthiotis.

⁴ Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 27. 35.

EUMENES AND THE RHODIANS, IN PRESENCE OF THE ROMAN SENATE, RELATING TO THE GRECIAN CITIES OF ASIA.

WHILST the affairs I have just A. M. 3813. related were passing in Greece, Ant. J. C. 191. Antiochus lived easy and undisturbed in Ephesus, relying on the assurance of his flatterers and courtiers, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans, who (they declared) did not intend to cross into Asia. Hannibal was the only person capable of rousing him from this lethargy. He told the king plainly, that instead of entertaining vain hopes, and suffering himself to be lulled asleep by irrational and improbable discourse, he might be assured, that he would soon be forced to fight the Romans both by sea and land, in Asia, and for Asia; and that he must resolve, either to renounce the empire of it, or to defend it sword in hand, against enemies, who aspired at no less than the conquest of the whole world.

The king then became sensible of the great danger he was in, and immediately sent orders to hasten the march of the troops from the East which were not yet arrived. He also fitted out a fleet, embarked, and sailed to the Chersonesus. He there fortified Lysimachia, Sestos, Abydos, and other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from crossing into Asia by the Hellespont; and this being done, he returned to Ephesus.

Here it was resolved, in a great council, to venture a naval engagement. Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet, was ordered to go in search of C. Livius, who commanded that of the Romans, which was just before arrived in the Ægean sea, and to attack it. They met near mount Corychus in Ionia. The battle was fought with great bravery on both sides; but at last Polyxenides was beaten, and obliged to fly. Ten of his ships were sunk, thirteen taken, and he escaped with the rest to Ephesus. The Romans sailed into the harbour of Cane, in Æolis, drew their ships ashore, and fortified with a strong intrenchment and rampart the place where they laid them up for the whole winter.

Antiochus² at the time this happened, was in Magnesia, assembling his land forces. News being brought that his fleet was defeated, he marched towards the coast, and resolved to equip another so powerful, as might be able to preserve the empire of those seas. For this purpose, he refitted such ships as had been brought off, reinforced them with new ones, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch those of Syria and Phœnicia. He also gave part of the army to Seleucus his son, whom he sent into Æolis, to watch the Roman fleet, and awe all the country round, and marched in person with the rest into winter quarters in Phrygia.

During these transactions,³ the Ætolian ambassadors arrived at Rome, where they pressed to be admitted to an audience, because the truce was near expiring. Quintus, who was returned from Greece, employed all his influence in their favour. But he found the senate very much exasperated against the Ætolians. They were considered, not as common enemies, but as a people so very uncivilized and unsocial that it would be to no purpose to conclude an alliance with them. After several days' debate, in which they were neither allowed nor refused peace, two proposals were made to them, and left to their option; these were, either to submit entirely to the will of the senate, or to pay 1000 talents,⁴ and to acknowledge all those for their friends or enemies, who were such to the Romans. As the Ætolians desired to know particularly how far they were to submit to the will of the senate, no express answer was made to them. They therefore withdrew, without obtaining any thing, and were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

The next year⁵ the Romans gave the command of the land armies A. M. 3814. which Acilius had before, to L. Cornelius Scipio, the new consul, under whom Scipio Africanus, his brother, had offered to serve as lieutenant. The senate and people of Rome were very desirous of trying, whether of the two, Scipio or Hannibal, the conqueror or the conquered, would be of the greater service to the army in which he should fight. The command of the fleet, which Livius had before, was given to L. Æmilius Regillus.

The consul being arrived in Ætolia, did not trifle away his time in besieging one town after another; but, wholly attentive to his principal view, after granting the Ætolians a six months' truce, in order that they might have full time for sending a second embassy to Rome, he resolved to march his army through Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, and from thence to cross over into Asia. However, he thought it advisable previously to inform himself how Philip might stand affected. This prince gave the army such a reception as might be expected from the most faithful and most zealous ally. At its arrival, as well as departure, he furnished it with all necessary refreshments and supplies, with a truly loyal munificence. In the entertainments which he made for the consul,⁶ his brother, and the chief officers of the Romans, he discovered an easy, graceful air; and such a politeness as was very pleasing to Scipio Africanus. For this great man, who excelled in every thing, was not an enemy to a certain elegance of manners and noble generosity, provided they did not degenerate into luxury.

The praise which Livy gives Scipio in this place, is also very honourable to Philip. He had at that time for his guests the most illustrious personages in the world, a Roman consul, and at the same time general of the armies of that republic; and what was still more, Scipio Africanus, that consul's brother. Profusion is usual, and in some measure pardonable, on these occasions; and yet nothing of that kind appeared in the reception which Philip gave to his guests. He regaled them in such a manner as became a great prince; and with a magnificence that suited their dignity and his own, which, however, at the same time, was far from discovering the least pomp or ostentation, and was much heightened by his engaging demeanour, and by the care he took to set before his guests with taste and decorum whatever might be most agreeable to them. *Multa in eo dexteritas et humanitas visa.* These personal qualities, in the opinion of Scipio, did Philip greater honour, and gave his guests a more advantageous idea of him, than the most sumptuous profusion could have done. This excellent taste on both sides, so uncommon in princes and great men, is a fine model for persons of their high rank.

The consul and his brother, in return for the noble and generous reception which Philip had given the army, remitted him in the name of the Roman people, who had invested them with full powers for that purpose, the remainder of the sum he was to pay them.

Philip seemed to make it his duty, as well as pleasure, to accompany the Roman army; and to supply it with necessities of every kind, not only in Macedonia but as far as Thrace. His experience how much the Roman forces were superior to his own, and his inability to shake off the yoke of obedience and submission, always grating to kings, obliged him to cultivate the good opinion of a people on whom his future fate depended; and it was wise in him to do that with a good grace, which he would otherwise in some measure have been obliged to do. For in reality it was scarce possible for him not to retain a very strong resentment against the Romans, on account of the condition to which they had reduced

¹ Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41—45. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99, 100.

² Liv. l. xlvii. n. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 100.

³ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1.

⁴ About 190,000*l.*

VOL. II.—21

⁵ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1—7. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99 & 100.

⁶ *Multa in eo et dexteritas et humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; virum, sicut ad cetera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ sine luxuria esset, non aversum.*—Liv.

him; for kings are never able to accustom themselves to depend on and submit to others.

In the mean time the Roman fleet advanced towards Thrace,¹ to favour the passage of the consul's troops into Asia. Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, who was a Rhodian exile, by a stratagem, defeated Pausistratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet, which had been sent to the assistance of the Romans. He attacked him by surprise in the harbour of Samos, and burned or sunk nine-and-twenty of his ships; and Pausistratus himself lost his life in this engagement. The Rhodians, so far from being discouraged by this great loss, meditated only how to revenge it. Accordingly, with incredible diligence, they fitted out a more powerful fleet than the former. It joined that of Æmilius, and both fleets sailed towards Elea, to aid Eumenes, whom Seleucus was besieging in his capital. This succour arrived very seasonably, Eumenes being just on the point of being reduced by the enemy. Diophanes the Achæan, who had formed himself under the famous Philopœmen, obliged the enemy to raise the siege. He had entered the city with 1000 foot and 100 horse. At the head of his own troops only, and in sight of the inhabitants, who did not dare to follow him, he performed actions of such extraordinary bravery, as obliged Seleucus at length to raise the siege, and quit the country.

The Rhodian fleet being afterwards detached in quest of Hannibal,² who was bringing to the king that of Syria and Phœnicia, the Rhodians singly fought him on the coast of Pamphylia. By the goodness of their ships, and the dexterity of their seamen, they defeated that great captain, drove him into the port of Megiste, near Patara; and there blocked him up so close, that it was impossible for him to act, or be of any service to the king.

The news of this defeat came to Antiochus, much about the time that advice was brought, that the Roman consul was advancing by hasty marches into Macedonia, and was preparing to pass the Hellespont and enter Asia. Antiochus then saw the imminent danger he was in, and made haste to take all possible methods for preventing it.

He sent ambassadors to Prusias,³ king of Bithynia, to inform him of the design which the Romans had of entering Asia. They were ordered to display in the strongest terms the fatal consequences of that enterprise: that they were coming with a design to destroy all the kingly governments in the world, and leave no other empire than that of the Romans: that after having subdued Philip and Nabis, they were now preparing to attack him: that should he have the ill-fortune to be overcome, the conflagration spreading, would soon reach Bithynia: that as to Eumenes, no aid could be expected from him, as he had voluntarily submitted himself, and put on the chains of the Romans with his own hands.

These motives had made a great impression on Prusias, but the letters which he had received at the same time from Scipio the consul and his brother, contributed very much to remove his fears and suspicions. The latter represented to him that it was the constant practice of the Romans, to bestow the greatest honours on such kings as sought their alliance; and he mentioned several examples of that kind, in which he himself had been concerned. He said that in Spain, several princes, who, before they were favoured with the protection of the Romans, had made a very inconsiderable figure, were since become great kings: that Masinissa had not only been restored to his kingdom, but that the dominions of Syphax had been added to it, whereby he was become one of the most powerful potentates of the universe: that Philip and Nabis, though vanquished by Quintus, had nevertheless been suffered to sit peaceably on their thrones: that in the preceding year the tribute which Philip had agreed to pay was

remitted, and his son, who was a hostage in Rome sent back to him; that as to Nabis, he would have been on the throne at that time, had he not lost his life by the treachery of the Ætoliens.

The arrival of Livius, who had commanded the fleet, and whom the Romans had sent as their ambassador to Prusias, fully determined him. He made it clear to him, which party might naturally be expected to be victorious: and how much safer it would be for him to rely on the friendship of the Romans, than on that of Antiochus.

The king being disappointed of the hopes he had entertained of bringing over Prusias to his interest, now meditated only how he might best oppose the passage of the Romans into Asia, and prevent its being made the seat of war. He imagined that the most effectual way to do this, would be, to recover the empire of the seas, of which he had been almost dispossessed by the loss of the two battles related above; that then he might employ his fleets against whom, and in what manner he pleased: and that it would be impossible for the enemy to transport an army into Asia by the Hellespont, or by any other way, when his fleets should be wholly employed to prevent it. Antiochus therefore resolved to hazard a second battle, and for that purpose went to Ephesus, where his fleet lay. He there reviewed it, put it in the best condition he was able, furnished it abundantly with all things necessary to another engagement, and sent it once more, under the command of Polyxenides, in quest of the enemy, with orders to fight them. What determined his resolution was, his having received advice that a great part of the Rhodian fleet continued near Patara; and that king Eumenes had sailed with his whole fleet to the Chersonesus to join the consul.

Polyxenides came up with Æmilius and the Romans near Myonnesus, a maritime city of Ionia, and attacked their fleet with as little success as before. Æmilius obtained a complete victory, and obliged him to retire to Ephesus, after having sunk or burnt twenty-nine of his ships, and taken thirteen.

Antiochus was so struck with the news of this defeat,⁴ that he seemed entirely disconcerted; and, as if he had been on a sudden deprived of his senses, he took such measures as were evidently contrary to his interest. In his consternation, he sent orders for withdrawing his forces out of Lysimachia, and the other cities of the Hellespont, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, who were marching towards those parts, with a design of crossing into Asia: whereas, the only means that remained to hinder this, would have been to leave those troops in the places where they were. For Lysimachia, being very strongly fortified, might have held out a long siege, perhaps till the winter was very far advanced, which would have greatly incommoded the enemy, by the want of provisions and forage; and during that interval, he might have taken measures for an accommodation with the Romans.

He had not only committed a great error in drawing his forces out of those places at a time when they were most necessary in them, but did it in so precipitate a manner, that his troops left all the ammunition and provisions (of both of which he had laid up very considerable quantities) behind them in those cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and provisions in such great plenty, that they seemed to have been prepared expressly for the use of their army; and at the same time, the passage of the Hellespont was so open, that they carried over their army without the least opposition, at that very part where the enemy might have disputed it with them to the greatest advantage.

We have here an evident instance of what is so often mentioned in the Scriptures, that when God is determined to punish and destroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or ministers, of counsel, prudence, and courage. With this he makes the prophet Isaiah threaten his people. "For, 5

¹ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 9—11, & n. 13—22. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—103.

² Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 23, 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 100. Cor. Nep. in Hannib. c. viii.

³ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 25—30. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—104. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxii.

⁴ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 31. Appian. in Syr. p. 104.

⁵ Isaiah iii 1—3.

behold, the Lord, the Lord of Hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem, and from Judah, the stay and staff. The mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient. The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator."—But a very remarkable circumstance is, that the Pagan historian says here expressly, and repeats it twice, that "God took away the king's judgment, and overthrew his reason: a punishment," says he, "that always happens, when men are upon the point of falling into some great calamity." The expression is very strong; "God overthrew the king's reason." He took from him, that is he refused him, sound sense, prudence, and judgment: he banished from his mind every salutary thought: he confused him, and made him even averse to all the good counsel that could be given him. This is what David besought God to do with regard to Ahithophel,² Absalom's minister: "O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness." The word in the Latin version is very strong, *infatua*: the import of which is, how prudent soever his counsels may be, make them appear foolish and stupid to Absalom; and they accordingly did appear so. "And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, The counsel of Hushai, the Archite, is better than the counsel of Ahithophel: for the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom."

The Romans,³ being come into Asia, halted some time at Troy, which they considered as the cradle whence they had sprung, and as their primitive country, from whence Æneas had set out to settle in Italy. The consul offered up sacrifices to Minerva, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, much after the same manner as fathers and children, who meet after a long separation. The inhabitants of this city seeing their posterity conquerors of the West and of Africa, and laying claim to Asia, as a kingdom that had been possessed by their ancestors, imagined they saw Troy rise out of its ashes in greater splendour than ever. On the other side, the Romans were infinitely delighted to see themselves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome; and to contemplate the temples and statues of the deities which they had in common with that city.⁴

When advice was brought to Antiochus that the Romans had passed the Hellespont,⁵ he began to think himself undone. He would now have been very glad to deliver himself from a war in which he had engaged rashly, and without examining seriously all its consequences. This made him resolve to send an embassy to the Romans, to propose conditions of peace. A religious ceremony had retarded the march of their army, it having halted for several days that were festivals at Rome, in which the sacred shields called *Ancilia* were carried in solemn procession with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the *Salii*, or priests of Mars, whose office was to keep these shields, had not crossed the sea yet; for being one of the *Salii*, he could not leave the place where the festival was solemnizing, so that the army

was obliged to wait for him. What a pity it was, that persons of so much religion were no better illuminated, and did not direct their worship to more proper objects! This delay gave the king some hopes; for he had imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, would have attacked him on a sudden. Besides, the character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, of his greatness of soul, his generosity and clemency to those he had conquered both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now satiated with glory, would not be averse to an accommodation; especially as he had a present to make him, which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own son, a child, who had been taken at sea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Orem, according to Livy.

Heraclides, of Byzantium, who was the spokesman in this embassy, opened his speech with saying, that the very circumstance which had frustrated all the rest of the negotiations for peace between his master and the Romans, now made him hope for success in the present; because all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented their taking effect, were entirely removed: that the king, to put a stop to the complaints of his still keeping possession of any city in Europe, had abandoned Lysimachia: that as to Smyrna, Lampascus, and Alexandria in the Troad, he was ready to give them up to the Romans, and any other city belonging to their allies which they should demand of him: that he would consent to pay to the Romans half the expenses of this war. He concluded with exhorting them to call to mind the uncertainty and vicissitude of human affairs, and not lay too great a stress on their present prosperity: that they ought to rest satisfied with making Europe, whose extent was so immense, the boundaries of their empire: that if they were ambitious of joining some part of Asia to it, the king would acquiesce with their desire, provided that the limits of it were clearly settled.

The ambassador imagined that these proposals, which seemed so advantageous, could not be rejected; but the Romans judged differently. With regard to the expenses of the war, as the king had very unjustly been the occasion of it, they were of opinion that he ought to defray the whole: they were not satisfied with his withdrawing the garrisons he had in Ionia and Ætolia; but pretended to restore liberty to all Asia, in the same manner as they had done to Greece, which could not be effected unless the king abandoned all Asia on this side mount Taurus.

Heraclides, not being able to obtain any thing in the public audience, endeavoured, pursuant to his instructions, to conciliate in private Scipio Africanus. He began by assuring him, that the king would restore him his son without ransom. Afterwards, being very little acquainted with Scipio's greatness of soul, and the character of the Romans, he promised him a large sum of money, and assured him that he might entirely dispose of all things in the king's power if he could mediate a peace for him. To these overtures, Scipio made the following answer: "I am not surprised to find you ignorant both of my character and that of the Romans, as you are unacquainted even with the condition of the prince who sent you hither. If, as you assert, the uncertainty of the fate of arms should prompt us to grant you peace upon easier terms, your sovereign ought to have kept possession of Lysimachia, in order to have shut us out of the Chersonesus; or else he ought to have met us in the Hellespont to have disputed our passage into Asia. But, by abandoning them to us, he put the yoke on his own neck; so that all he now has to do, is to submit to whatever conditions we shall think fit to prescribe. Among the several offers he makes me, I cannot but be strongly affected with that which relates to the giving me back my son; I hope the rest will never have the power to tempt me. As a private man I can promise to preserve eternally the deepest sense of gratitude, for so precious a gift as he offers me in my son; but as a public one, he must expect nothing from me. Go, therefore, and tell him, in my name, that the best counsel I can give him, is to lay down his arms, and not reject any articles of peace which may be

¹ Θεοῦ βλάπτουτος ἤδη τοὺς λογισμοῦς· ὅτι ἄτασι, περιόντων ἀνυχισμάτων, ἐπιγίγνεται—οὐ μὴν οὕτω τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐδύλαξεν ὑπὸ Σελήνης οὐραίας.

² "Infatua, quæso, Domine, consilium Ahithophel. Domini autem nutu dissipatum est consilium Ahithophel, ut induceret Dominus super Absalom malum." 2 Reg. xv. 31, et xvii. 14. "O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness," 2 Sam. xiv. 31. "For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom," Chap. xvii. 14.

³ Justin. l. xxxi. c. 8.

⁴ The Romans had no great reason to be proud of their affinity to the inhabitants of Ilium, if what Demetrius of Scepsis says be true—that, being then very young, he happened to make a visit to the supposed site of ancient Troy, while Scipio was there, and adds, that the inhabitants of Ilium were at that time so wretchedly poor, that they had not even tiles to cover their houses, which were filled with filth and nastiness.]

⁵ Liv. l. xxxii. c. 33—45. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxiii. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 7, 8. Appian, in Syr. p. 105—110.

proposed to him. This is the best advice I can give him as a good and faithful friend."

Antiochus thought that the Romans could not have prescribed harder conditions had they conquered him, and such a peace appeared to him as fatal as the most unfortunate war. He therefore prepared for a battle, as the Romans did also on their side.

The king was encamped at Thyatira, where hearing that Scipio lay ill at Elea, he sent his son to him. This was a remedy that operated both on the body and mind, and restored both joy and health to the sick and afflicted father. After embracing him a long time in his arms, "Go," says he, to the envoys, "and thank the king from me, and tell him that at present the only testimony I can give him of my gratitude is, to advise him not to fight till he hears of my being arrived in the camp." Perhaps Scipio thought, that a delay of some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done, and incline him to conclude a solid peace.

Although the superiority of Antiochus's forces, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans, might be a powerful motive to induce him to venture a battle immediately; nevertheless, the wisdom and authority of Scipio, whom he considered as his last refuge in case any calamitous accident should befall him, prevailed over the former consideration. He passed the Phrygian river (it is thought to be the Hermus,) and posted himself near Magnesia, at the foot of mount Sipylus, where he fortified his camp so strongly, as not to fear being attacked in it.

The consul followed soon after. The armies continued several days in sight, during which Antiochus did not once move out of his camp. His army consisted of 70,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and fifty-four elephants. That of the Romans was composed, in the whole, of but 30,000 men, and sixteen elephants. The consul, finding that the king kept quiet, summoned his council, to debate on what was to be done, in case he should persist in refusing to venture a battle. He represented, that as the winter was at hand, it would be necessary, notwithstanding the severity of the season, for the soldiers to keep the field; or, if they should go into winter quarters, to discontinue the war till the year following. The Romans never showed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion; they all cried aloud, that it would be proper to march immediately against the enemy; to take advantage of the ardour of the troops, who were ready to force the palisades, and pass the intrenchments, to attack the enemy in their camp, in case they would not quit it. There is some probability that the consul was desirous of anticipating the arrival of his brother, since his presence only would have considerably diminished the glory of his success.

The next day, the consul, after viewing the situation of the camp, advanced with his army towards it in order of battle. The king, fearing that a longer delay would lessen the courage of his own soldiers, and animate the enemy, at last marched out with his troops, and both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

Every thing was uniform enough in the consul's army, with regard to the men as well as arms. It consisted of two Roman legions, of 5400 men each, and two such bodies of Latine infantry. The Romans were posted in the centre, and the Latines in the two wings, the left of which extended towards the river. The first line of the centre was composed of pikemen, or *Hastati*, the second of *Principes*, and the third of *Triarii*;¹ these, properly speaking, composed the main body. On the side of the right wing, to cover and sustain it, the consul had posted on the same line, 3000 Achaean infantry and auxiliary forces of Eumenes; and, in a column, 3000 horse, 800 of which belonged to Eumenes, and the rest to the Romans. He posted at the extremity of this wing, the light-armed Trallians and Cretans. It was not thought necessary to strengthen the left wing in

this manner, because the river and its banks, which were very steep, seemed a sufficient rampart. Nevertheless, four squadrons of horse were posted there. To guard the camp, they left 2000 Macedonians and Thracians, who followed the army as volunteers. The sixteen elephants were posted behind the *Triarii*, by way of reserve, and as a rear-guard. It was not thought proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, not only because the latter were greatly superior in number, but because the African elephants, which were the only ones the Romans had, were very much inferior both in size and strength to those of India, and therefore were not able to oppose them.

The king's army was more varied, both as to the different nations which composed it, and the disparity of their arms. Sixteen thousand foot, armed after the Macedonian fashion, who composed the phalanx, formed also the main body.² This phalanx was divided into ten bodies, each of fifty men in front by thirty-two deep, and two elephants were posted in each of the intervals which separated them. This formed the principal strength of the army. The sight alone of the elephants inspired terror. Their size, which in itself was very remarkable, was increased by the ornaments of their heads, and their plumes of feathers, which were embellished with gold, silver, purple, and ivory; vain ornaments, which invite an enemy by the hopes of plunder, and are no defence to an army. The elephants carried towers on their backs, in which were four fighting men, besides the guides. To the right of this phalanx, was drawn up in a column part of the cavalry, 1500 Asiatic Gauls, 3000 cuirassiers, completely armed, and 1000 horse, the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring nations. A body of sixteen elephants were posted next in files. A little beyond was the king's regiment, composed of the *Argyraspides*, so called from their arms being of silver. After them 1200 Dahæ, to whom 2560 Mysians were joined. All these were bowmen. Then 3000 light-armed Cretans and Trallians. The right wing was closed by 4000 slingers and archers, half Cyrtians and half Elymæans. The left wing was drawn up much after the same manner, except that before part of the cavalry, the chariots, armed with scythes, were posted, with the camels, mounted by Arabian bowmen, whose thin swords (in order that the riders might reach the enemy from the back of these beasts) were six feet long. The king commanded the right; Seleucus his son, and Antipater his nephew, the left; and three lieutenant-generals the main body.

A thick fog rising in the morning, the sky grew so dark, that it was not possible for the king's soldiers to distinguish one another, and act in concert, on account of their great extent; and the damp, occasioned by this fog, softened very much the bow-strings, the slings, and thongs² which were used for throwing javelins. The Romans did not suffer near so much, because they used scarce any thing but heavy arms, swords and javelins: and as the front of their army was of less extent, they could the easier see one another.

The chariots, armed with scythes, which Antiochus had flattered himself would terrify the enemy, and throw them into confusion, first occasioned the defeat of his own forces. King Eumenes, who knew both where their strength and weakness lay, opposed to them the Cretan archers, the slingers, and cavalry, who discharged javelins; commanding them to charge them, not in a body, but in small platoons: and to pour on them from every quarter, a shower of darts, stones and javelins; shouting as loud as possible all the while. The horses, frightened at these shouts, ran away with the chariots, scour the field on all sides, and turn against their own troops, as well as the camels. That empty terror thus removed, they fight hand to hand.

But this soon proved the destruction of the king's army; for the troops which were posted near these chariots, having been broken and put to flight by their disorder, left every part naked and defenceless,

¹ These are the names of the three different bodies of troops, of which the infantry of the Roman legions consisted.

even to the very cuirassiers. The Roman cavalry, vigorously charging the latter, it was not possible for them to stand the shock, so that they were broken immediately, many of them being killed on the spot, because the weight of their arms would not permit them to fly. The whole left wing was routed, which spread an alarm through the main body, formed by the phalanx, and threw it into disorder. And now the Roman legions charged it with advantage; the soldiers who composed the phalanx not having an opportunity to use their long pikes, because those who fled had taken refuge among them, and prevented their acting, whilst the Romans poured their javelins upon them from all sides. The elephants drawn up in the intervals of the phalanx were of no service to it. The Roman soldiers, who had been used to fight in the wars in Africa against those animals, had learned how to avoid their impetuosity, either by piercing their sides with their javelins, or by hamstringing them with their swords. The first ranks of the phalanx were therefore put into disorder; and the Romans were upon the point of surrounding the rear ranks, when advice was brought that their left wing was in great danger.

Antiochus, who had observed that the flanks of this left wing were quite uncovered, and that only four squadrons of horse had been posted near it, as it was supposed to be sufficiently defended by the river; had charged it with his auxiliary forces and his heavy-armed horse, not only in front but in flank; because the four squadrons, being unable to withstand the charge of all the enemy's cavalry, had retired towards the main body, and left open their ground near the river. The Roman cavalry having been put into disorder, the infantry soon followed it, and were driven as far as the camp. Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, had stayed to guard the camp. Seeing the Romans flying towards it, he marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and reproached them with their cowardice and ignominious flight. But this was not all, for he commanded his soldiers to kill the foremost of those that fled, and all who refused to face about against the enemy. This order being given so seasonably, and immediately put in execution, had the desired effect. The stronger fear prevailed over the less. Those who were flying, first halt, and afterwards return to the battle. And now Æmilius with his body of troops, which consisted of 2000 brave, well-disciplined men, opposes the king, who was pursuing vigorously those who fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having quitted the right wing, on his receiving advice that the left was defeated, flew to it very seasonably with 200 horse. Antiochus being now charged on every side, turned his horse and retired.

Thus the Romans having defeated the two wings, advance forward over the heaps of slain, as far as the king's camp, and plunder it.

It has been observed,¹ that the manner in which the king drew up his phalanx was one of the causes of his losing the battle. In this body the chief strength of his army consisted, and it had hitherto been thought invincible. It was composed entirely of veteran, stout, and well-disciplined soldiers. To enable this phalanx to do him greater service, he ought to have given it less depth and a greater front; whereas, in drawing them up thirty-two deep, he rendered half of them of no use; and filled up the rest of the front with new-raised troops, without courage and experience, who consequently could not be depended on. In this, however, Antiochus had only observed the method in which Philip and Alexander used to draw up their phalanx.

There fell this day, as well in the battle as in the pursuit and the plunder of the camp, 50,000 foot and 4000 horse: 1400 were taken prisoners, and fifteen elephants, with their guides. The Romans lost but 300 foot and twenty-four horse. Twenty-five of Eumenes's troopers were killed. By this victory the Romans acquired all the cities of Asia Minor, which now submitted voluntarily to them.²

Antiochus withdrew to Sardis, with as many of his forces who had escaped the slaughter as he could assemble. From that city he marched to Celæne in Phrygia, whither he heard that his son Seleucus had fled. He found him there, and both passed mount Taurus, with the utmost diligence, in order to reach Syria.

Neither Hannibal nor Scipio Africanus were in this battle. The former was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, with the Syrian fleet, and the latter lay ill in Elea.

The instant Antiochus was arrived at Antioch,³ he sent Antipater, his brother's son, and Zeuxis, who had governed Lydia and Phrygia under him, to the Romans, in order to sue for peace. They found the consul at Sardis, with Scipio Africanus his brother, who was recovered. They applied themselves to the latter, who presented them to the consul. They did not endeavour to excuse Antiochus in any manner; and only sued humbly, in his name, for peace. "You have always," said they to him, "pardoned with greatness of mind the kings and nations you have conquered. How much more should you be induced to do this, after a victory which gives you the empire of the universe? Henceforward, being become equal to the gods, lay aside all animosity against mortals, and make the good of the human race your sole study for the future."

The council was summoned upon this embassy, and after having seriously examined the affair, the ambassadors were called in. Scipio Africanus spoke, and acquainted them with what had been resolved.—He said, that as the Romans did not suffer themselves to be depressed by adversity, on the other side, they were never too elated by prosperity; that therefore they would not insist upon any other demands, than those they had made before the battle: that Antiochus should evacuate all Asia on this side mount Taurus: that he should pay all the expenses of the war, which were computed at 15,000 Euboic talents; and the payments were settled as follows: 500 talents down, 2500 when the senate should have ratified the treaty, and the rest in twelve years, 1000 talents in each year: that he should pay Eumenes the 400 talents he owed him, and the residue of a payment on account of corn with which the king of Pergamus his father had furnished the king of Syria; and that he should deliver twenty hostages, to be chosen by the Romans.—He added, "The Romans cannot persuade themselves, that a prince who gives Hannibal refuge is sincerely desirous of peace. They

battle seems to have been fought a little to the east of that city, in the angle formed by the junction of the Hermus and Lycus. There are two cities of that name: the one upon the Mæander, and now called Güzehissar, 50 geographical miles south of this, which is called Magnesia ad Sipylum, and now Magnisa, 35 British miles almost due west from Sardis, and 15 north-east of Smyrna. Magnesia is situated on the side of the Sarabat, at the foot of a lofty and rugged mountain that rises behind it, and abruptly terminates the vast plain which runs from the north of Akhissar, or Thyatira, to this place. On the road from the former city, through this plain, there is a causeway raised six feet above the general level, with arches and cuts for the passage of water at irregular intervals; besides many wooden bridges and stepping stones, necessary during the violent inundations which often approach the walls of Magnesia. It is a large and well peopled city, containing at least 27 mosques, and most of the houses are placed at the foot, and some on the sides, of the mountain, the ancient Mons Sipylus, now called the Sipahi Daghi. This city, with all the territory from the Mæander to the Propontis, has been for upwards of 80 years under the mild and equitable government of the family of Kara Osman Oglou; its increasing opulence bears proof of this. The husbandmen here, not as in other parts of Turkey, sow their seed in peace, and gather in security; and unless the late rebellion of the Greeks have altered the face of things, the Greeks have schools in Æolis, where Homer and Thucydides are read. On the slope of Mount Sipylus, overlooking the city, are the ruins of an ancient castle, with its outworks. The Bazaar is well stored with fruits and vegetables; but the site of the city itself generates malaria, from the excessive heats and frequent floods of the Sarabat, and inundations of the plain. Hence fever and ague remarkably affect the inhabitants.]

³ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 45—49. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxiv. Appian, in Syr. p. 110—113.

¹ Appian.

² [From Thyatira Antiochus retreated south-west to Magnesia on the Hermus, 35 British miles distant. The

therefore demand that Hannibal be delivered up to them, as also Thoas the Ætolian, who was the chief agent in fomenting this war." All these conditions were accepted.

L. Cotta was sent to Rome with the ambassadors of Antiochus, to acquaint the senate with the particulars of this negotiation, and to obtain the ratification of it. Eumenes set out at the same time for Rome, whither the ambassadors of the cities of Asia went also. Soon after the 500 talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, hostages were given for the remainder of the payment, and to secure the other articles of the treaty. Antiochus, one of the king's sons, was included among the hostages.—He afterwards ascended the throne, and was surnamed Epiphanes. The instant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was negotiating, concluding that they should be the victims, they provided for their own safety by retiring before it was concluded.

The Ætolians had before sent ambassadors to Rome, to solicit an accommodation. To succeed the better, they had the assurance to spread a report in Rome, by a knavish artifice unworthy the character they bore, that the two Scipios had been seized and carried off at an interview, and that Antiochus had defeated their army. Afterwards, as if this report had been true, (and they impudently declared that it was so,) they assumed a haughty tone in the senate, and seemed to demand a peace rather than sue for it. This showed they were not acquainted with the genius and character of the Romans, who had reason to be offended with them on other accounts. They therefore were commanded to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. The Romans received letters from the consul soon after, by which it appeared that this report was entirely groundless.

The Romans had just before
A. M. 3815. raised M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Ant. J. C. 169. Manlius Vulso to the consulate.—

In the division of the provinces, Ætolia fell by lot to Fulvius, and Asia to Manlius.

The arrival of Cotta at Rome, who brought the particulars of the victory and treaty of peace, filled the whole city with joy. Prayers and sacrifices were appointed, by way of thanksgiving, for three days.

After this religious solemnity was over, the senate immediately gave audience, first to Eumenes, and afterwards to the ambassadors. At this audience, one of the most important affairs that had ever been brought before the senate, and which concerned all the Grecian cities of Asia, was to be considered. It is well known how precious and dear liberty in general is to all men. But the Greeks in particular were inexpressibly jealous of theirs. They considered it as an inheritance, which had devolved to them from their ancestors; and as a peculiar privilege that distinguished them from all other nations. And, indeed, the least attention to the Grecian history will show that liberty was the great motive and principle of all their enterprises and wars; and in a manner the soul of their laws, customs, and whole frame of government. Philip, and Alexander his son, gave the first blow to it, and their successors had exceedingly abridged, and almost extirpated it. The Romans had a little before restored it to all the cities of Greece, after the victory they had gained over Philip king of Macedonia. The cities of Asia, after the defeat of Antiochus, were in hopes of the same indulgence. The Rhodians had sent ambassadors to Rome, principally to solicit that favour for the Greeks of Asia; and it was the peculiar interest of king Eumenes to oppose it. This was the subject on which the senate were now to debate, the decision of which held all Europe and Asia in suspense.

Eumenes being first admitted to audience, opened his speech with a short compliment to the senate, for the glorious protection they had granted him, in freeing himself and his brother, when besieged in Pergamus (the capital of his kingdom) by Antiochus, and in securing his dominions against the unjust en-

terprises of that prince. He afterwards congratulated the Romans on the happy success of their arms both by sea and land; and on the famous victory they had lately gained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, as well as of all Asia situated on this side of mount Taurus. He added, that as to himself and the service he had endeavoured to do the Romans, he chose rather to have those things related by their generals than by himself. The modesty of his behaviour was universally applauded; but he was desired to specify the particulars in which the senate and people of Rome could oblige him, and what he had to ask of them; assuring him that he might rely on their good inclinations towards him. He replied, that if the choice of a recompense was proposed to him by others, and he were permitted to consult the senate, he then would be so free as to ask that venerable body, what answer it would be proper for him to make, in order that he might not insist upon immoderate and unreasonable demands; but that, as it was from the senate that he expected whatsoever he could hope for, he thought it most advisable to depend entirely on their generosity. He was again desired to explain himself clearly, and without ambiguity. In this mutual contest between politeness and respect, Eumenes, not being able to prevail upon himself to be outdone, quitted the assembly. The senate still persisted in their first resolution. And the reason they gave for it was, that the king knew what it best suited his interest to ask. He therefore was again introduced, and obliged to explain himself.

He then made the following speech: "I should have still continued silent, did I not know that the Rhodian ambassadors, whom you will soon admit to audience, will make such demands as are directly contrary to my interest. They will plead, in your presence, the cause of all the Grecian cities of Asia, and pretend that they ought to be declared free. Now, can it be doubted that their intention in this is, to deprive me, not only of those cities, which will be set free, but even of such as were anciently tributaries to me; and that their view is, by so signal a service, to subject them effectually to themselves, under the specious title of confederate cities? They will not fail to expatiate on their own disinterestedness; and to say, that they do not speak for themselves, but merely for your glory and reputation. You therefore will certainly not suffer yourselves to be imposed upon by such discourse; and are far from designing, either to discover an affected inequality towards your allies, by humbling some and raising others in an immoderate degree; nor to allow better conditions to those who bore arms against you, than to such as have always been your friends and allies. With regard to my particular pretensions, and my personal interest, these I can easily give up; but as to your kindness, and the marks of friendship with which you have been pleased to honour me, I must confess that I cannot, without pain, see others triumph over me in that particular. This is the most precious part of the inheritance I received from my father, who was the first potentate in all Greece and Asia that had the advantage of concluding an alliance, and of joining in friendship with you; and who cultivated it with an inviolable constancy and fidelity to his latest breath. He was far from confining himself in those points to mere protestations of kindness and good will. In all the wars you made in Greece, whether by sea or land, he constantly followed your standards, and aided you with all his forces, with such a zeal as none of your allies can boast. It may even be said, that his attachment to your interest, in the last and strongest proof he gave of his fidelity, was the cause of his death: for the fire and vigour with which he exhorted the Boeotians to engage in an alliance with you, occasioned the fatal accident that brought him to his end in a few days. I have always thought it my glory and duty to tread in his steps. It had not, indeed, been possible for me to exceed him in zeal and attachment for your service: but then the posture of affairs, and the war against Antiochus, have furnished me with more opportunities than my father had, of

¹ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 47—50. Ibid. n. 52—59. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxv. Appian, Syr. p. 116.

giving you proofs of this. That prince, so powerful in Europe as well as Asia, offered me his daughter in marriage: he engaged himself to recover all those cities which had revolted from me: he promised to enlarge my dominions considerably, upon condition that I should join with him against you. I will not assume any honour to myself from not accepting of offers which tended to alienate me from your friendship; and, indeed, how would it have been possible for me to do this? I will only take notice of what I thought myself bound to do in your favour, as one who was your ancient friend and ally. I assisted your generals both by sea and land, and with a far greater number of troops, as well as a much larger quantity of provisions, than any of your allies. I was present in all your engagements, and these were many; and have spared myself no toils nor dangers. I suffered the hardships of a siege (the most grievous calamity of war,) and was blocked up in Pergamus, exposed every moment to the loss of my crown and life. Having disengaged myself from this siege, whilst Antiochus on one side, and Seleucus his son on the other, were still encamped in my dominions; neglecting entirely my own interest, I sailed with my whole fleet to the Hellespont, to meet Scipio your consul, purposely to assist him in passing it. I never quitted the consul from the time of his arrival in Asia: not a soldier in your camp has exerted himself more than my brother and myself. No expedition, no battle of cavalry, has taken place without me. In the last engagement, I defended the post which the consul assigned me. I will not ask whether in this particular any of your allies deserved to be compared with me. One thing I will be so confident as to assert, that I may put myself in parallel with any of those kings or states, on whom you have bestowed the highest marks of your favour. Masiussa had been your enemy before he became your ally. He did not come over to you with powerful aids, and at a time when he enjoyed the full possession of his kingdom; but an exile, driven from his kingdom; plundered of all his possessions, and deprived of all his forces, he fled to your camp, with a squadron of horse, in order to seek an asylum and a refuge in his misfortunes. Nevertheless, because he has since served you faithfully against Syphax and the Carthaginians, you have not only restored him to the throne of his ancestors, but, by bestowing on him great part of Syphax's kingdom, you have made him one of the most powerful monarchs of Africa. What, therefore, may we not expect from your liberality, we, who have ever been your allies, and never your enemies? My father, my brothers, and myself, have, on all occasions, drawn our swords in your cause, both by sea and land; not only in Asia, but at a great distance from our native country, in Peloponnesus, Beotia, and Ætolia, during the wars against Philip, Antiochus, and the Ætolians. Perhaps some one may ask, what then are your pretensions? Since you force me to explain myself, they are as follows: If, in repulsing Antiochus beyond mount Taurus, your intention was to seize upon that country, in order to unite it to your empire, I could not wish for better neighbours, none being more able to secure my dominions. But if you are resolved to resign it, and to recall your armies from thence, I dare presume to say, that none of your allies deserve to derive advantage from your conquests better than myself. Yet (some may observe) it is great and glorious to deliver cities from slavery, and to restore them their liberty. I grant it, provided they had never exercised hostilities against you. But if they have been warmly attached to Antiochus's interest, will it not be much more worthy of your wisdom and justice, to bestow your favours on allies, who have served you faithfully, than on enemies who have used their endeavours to destroy you?"

The senate were exceedingly pleased with the king's harangue; and showed evidently, that they were determined to do every thing for him in their power.

The Rhodians were afterwards admitted to audience. The person who spoke in their name, after retracing the origin of their animity with the Romans,

and the services they had done them, first in the war against Philip, and afterwards in that against Antiochus: "Nothing," says he, directing himself to the senators, "grieves us so much at this time, as to find ourselves obliged to engage in a dispute with Eumenes, that prince for whom, of all princes, both our republic and ourselves have the most faithful and cordial respect. The circumstance which divides and separates us on this occasion, does not proceed from a difference of inclinations, but of conditions. We are free, and Eumenes is a king. It is natural that we, being a free people, should plead for the liberty of others; and that kings should endeavour to make all things pay homage to their sovereign sway. However this be, the circumstance which perplexes us on this occasion, is not so much the affair in itself, which seems to be of such a nature that you cannot be very much divided in opinion about it, as the regard and deference which we ought to show to so august a prince as Eumenes. If there were no other way of acknowledging the important services of a king, your confederate and ally, but in subjecting free cities to his power, you then might be doubtful from the fear you might be under, either of not discovering gratitude enough towards a prince who is your friend, or of renouncing your principles, and the glory you have acquired in the war against Philip, by restoring all the Grecian cities to their liberty. But fortune has put you in such a condition, as not to fear either of these inconveniences. The immortal gods be praised, the victory you have so lately gained, by which you acquire no less riches than glory, enables you to acquit yourselves easily of what you call a debt. Lycæonia, the two Phrygiæ, and Pisidia, the Chersonesus, and the country contiguous to it, are all in your hands. One of these provinces is alone capable of enlarging considerably the dominions of Eumenes; but all of them together, will equal him to the most powerful kings. You therefore may, at one and the same time, recompense very largely your allies, and not depart from the maxims which form the glory of your empire. The same motive prompted you to march against Philip and Antiochus. As the cause is the same, the like issue is expected; not only because you yourselves have already set the example, but because your honour requires it. Others engage in war, merely to dispossess their neighbours of some country, some city, fortress, or sea-port; but you, O Romans, never draw the sword from such motives: when you fight, it is for glory; and it is this circumstance which inspires all nations with a reverence and awe for your name and empire, almost equal to that which is paid the gods. Your business is to preserve that glory. You have undertaken to rescue from the bondage of kings, and to restore to its ancient liberty, a nation famous for its antiquity; and still more renowned for its glorious actions, and its exquisite taste for the polite arts and sciences. It is the whole nation whom you have taken under your protection, and you have promised it them to the end of time. The cities, situated in Greece itself, are not more Grecian than the colonies they settled in Asia. A change of country has not wrought any alteration in our origin or manners. We, as Grecian cities in Asia, have endeavoured to rival our ancestors and founders in virtue and knowledge. Many persons in this assembly have seen the cities of Greece and those of Asia: the only difference is, that we are situated at a farther distance from Rome. If a difference in climate could change the nature and disposition of men, the inhabitants of Marseilles, surrounded as they are with ignorant and barbarous nations, should necessarily have long since degenerated; and yet we are informed that you have as great a regard for them, as if they lived in the centre of Greece. And, indeed, they have retained, not only the sound of the language, the dress, and the whole exterior of the Greeks, but have also preserved still more their manners, laws, and genius, and all these pure and uncorrupted by their intercourse with the neighbouring nations. Mount Taurus is now the boundary of your empire. Every country on this side of it ought not to appear remote for you. Where-

ever you have carried your arms, convey thither also the genius and form of your government. Let the Barbarians, who are accustomed to slavery, continue under the empire of kings, since it is grateful to them. The Greeks, in the mediocrity of their present condition, think it glorious to imitate your exalted sentiments. Born and nurtured in liberty, they know you will not deem it a crime in them to be jealous of it, as you yourselves are so. Formerly, their own strength was sufficient to secure empire to them; but now they implore the gods that it may be enjoyed for ever by those people with whom they have placed it. All they desire is, that you will be pleased to protect, by the power of your arms, their liberties, as they are now no longer able to defend them by their own. But, says somebody, some of those cities have favoured Antiochus. Had not the others favoured Philip also; and the Tarentines Pyrrhus? To cite but one people, Carthage, your enemy as well as rival, enjoys its liberties and laws. Consider, Fathers, the engagements which this example lays you under. Will you concede to Eumenes's ambition (I beg his pardon for the expression) what you refused to your own just indignation? As for us Rhodians, in this, as well as in all the wars which you have carried on in our countries, we have endeavoured to behave as good and faithful allies; and you are to judge whether we have really been such. Now that we enjoy peace, we are so free as to give you advice which must necessarily tend to your glory. If you follow it, it will demonstrate to the universe, that however nobly you obtain victories, you yet know how to make a nobler use of them."

It was impossible to forbear applauding this speech, and it was thought worthy of the Roman grandeur. The senate found itself on this occasion divided and opposed by different sentiments and duties, of whose importance and justice they were sensible, but which at the same time, it was difficult to reconcile on this occasion. On one side, gratitude for the services of a king, who had adhered to them with inviolable zeal and fidelity, made a strong impression on their minds: on the other, they earnestly wished to have it thought that the sole view of their undertaking this war was to restore the Grecian cities to their liberty. It must be confessed, that the motives on both sides were exceedingly strong. The restoring of every part of Greece to its liberties and laws after Philip's defeat, had acquired the Romans a reputation infinitely superior to all other triumphs. But then it would be dangerous to displease so powerful a prince as Eumenes; and it was the interest of the Romans to bring over other kings to their side by the attractive charms of advantage. However, the wisdom of the senate knew how to reconcile these different duties.

Antiochus's ambassadors were brought in after those of Rhodes, and all they requested of the senate was, to confirm the peace which L. Scipio had granted them. They complied with their desire, and accordingly, some days after, it was also ratified in the assembly of the people.

The ambassadors of the Asiatic cities were likewise heard, and the answer made to them was, that the senate would despatch, pursuant to their usual custom, ten commissioners to inquire into and settle the affairs of Asia. It was told them in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and Mysia, should thenceforward be subject to king Eumenes. To the Rhodians were allotted Lycia, and that part of Caria which lies nearest to Rhodes, and part of Pisidia. In both these distributions, such cities were excepted as enjoyed their freedom before the battle fought against Antiochus. It was enacted that the rest of the cities of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus, should also pay it to Eumenes; and that such as had been tributaries to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from contributions of every kind.

Eumenes and the Rhodians seemed very well satisfied with this prudent regulation. The latter requested as a favour, that the inhabitants of Soli, a city of Cilicia, descended originally, as well as themselves, from the people of Argos, might be restored to their liberty. The senate, after consulting Antio-

chus's ambassadors on that head, informed the Rhodians of the violent opposition which those ambassadors had made to their request; because Soli, as situated beyond mount Taurus, was not included in the treaty. However, that if they imagined the honour of Rhodes was concerned in this demand, they would again attempt to overcome their reluctance. The Rhodians returning the most hearty thanks once more to the Romans, for the great favours they vouchsafed them, answered, that it was far from their intention to interrupt the peace in any manner, and retired highly satisfied.

The Romans decreed a triumph to Æmilius Regillus, who had gained a victory at sea over the admiral of Antiochus's fleet; and still more justly to L. Scipio, who had conquered the king in person. He assumed the surname of Asiaticus, that his titles might not be inferior to those of his brother, upon whom that of Africanus had been conferred.

Thus ended the war against Antiochus, which was not of long duration, cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed very much to the aggrandizing of their empire. But, at the same time, this victory contributed also, in another manner, to the decay and ruin of that very empire, by introducing into Rome, by the wealth it brought into it, a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures; for it is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conquest of Asia, that Pliny dates the depravity and corruption of manners in the Republic of Rome,¹ and the fatal changes which took place there. Asia,² vanquished by the Roman arms, in its turn vanquished Rome by its vices. Foreign wealth extinguished in that city a love for the ancient poverty and simplicity in which its strength and honour had consisted. Luxury,³ which in a manner entered Rome in triumph with the superb spoils of Asia, brought with her in her train irregularities and crimes of every kind, made greater havoc in the cities than the mightiest armies could have done, and in that manner conquered the globe.

Reflections on the conduct of the Romans with regard to the Grecian states, and the kings both of Europe and Asia.

The reader begins to discover, in the events before related, one of the principal characteristics of the Romans, which will soon determine the fate of all the states of Greece, and produce an almost general change in the universe, I mean a spirit of sovereignty and dominion. This characteristic does not display itself at first in its full extent; it reveals itself only by degrees; and it is only by insensible progressions, which at the same time are rapid enough, that it is carried at last to its greatest height.

It must be confessed, that this people, on certain occasions, show such a moderation and disinterestedness, as (judging of them only by their outside) exceed every thing we meet with in history, and to which it seems inconsistent to refuse praise. Was there ever a more delightful or more glorious day, than that in which the Romans, after having carried on a long and dangerous war; after crossing seas, and exhausting their treasures, caused a herald to proclaim, in a general assembly, that the Roman people restored all the cities to their liberty; and desired to reap no other fruit from their victory, than the noble pleasure of doing good to nations, the bare remembrance of whose ancient glory sufficed to endear them to the Romans? The description of what passed on that immortal day can hardly be read without tears, and without being affected with a kind of enthusiasm of esteem and admiration.

Had this deliverance of the Grecian states proceed-

¹ Plin. l. xiii. c. 3.

² Armis vicit, viitiis victus est.—*Seneca de Alex.*

³ Prima peregrinos obscena pecunia mores Intulit, et turpi fregerunt secula luxu Divitiæ molles—

Nullum crimen abest fasinusque libidini, ex quo Pauptas Romana perit—

Sevior armis

Luxuria iacubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

Juven. lib. ii. Sat. vi.

ed merely from a principle of generosity, void of all interested motives; had the whole tenor of the conduct of the Romans never belied such exalted sentiments, nothing could possibly have been more august, or more capable of doing honour to a nation. But, if we penetrate ever so little beyond this glaring outside, we soon perceive, that this specious moderation of the Romans was entirely founded upon a profound policy: wise indeed, and prudent, according to the ordinary rules of government, but at the same time very remote from that noble disinterestedness, which has been so highly extolled on the present occasion. It may be affirmed, that the Grecians then abandoned themselves to a stupid joy; fondly imagining that they were really free, because the Romans declared them so.

Greece, in the times I am now speaking of, was divided between two powers; I mean the Grecian republics and Macedonia; and they were always engaged in war; the former to preserve the remains of their ancient liberty; and the latter to complete their subjection. The Romans, being perfectly well acquainted with this state of Greece, were sensible, that they needed not be under any apprehensions from those little republics, which were grown weak through length of years, intestine feuds, mutual jealousies, and the wars they had been forced to support against foreign powers. But Macedonia, which was possessed of well-disciplined troops, inured to all the toils of wars, which had continually in view the glory of its former monarchs; which had formerly extended its conquests to the extremities of the globe; which still harboured an ardent though chimerical desire of attaining universal empire; and which had a kind of natural alliance with the kings of Egypt and Syria, sprung from the same origin, and united by the common interests of monarchy; Macedonia, I say, gave just alarms to Rome, which, from the time of the ruin of Carthage, had no obstacles to her ambitious designs, but those powerful kingdoms that shared the rest of the world between them, and especially Macedonia, as it lay nearer to Italy than the rest.

To balance, therefore, the power of Macedon, and to dispossess Philip of the aid which he flattered himself he should receive from the Greeks, which, indeed, had they united all their forces with his, in order to oppose this common enemy, would perhaps have made him invincible with regard to the Romans; in this view, I say, this latter people declared loudly in favour of those republics; made it their glory to take them under their protection, and that with no other design, in outward appearance, than to defend them against their oppressors; and, farther, to attach them by a still stronger tie, they hung out to them a specious bait (as a reward for their fidelity,) I mean liberty, of which all the republics in question were inexpressibly jealous; and which the Macedonian monarchs had perpetually disputed with them.

The bait was artfully prepared, and swallowed very greedily by the generality of the Greeks, whose views penetrated no farther. But the most judicious and most clear-sighted among them discovered the danger that lay concealed beneath this charming bait; and accordingly they exhorted the people from time to time in their public assemblies, to beware of this cloud that was gathering in the West; and which, changing on a sudden into a dreadful tempest, would break like thunder over their heads, to their utter destruction.

Nothing could be more gentle and equitable than the conduct of the Romans in the beginning. They acted with the utmost moderation towards such states and nations as addressed them for protection; they succoured them against their enemies; took the utmost pains in terminating their differences, and in suppressing all commotions which arose amongst them; and did not demand the least recompense from their allies for all these services. By this means their authority gained strength daily, and prepared the nations for entire subjection.

And indeed, under pretence of offering them their good offices, of entering into their interests, and of

reconciling them, they rendered themselves the sovereign arbiters of those whom they had restored to liberty, and whom they now considered, in some measure, as their freedmen. They used to depute commissioners to them, to inquire into their complaints, to weigh and examine the reasons on both sides, and to decide their quarrels; but when the articles were of such a nature, that there was no possibility of reconciling them on the spot, they invited them to send their deputies to Rome. Afterwards, they used, with plenary authority, to summon those who refused to come to an agreement; obliged them to plead their cause before the senate, and even to appear in person there. From arbiters and mediators being become supreme judges, they soon assumed a magisterial tone, looked upon their decrees as irrevocable decisions, were greatly offended when the most implicit obedience was not paid to them, and gave the name of rebellion to a second resistance: thus there arose, in the Roman senate, a tribunal which judged all nations and kings, from which there was no appeal. This tribunal, at the end of every war, determined the rewards and punishments due to all parties. They dispossessed the vanquished nations of part of their territories in order to bestow them on their allies, by which they did two things, from which they reaped a double advantage; for they thereby engaged in the interest of Rome, such kings as were no ways formidable to them, and from whom they had something to hope; and weakened others, whose friendship the Romans could not expect, and whose arms they had reason to dread.

We shall hear one of the chief magistrates in the republic of the Achæans inveigh strongly in a public assembly against this unjust usurpation, and ask by what title the Romans are empowered to assume so haughty an ascendant over them; whether their republic was not as free and independent as that of Rome; by what right the latter pretended to force the Achæans to account for their conduct; whether they would be pleased, should the Achæans, in their turn, officiously pretend to inquire into their affairs; and whether matters ought not to be on the same footing, on both sides? All these reflections were very reasonable, just, and unanswerable; and the Romans had no advantage in the question but force.

They acted in the same manner, and their politics were the same, with regard to their treatment of kings. They first won over to their interest such among them as were the weakest, and consequently the least formidable; they gave them the title of allies, whereby their persons were rendered in some measure sacred and inviolable; and which was a kind of safeguard against other kings more powerful than themselves; they increased their revenues, and enlarged their territories, to let them see what they might expect from their protection. It was this which raised the kingdom of Pergamus to so exalted a pitch of grandeur.

In the sequel the Romans invaded, upon different pretences, those great potentates who divided Europe and Asia. And how haughtily did they treat them, even before they had conquered! A powerful king confined within a narrow circle by a private man of Rome, was obliged to make his answer before he quitted it; how imperious was this! But then, how did they treat vanquished kings? They command them to deliver up their children, and the heirs to their crown, as hostages and pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour; obliged them to lay down their arms; forbid them to declare war, or conclude any alliance, without first obtaining their leave; banish them to the other side of the mountains; and leave them, in strictness of speech, only an empty title, and a vain shadow of royalty, divested of all its rights and advantages.

We cannot doubt, but that providence had decreed to the Romans the sovereignty of the world, and the Scriptures had prophesied their future grandeur: but they were strangers to those divine oracles; and besides, the bare prediction of their conquests was no justification of their conduct. Although it be difficult to affirm, and still more so to prove, that this people

had, from their first rise, formed a plan, in order to conquer and subject all nations; it cannot be denied but that, if we examine their whole conduct attentively, it will appear that they acted as if they had a foreknowledge of this; and that a kind of instinct had determined them to conform to it in all things.

But be this as it will, we see, by the event, in what this so much boasted lenity and moderation of the Romans terminated. Enemies to the liberty of all nations; having the utmost contempt for kings and monarchy; looking upon the whole universe as their prey, they grasped, with insatiable ambition, the conquest of the whole world; they seized indiscriminately all provinces and kingdoms, and extended their empire over all nations; in a word, they prescribed no other limits to their vast projects, than those which deserts and seas made it impossible to pass.

SECTION VIII.—FULVIUS THE CONSUL SUBDUES THE ÆTOLIANS. THE SPARTANS ARE CRUELLY TREATED BY THEIR EXILES. MANLIUS, THE OTHER CONSUL, CONQUERS THE ASIATIC GAULS. ANTIOCHUS, IN ORDER TO PAY THE TRIBUTE DUE TO THE ROMANS, PLUNDERS A TEMPLE IN ELYMIAS. THAT MONARCH IS KILLED. EXPLICATION OF DANIEL'S PROPHECY CONCERNING ANTIOCHUS.

DURING the expedition of the Romans in Asia,¹ some commotions had Ant. J. C. 189. happened in Greece. Amynder, by the aid of the Ætolians, had re-established himself in his kingdom of Athamania, after having driven out of his cities the Macedonian garrisons that held them for king Philip. He deputed some ambassadors to the senate of Rome; and others into Asia to the two Scipios, who were then at Ephesus, after their signal victory over Antiochus, to excuse his having employed the arms of the Ætolians against Philip, and also to make his complaints against that prince.

The Ætolians had likewise undertaken some enterprises against Philip, in which they had met with tolerable success: but when they heard of Antiochus's defeat, and found that the ambassadors they had sent to Rome were returning from thence, without being able to obtain any of their demands, and that Fulvius the consul was actually marching against them, they were seized with real alarms. Finding it would be impossible for them to resist the Romans by force of arms, they again had recourse to entreaties; and in order to render them more effectual, they engaged the Athenians and Rhodians to join their ambassadors to those whom they were going to send to Rome, in order to sue for peace.

The consul being arrived in Greece, had, in conjunction with the Epirots, laid siege to Ambracia, in which the Ætolians had a strong garrison, who made a vigorous defence. However, being at last persuaded that it would be impossible for them to hold out long against the Roman arms, they sent new ambassadors to the consul, investing them with full powers to conclude a treaty on any conditions. Those which were proposed to them appearing exceeding severe, the ambassadors, notwithstanding their full power, desired that leave might be granted them to consult the assembly once more: but the members of it were displeased with them for it, and therefore sent them back, with orders to terminate the affair. During this interval the Athenian and Rhodian ambassadors, whom the senate had sent back to the consul, were arrived, and Amynder had also come to him. The latter having great influence in the city of Ambracia, where he had spent many years during his banishment, prevailed with the inhabitants to surrender themselves at last to the consul. A peace was also granted to the Ætolians. The chief conditions of the treaty were as follows: that they should first deliver up their arms and horses to the Romans; should pay them 1000 talents of silver, (about 150,000*l.*) half to be paid down directly; should restore to

both the Romans and their allies all the deserters and prisoners; should look upon as their enemies and friends all those who were such to the Romans; and lastly, should give up forty hostages, to be chosen by the consul. Their ambassadors being arrived at Rome, to procure the ratification of the treaty there, found the people highly exasperated against the Ætolians, as well on account of their past conduct, as the complaints made against them by Philip in the letters which he had written on that subject. At last, however, the senate were moved by their entreaties, and those of the ambassadors of Athens and Rhodes who accompanied them, and therefore they ratified the treaty conformably to the conditions which the consul had prescribed. The Ætolians were permitted to pay in gold the sum imposed on them, in such a manner, as that every piece of gold should be estimated at the value of ten pieces of silver of the same weight, which shows the proportion between gold and silver at that time.

Fulvius the consul,² after he had terminated the war with the Ætolians, crossed into the island of Cephalenia, in order to subdue it. All the cities, at the first summons, surrendered readily. The inhabitants of Same only, after submitting to the conqueror, were sorry for what they had done, and accordingly shut their gates against the Romans, which obliged them to besiege it in form. Same made a very vigorous defence, inasmuch that it was four months before the consul could take it.

From thence he went to Peloponnesus, whither he was called by the people of Ægium and Sparta, to decide the differences which interrupted their tranquillity.

The general assembly of the Achæans had from time immemorial been held at Ægium; but Philopœmen, who was then in office, resolved to change that custom, and to cause the assembly to be held successively in all the cities which formed the Achæan league; and that very year he summoned it to Argos. The consul would not oppose this motion; and though his inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium, because he thought their cause the most just; yet, seeing that the other party would certainly prevail, he withdrew from the assembly without declaring his opinion.

But the affair relating to Sparta was still more intricate, and, at the same time, of greater importance. Those who had been banished from that city by Nabis the tyrant, had fortified themselves in towns and castles along the coast, and from thence infested the Spartans. The latter had attacked, in the night, one of those towns, called Las, and carried it, but were soon after driven out of it. This enterprise alarmed the exiles, and obliged them to have recourse to the Achæans. Philopœmen, who at that time was in office, secretly favoured the exiles; and endeavoured on all occasions to lessen the influence and authority of Sparta. On his motion, a decree was enacted, the purport of which was, that Quintius and the Romans, having put the towns and castles of the sea-coast of Laconia under the protection of the Achæans, and having forbidden the Lacedæmonians access to it; and the latter having, however, attacked the town called Las, and killed some of the inhabitants; the Achæan assembly demanded that the contrivers of that enterprise should be delivered up to them; and that otherwise they should be declared violators of the treaty. Ambassadors were deputed to give them notice of this decree. A demand made in so haughty a tone exceedingly exasperated the Lacedæmonians. They immediately put to death thirty of those who had held a correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles; dissolved their alliance with the Achæans, and sent ambassadors to Fulvius the consul, who was then in Cephalenia, in order to put Sparta under the protection of the Romans, and to entreat him to come and take possession of it. When the Achæans received advice of what had been transacted in Sparta, they unanimously declared war against that city, which began by some slight incur-

¹ Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 1–11. Polyb. in Excerpt. Leg. c. 26–32.

² Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 22–30.

³ Ib. n. 30–34.

sions both by sea and land, the season being too far advanced for undertaking any thing considerable.

The consul being arrived in Peloponnesus, heard both parties in a public assembly. The debates were exceedingly warm, and the altercation carried to a great height on both sides. Without coming to any immediate determination, he commanded them to lay down their arms, and to send their respective ambassadors to Rome: and accordingly they repaired thither immediately, and were admitted to audience. The Achaean league was greatly respected at Rome; but, at the same time, the Romans were unwilling to disgust the Lacedaemonians entirely. The senate therefore returned an obscure and ambiguous answer, (which has not come down to us), whereby the Achaeans might flatter themselves, that they were allowed full power to infest Sparta; and the Spartans, that such power was very much limited and restrained.

The Achaeans extended it as they thought proper. Philopœmen had been continued in his employment of first magistrate. He marched the army to a small distance from Sparta without loss of time; and again demanded to have those persons surrendered to him, who had concerted the enterprise against the town of Las; declaring that they should not be condemned nor punished till after being heard. Upon this promise, those who had been expressly nominated, set out, accompanied by several of the most illustrious citizens, who looked upon their cause as their own, or rather as that of the public. Being arrived at the camp of the Achaeans, they were greatly surprised to see the exiles at the head of the army. The latter, advancing out of the camp, came to meet them with an insulting air, and began to overwhelm them with reproaches and invectives: after this the quarrel growing warmer, they fell upon them with great violence, and treated them very ignominiously. In vain did the Spartans implore both gods and men, and claim the right of nations; the rabble of the Achaeans, animated by the seditious cries of the exiles, joined with them, notwithstanding the protection due to ambassadors, and in spite of the prohibition of the supreme magistrate. Seventeen were immediately stoned to death, and seventy-three rescued by the magistrate out of the hands of those furious wretches. It was not that he intended to pardon them; but he would not have it said, that they had been put to death without being heard. The next day they were brought before that enraged multitude, who, almost without so much as hearing them, condemned and executed them all.

The reader will naturally suppose that so unjust and cruel a treatment threw the Spartans into the deepest affliction, and filled them with alarms. The Achaeans imposed the same conditions on them, as they would have done on a city that had been taken by storm. They gave orders that the walls should be demolished; that all such mercenaries as the tyrants had kept in their service should leave Laconia; that the slaves whom those tyrants had set at liberty (and there were a great number of them) should also be obliged to depart the country in a certain limited time, upon pain of being seized by the Achaeans, and sold or carried whithersoever they thought proper; that the laws and institutions of Lycurgus should be annulled; and, in fine, that the Spartans should be associated in the Achaean league, with whom they should thenceforth form but one body, and follow the same customs and usages.

The Lacedaemonians were not much afflicted at the demolition of their walls, with which they began the execution of the orders prescribed them, and indeed it was no great misfortune to them. Sparta had long subsisted without any other walls or defence than the bravery of its citizens.¹ Pausanius informs

us² that the walls of Sparta were begun to be built in the time of the inroads of Demetrius,³ and afterwards of Phyrus; but they had been completed by Nabis. Livy relates also, that the tyrants, for their own security, had fortified with walls all such parts of the city as were most open and accessible. The demolition of these walls, therefore, was not a subject of much grief to the inhabitants of Sparta. But it was with inexpressible regret they saw the exiles, who had caused its destruction, returning into it, and who might justly be considered as its most cruel enemies. Sparta, enervated by this last blow, lost all its pristine vigour, and was for many years dependent on, and subjected to, the Achaeans. The most fatal circumstance with regard to Sparta was,⁴ the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had continued in force 700 years, and had been the source of all its grandeur and glory.

This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as Sparta does Philopœmen no honour; but, on the contrary, seems to be a great blot in his reputation. Plutarch, who justly ranks him among the greatest captains of Greece, does but just glance at this action, and says only a word or two of it. It must, indeed, be confessed, that the cause of the exiles was favourable in itself. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta rightfully belonged; and they had been all expelled their country by the tyrants: but so open a violation of the law of nations (to which Philopœmen gave at least occasion, if he did not consent to it) cannot be excused in any manner.

It appears,⁵ from a fragment of Polybius, that the Lacedaemonians made complaints at Rome against Philopœmen, as having by this action, equally unjust and cruel, defied the power of the republic of Rome, and insulted its majesty. It was a long time before they could obtain leave to be heard.

At last, Lepidus the consul wrote a letter to the Achaean confederacy, to complain of the treatment which the Lacedaemonians had met with. Philopœmen and the Achaeans sent an ambassador, Nicodemus of Ellis, to Rome, to justify their conduct.

In the same campaign,⁶ and almost at the same time that Fulvius the consul terminated the war with the Aetolians, Manlius, the other consul, terminated that with the Gauls. I have taken notice elsewhere of the inroads these nations had made into different countries of Europe and Asia, under Brennus. The Gauls in question had settled in that part of Asia Minor called, from their name, Gallo-Græcia, or Galatia, and formed three bodies, three different states; the Tolistobogii, the Trocmi, and Tectosages. They had made themselves formidable to all the nations round, and spread terrors and alarms on all sides. The pretence for declaring war against them was, their having aided Antiochus with troops. Immediately after L. Scipio had resigned the command of his army to Manlius, the latter set out from Ephesus, and marched against the Gauls. If Eumenes had not been at Rome, he would have been of great service to him in his march; however, his brother Attalus supplied his place, and was the consul's guide. The Gauls had acquired great reputation in every part of this country, which they had subdued by the power of their arms, and had not met with the least opposition. Manlius judged that it would be necessary to harangue his forces on this occasion, before they engaged the enemy. "I am no ways surprised," says he, "that the Gauls should have made their name formidable, and spread terror in the minds of nations so soft and effeminate as the Asiatics. Their tall stature, their fair flowing hair, which descends to

muris urbi civium fuerit, tunc eives salvos se fore non existimaverint, nisi intra muros laterent.—*Justin.* l. xiv. c. 5.

² In Achaia. p. 412.

³ Justin informs us, that Sparta was fortified with walls at the time that Cassander meditated the invasion of Greece.

⁴ Nulla res tanto erat damno, quam disciplinae Lycurgi, cui per septientos annos assueverant, sublata.—*Liv.*

⁵ Polyb. in Legat. c. xxxvii.

⁶ Liv. l. xxviii. n. 12—27. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. 29—35.

¹ Fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta. Tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque obsecrant murum: altiora loca et difficiliora aditu stationibus armatorum pro munimento objectis tutabantur.—*Liv.* l. xxxviii. n. 33.

Spartani urbem, quam semper armis non moris defendebant, tum contra responsa futurorum et veterem majorem gloriam, armis diffisi, murorum praesidio ineludunt. Tantum eos degeneravisse à majoribus, ut eum multis seculis

their waists; their enormous bucklers, their long swords; add to this, their songs, their cries, and howlings at the first onset; the dreadful clashing of their arms and shields; all this may, indeed, be dreadful to men not accustomed to them; but not to you, O Romans, whose victorious arms have so often triumphed over that nation. Besides, experience has taught you, that after the Gauls have spent their first fire, an obstinate resistance blunts the edge of their courage, as well as their bodily strength; and that then, quite incapable of supporting the heat of the sun, fatigue, dust, and thirst, their arms fall from their hands, and they sink down quite tired and exhausted. Do not imagine these to be the ancient Gauls, inured to fatigues and dangers. The luxurious plenty of the country they have invaded, the soft temperature of the air they breathe, the effeminacy and luxury of the people among whom they dwell, have entirely enervated them. They are now no more than Phrygians in Gallic armour; and the only circumstance I fear is, that you will not reap much honour by the defeat of enemies so unworthy of disputing victory with Romans."

It was a general opinion with regard to the ancient Gauls, that a sure way to conquer them was to let them exhaust their first fire, which was quickly deadened by opposition; and that when once this edge of their vivacity was blunted, they had lost all strength and vigour; and their bodies were even incapable of sustaining the slightest fatigues long, or of withstanding the sunbeams, when they darted with ever so little violence: that, as they were more than men in the beginning of an action, they were less than women at the conclusion of it. *Gallus primo impetu feroces esse, quos sustinere satis sit—Gallorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestis fluere; primaque eorum praelia plus quam virorum, postrema minus quam feminarum esse.*¹

Those who were not acquainted with the genius and character of the modern French, entertained very near the same idea of them. However, the late transactions in Italy, and especially on the Rhine, must have undeceived them. However prepossessed I may be in favour of the Greeks and Romans, I question whether they ever discovered greater patience, resolution, and bravery, than the French displayed at the siege of Philipsburg. I do not speak merely of the generals and officers, courage being natural to and in a manner inherent in them; but even the common soldiers showed such an ardour, intrepidity, and greatness of soul, as amazed the generals. The sight of a hostile army, formidable by its numbers, and still more so by the fame and abilities of the prince who commanded it, served only to animate them the more. During the whole course of this long and laborious siege, in which they suffered so much by the fire of the besieged and the heat of the sun, by the violence of the rains and inundations of the Rhine; they never once breathed the least murmur or complaint. They were seen wading through great floods, where they were up to the shoulders in water, carrying their clothes and arms over their head, and afterwards marching, quite uncovered, on the outside of the trenches full of water, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; and then advancing with intrepidity to the front of the attack, demanding with the loudest shouts, that the enemy should not be allowed capitulation of any kind; and appearing to dread no other circumstance than their being denied the opportunity of signaling their courage and zeal still more, by storming the city. What I now relate is universally known. The most noble sentiments of honour, bravery, and intrepidity, must necessarily have taken deep root in the minds of our countrymen; otherwise they could not have burst forth at once so gloriously in a first campaign, after having been in a manner asleep during a twenty years' peace.

The testimony which Lewis XV. thought it incumbent on him to give them, is so glorious to the nation, and even reflects so bright a lustre on the king himself, that I am persuaded none of my readers will be

displeased to find it inserted here entire. If this digression is not allowable in a history like this, methinks it is pardonable, and even laudable, in a true Frenchman, fired with zeal for his king and country.

'The KING's Letter to the Marshal D'ASFELOD.

"COUSIN,

"I am fully sensible of the important service you have done me in taking Philipsburg. Nothing less than your courage and resolution could have surmounted the obstacles to that enterprise, occasioned by the inundations of the Rhine. You have had the satisfaction to see your example inspire the officers and soldiers with the same sentiments. I caused an account to be sent me daily, of all the transactions of that siege; and always observed, that the ardour and patience of my troops increased in proportion to the difficulties that arose, either from the swelling of the floods, the presence of the enemy, or the fire of the place. Every kind of success may be expected from so valiant a nation: and I enjoin you to inform the general officers and others, and even the whole army, that I am highly satisfied with them. You need not doubt my having the same sentiments with regard to you; to assure you of which is the sole motive of this letter; and, Cousin, I beseech the Almighty to have you in his holy keeping."

Versailles, July 23, 1734.

I now return to the history. After Manlius had ended the speech repeated above, the army discovered by their shouts how impatiently they desired to be led against the enemy; and accordingly the consul entered their territories. The Gauls had not once suspected that the Romans would invade them, as their country lay so remote from them, and therefore were not prepared to oppose them. But notwithstanding this, they made a long and vigorous resistance. They laid in wait for Manlius in dèfilés; disputed the passes with him; shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses, and retired to such eminences as they thought inaccessible. However, the consul, so far from being discouraged, followed, and forced them wherever he came. He attacked them separately, stormed their cities, and defeated them in several engagements. I shall not descend to particulars, which were of little importance, and consequently would only tire the reader. The Gauls were obliged at last to submit, and to confine themselves within the limits prescribed them.

By this victory, the Romans delivered the whole country from the perpetual terrors it was under from those barbarians, who hitherto had done nothing but harass and plunder their neighbours. Tranquillity was so fully restored in this quarter, that the empire of the Romans was established there, from the river Halys to mount Taurus; and the kings of Syria were for ever excluded from all Asia Minor. We are told² that Antiochus³ said, on this occasion, that he was highly obliged to the Romans, for having freed him from the cares and troubles which the government of so vast an extent of country must necessarily have brought upon him.

Fulvius,⁴ one of the consuls, returned to Rome, in order to preside A. M. 3316. in the assembly. The consulate was Ant. J. C. 139. given to M. Valerius Messala and C. Livius Salinator. The instant the assembly broke up, Fulvius returned to his own province. Himself and Manlius his colleague were continued in the command of the armies for a year, in quality of proconsuls.

Manlius had repaired to Ephesus, to settle, with the ten commissioners who had been appointed by the senate, the most important articles of their commission. The treaty of peace with Antiochus was confirmed, as also that which Manlius had concluded

¹ Cic. Orat. pro. Dejot. n. 26. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1.

² Antiochus magnus—dicere est solitus, Benignè sibi à populo Romano esse factum, quòd nimis magnà præcuratione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur.—Cic.

⁴ Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 35.

with the Gauls. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had been sentenced to pay the Romans 600 talents (600,000 crowns,) for having assisted Antiochus; however, half this sum was abated at the request of Eumenes, who was to marry his daughter. Manlius made a present to Eumenes of all the elephants which Antiochus, according to the treaty, had delivered up to the Romans. He repassed into Europe with his forces, after having admitted the deputies of the several cities to audience, and settled the chief difficulties among them.

Antiochus¹ was very much puzzled A. M. 3317. how to raise the sum he was to pay Aut. J. C. 187. the Romans. He made a progress through the provinces of the east, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him; and left the regency of Syria, during his absence, to Seleucus his son, whom he had declared his presumptive heir. Being arrived in the province of Elymais, he was informed that there was a very considerable treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus. This was a strong temptation to a prince who had little regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a false pretence that the inhabitants of that province had rebelled against him, he entered the temple in the dead of night, and carried off all the riches which had been kept there very religiously during a long series of years. However, the people, exasperated by this sacrilege, rebelled against him, and murdered him with all his followers. Aurelius Victor² says that he was killed by some of his own officers, whom he had beaten one day when he was heated with liquor.

This prince was highly worthy of praise, for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which we are told he enacted, whereby he gave his subjects permission, and even commanded them, not to obey his ordinances, in case they should be found to interfere with the laws, shows that he had a high regard for justice. Till the age of fifty he had behaved on all occasions with such bravery, prudence, and application, as had given success to all his enterprises, and acquired him the title of the *Great*. But from that time his wisdom, as well as application, had declined very much, and his affairs in proportion. His conduct in the war against the Romans; the little advantage he reaped by, or rather his contempt for, the wise counsels of Hannibal; the ignominious peace he was obliged to accept; these circumstances sullied the glory of his former successes; and his death, occasioned by a wicked and sacrilegious enterprise, threw an indelible blot upon his name and memory.

The prophecies of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from the 10th to the 19th verse, relate to the actions of this prince, and were fully accomplished.

"But his sons (of the king of the North) shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and one (Antiochus the Great) shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress."³ This king of the North⁴ was Seleucus Callinicus, who left behind him two sons, Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus, afterwards surnamed the Great. The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by Antiochus his brother. The latter, after having pacified the troubles of his kingdom, made war against Ptolemy Philopator, king of the South, that is of Egypt; dispossessed him of Coele-syria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus, governor of that province; defeated Ptolemy's generals in the narrow passes near Berytus, and made himself master of part of Phœnicia. Ptolemy then endeavoured to amuse him by overtures of peace. The Hebrew is still more expressive. "He (meaning Antiochus) shall come. He shall overflow" the enemy's country. "He shall pass" over mount Libanus. "He shall halt," whilst overtures of peace are making to him. "He shall advance with ardour as far as the fortress-

es," that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's victory is clearly pointed out in the following verses.

"And the king of the South shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even the king of the North: and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand."⁵ Ptolemy Philopator was an indolent, effeminate prince. It was necessary to excite and drag him, in a manner, out of his lethargy, in order to prevail with him to take up arms and repulse the enemy, who were preparing to march into his country; *provocatus*. At last he put himself at the head of his troops; and by the valour and good conduct of his generals obtained a signal victory over Antiochus at Raphia.

"And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it."⁶ Antiochus lost upwards of 10,000 foot and 300 horse, and 4000 of his men were taken prisoners. Philopator, having marched after his victory to Jerusalem, was so audacious as to attempt to enter the sanctuary. "His heart shall be lifted up," and being returned to his kingdom, he behaved with the utmost pride toward the Jews, and treated them very cruelly. He might have dispossessed Antiochus of his dominions, had he taken a proper advantage of his glorious victory; but he contented himself with recovering Coele-syria and Phœnicia, and again plunged into his former excesses; "but he shall not be strengthened by it."

"For the king of the North shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come (after certain years) with a great army and with much riches."⁷ Antiochus, after he had ended the war beyond the Euphrates, raised a great army in those provinces. Finding, fourteen years after the conclusion of the first war, that Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five or six years of age, had succeeded Philopator his father, he united with Philip, king of Macedon, in order to deprive the infant king of his throne. Having defeated Scopas at Panium, near the source of the river Jordan, he subjected the whole country which Philopator had conquered, by the victory he had gained at Raphia.

"And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the South."⁸ This prophecy was fulfilled by the league between the kings of Macedonia and Syria against the infant monarch of Egypt; by the conspiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency; and by that of Scopas, to dispossess him of his crown and life. "Also, the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall."⁹ Several apostate Jews, to ingratiate themselves with the king of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, even in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law, by which means they were in great favour with him; but their influence was not long-lived; for when Antiochus regained possession of Judea and Jerusalem, he either extirpated or drove out of the country all the partisans of Ptolemy. This subjection of the Jews to the sovereignty of the kings of Syria, prepared the way for the accomplishment of the prophecy, which denounced the calamities that Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, was to bring upon this people; which occasioned a great number of them to "fall" into apostasy.

"So the king of the North shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities; and the arms of the South shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand."¹⁰ But he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by this hand shall be consumed."¹¹ Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptian army at Panium, besieged and took, first, Sidon, then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces, notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops which

¹ Diod. in Excerpt. p. 293. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 2. Hieron. in Dan. cap. xi.

² De viris illust. cap. liv.

³ Ver. 10.

⁴ See ver. 8.

⁵ Ver. 11.

⁶ Ver. 12.

⁷ Ver. 13.

⁸ Ver. 14.

⁹ The angel Gabriel here speaks to Daniel.

¹⁰ Ver. 15.

¹¹ Ver. 16.

the king of Egypt had sent against him. "He did according to his own will," in Cœle-syria and Palestine, and nothing was able to withstand him. Pursuing his conquests in Palestine, he entered Judea, "that glorious," or, according to the Hebrew, "that desirable land." He there established his authority, and strengthened it, by repulsing from the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had thrown into it. This garrison having defended itself so well, that Antiochus was obliged to send for all his troops in order to force it; and the siege continuing a long time; the country was ruined and "consumed" by the stay the army was obliged to make in it.

"He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him; thus shall he do: and he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her; but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him."¹ Antiochus, seeing that the Romans undertook the defence of young Ptolemy Epiphanes, thought it would best suit his interest to lull the king asleep, by giving him his daughter in marriage, in order to "corrupt her," and to excite her to betray her husband: but he was not successful in his design: for as soon as she was married to Ptolemy, she renounced her father's interests, and embraced those of her husband. It was on this account that we see her² joined with him in the embassy which was sent from Egypt to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ.

"After this he shall turn his face unto the Isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him," Antiochus "to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him."³ Antiochus, having put an end to the war of Cœle-syria and Palestine, sent his two sons at the head of the land army to Sardis, whilst himself embarked on board the fleet, and sailed to the Ægean sea, where he took several islands, and extended his empire exceedingly on that side. However, "the prince" of the people, whom he had insulted by making this invasion, that is, L. Scipio the Roman consul, "caused the reproach to turn upon him;" by defeating him at mount Sipylus, and repulsing him from every part of Asia Minor.

"Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found."⁴ Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the strongest fortress in it. He went soon after into the provinces of the east, in order to levy money to pay the Romans; but, having plundered the temple of Elymais, he there lost his life in a miserable manner.

Such is the prophecy of Daniel relating to Antiochus, which I have explained, in most places, according to the Hebrew text. I confess there may be some doubtful and obscure terms which may be difficult to explain, and are variously interpreted by commentators; but is it possible for the substance of the prophecy to appear obscure and doubtful? Can any reasonable man, who makes use of his understanding, ascribe such a prediction, either to mere chance, or to the conjectures of human prudence and sagacity? Can any light, but that which proceeds from God himself, penetrate, in this manner, into the darkness of futurity, and point out the events of it in so exact and circumstantial a manner? Not to mention what is here said concerning Egypt, Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, leaves two children behind him. The eldest reigns but three years, and does not perform any exploit worthy of being recorded; and, accordingly, the prophet does not take any notice of him. The youngest is Antiochus, surnamed the Great, from his great actions; and, accordingly, the same prophet gives an abstract of the principal circumstances of his life, his most important enterprises, and even the manner of his death. In it we see his expeditions into Cœle-syria and Phœnicia, several cities of which

are besieged and taken by that monarch; his entrance into Jerusalem, which is laid waste by the stay his troops make in it; his conquest of a great many islands; the marriage of his daughter with the king of Egypt, which does not answer the design he had in view; his overthrow by the Roman consul; his retreat to Antioch; and, lastly, his unfortunate end. These are, in a manner, the outlines of Antiochus's picture, which can be made to resemble none but himself. Is it to be supposed that the prophet drew these features without design and at random, in the picture he has left us of him? The facts, which denote the accomplishment of the prophecy, are all told by heathen authors, who lived many centuries after the prophet, and whose fidelity cannot be suspected. It appears to me, that we must renounce, not only religion, but reason, if we refuse to acknowledge, in such prophecies as these, the intervention of a Supreme Being, to whom all ages are present, and who governs the world with absolute power.

SECTION IX.—SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE OF ANTIOCHUS HIS FATHER. THE FIRST OCCURRENCES OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY EPIPHANES IN EGYPT. VARIOUS EMBASSIES SENT TO THE ACHEANS AND ROMANS. COMPLAINTS MADE AGAINST PHILIP. COMMISSIONERS ARE SENT FROM ROME TO INQUIRE INTO THESE COMPLAINTS; AND AT THE SAME TIME TO TAKE COGNIZANCE OF THE ILL TREATMENT OF SPARTA BY THE ACHEANS. SEQUEL OF THAT AFFAIR.

ANTIOCHUS the Great dying,⁵ Seleucus Philopator, his eldest son, A. M. 3817. whom he had left in Antioch when he Ant. J. C. 187. set out for the eastern provinces, succeeded him. But his reign was obscure and contemptible, occasioned by the misery to which the Romans had reduced that crown; and the exorbitant sum⁶ (1000 talents annually) he was obliged to pay, during the whole of his reign, by virtue of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father and that people.

Ptolemy Epiphanes at that time reigned in Egypt.⁷ Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he had sent an ambassador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter accepted of this office with joy; and accordingly sent as deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the historian, and two other ambassadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopomen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambassador to a banquet, the conversation turned upon that prince. In the praise which the ambassador bestowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chase, his address in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exercise of his arms; and to give an example of what he asserted, he declared, that this prince, when hunting, had killed, on horseback, a wild bull with one stroke of his javelin.

The same year that Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, had a son, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometor. The whole realm expressed great joy upon the birth of this prince.⁸ Cœle-syria and Palestine distinguished themselves above all the provinces, and the most considerable persons of those countries went to Alexandria upon that occasion with the most splendid equipages. Josephus, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who was receiver-general of those provinces, being too old to take such a journey, sent his youngest son, Hyrcanus, in his stead, who was a young man of abundance of wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a place at their table. At one of these entertainments, the guests, who looked upon him with contempt, as a mere youth, without capacity or experience, placed before him the bones from which they had eaten the flesh. A buffoon, who used to divert the king with his jests, said to him: "Do but behold, Sir, the quantity of

¹ Ver. 17.

² Leganti ab Ptolemao et Cleopatra, regibus Egypti, gratulationes quod Munus Acilius consuli Antiochum regem Græcia expulisset venerunt.—*Liv.* l. xxxvii. n. 3.

³ Ver. 18.

⁴ Ver. 19.

⁵ Appian in *Syr.* p. 110.

⁶ Polyb. in *Leg.* c. 37.

⁷ About 150,00000.

⁸ Jos. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4.

bones before Hyrcanus, and your majesty may judge from thence in what manner his father gnaws your provinces." Those words made the king laugh; and he asked Hyrcanus how he came to have so great a number of bones before him. "Your majesty need not wonder at that," replied he; "for dogs eat both flesh and bones, as you see the rest of the persons at your table have done," pointing to them; "but men are contented to eat the flesh, and leave the bones as I have done." The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confused. When the day for making the presents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out that he had only five talents to present,¹ it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king; and people diverted themselves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greatest presents made by the rest did not exceed twenty talents.² But Hyrcanus presented to the king 100 boys, well shaped and finely dressed, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering; and to the queen as many girls in magnificent habits, each with a like present, for that princess. The whole court was amazed at such uncommon and surprising magnificence; and the king and queen dismissed Hyrcanus with the highest marks of their favour and esteem.

Ptolemy,³ in the first year of his reign, governed in so auspicious a manner, as gained him universal approbation and applause; because he followed, in all things, the advice of Aristomenes, who was another father to him; but, in process of time, the flattery of courtiers (that deadly poison to kings) prevailed over the wise counsels of that able minister. The young prince shunned him, and began to give in to all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Aristomenes frequently took of advising him to act more worthy of his high station, he despatched him by poison. Having thus got rid of a troublesome censor, whose sight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it seemed to make him, he abandoned himself entirely to his vicious inclinations; plunged into excesses and disorders of every kind; followed no other guides in the administration of affairs than his unbridled passions; and treated his subjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.

The Egyptians, unable at length to endure the oppressions and injustice to which they were daily exposed, began to cabal together, and to form associations against a king who oppressed them so grievously. Some persons of the highest quality having engaged in this conspiracy, they had already formed designs for deposing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution.

To extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was now involved,⁴ he chose Polycrates for his prime minister, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the most consummate experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had risen to the command of the army under his father, and had served in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occasion he had contributed very much to the victory. He was afterwards governor of the island of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conspiracy was discovered, the expedients he employed on that occasion conducted very much to the preservation of the state.

Ptolemy, by the assistance of this able minister, overcame the rebels. Ant. J. C. 183. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and submit on certain conditions. But, having seized their persons, he violated his promise; and after having exercised various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates again extricated him.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now speaking of, seems to have been very powerful, and in great consideration. We have seen that Ptolemy, a little after his accession to the throne, had been very

solicitous to renew the ancient alliance with them. This he was also very desirous of in the latter end of his reign; and accordingly offered that republic 6000 shields and 200 talents of brass. His offer was accepted, and, in consequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the presents, and to renew the alliance; and these returned soon after with Ptolemy's ambassador, in order to ratify the treaty. King Eumenes also sent an embassy for the same purpose,⁵ and offered 120 talents (about 21,000*l.* sterling,) the interest of which was to be applied for the support of the members of the public council. Others came likewise from Seleucus, who, in the name of their sovereign, offered ten ships of war completely equipped; and, at the same time, desired to have the ancient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambassador whom Philopemen had sent to Rome to justify his conduct, was returned from thence, and desired to give an account of his commission.

For these several reasons a great assembly was held. The first man that entered it was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had said in the senate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the answer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the senate, in reality, were not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the massacre of the Spartans; but at the same time, that they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And as no person happened to speak for or against the answers of the senate, no farther mention was made of it at that time. But the same affair will be the subject of much debate in the sequel.

The ambassadors of Eumenes were next admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father, and proposed in Eumenes's name the offer of 120 talents, they expatiated largely on the great friendship and tender regard which their sovereign had always showed for the Achæans. When they had ended, Apollonius of Sicyon, rose up, and observed, that the present which the king of Pergamus offered, considered in itself, was worthy of the Achæans; but if regard was had to the end which Eumenes proposed to himself by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that case, the republic could not accept of this present without bringing upon itself everlasting infamy, and being guilty of the greatest prevarications. "For, in a word," continued he, "as the law forbids every individual, whether of the people or of the magistrates, to receive any gift from a king upon any pretence whatsoever, the crime would be much greater, should the commonwealth, collectively, accept of Eumenes's offers. That with regard to the infamy, it was self-evident and glaring; for," says Apollonius, "what could reflect greater ignominy on a council, than to receive, annually, from a king, money for its subsistence; and to assemble, in order to deliberate on public affairs, only as so many of his pensioners, and in a manner rising from his table, after having swallowed the bait⁶ that concealed the hook? But what dreadful consequences might not be expected from such a custom, should it be established? Afterwards Prusias, excited by the example of Eumenes, would also be liberal of his benefactions, and after him Seleucus: that, as the interest of kings differed widely from those of republics, and as, in the latter, their most important deliberations generally related to their differences with crowned heads, one of these two things would inevitably happen: either the Achæans would transact all things to the advantage of those princes, and to the prejudice of their own country; or else they must be guilty of the blackest

⁵ Polyb. in Legat. c. xli. p. 850—852.

⁶ Polybius by this expression would denote, that such a pension was a kind of bait that covered the hook; that is, the design which Eumenes had of making all those who composed the council his dependants. Καταπέπλωκτος οὖναι δολωρ.

¹ About 750*l.*

² About 3000*l.*

³ Diod. in Excerpt. p. 294.

⁴ Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113.

ingratitude towards their benefactors." He concluded his speech with exhorting the Achæans to refuse the present which was offered; and added, "That it was their duty to be displeased with Eumenes, for attempting to bribe their fidelity by such an offer." The whole assembly with shouts rejected unanimously the proposal of the king of Pergamus, however dazzling the offer of so large a sum of money might be.

After this, Lycortas and the rest of the ambassadors who had been sent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree made by that prince for renewing the alliance was read. Aristenes, who presided in the assembly, having asked what treaty the king of Egypt desired to renew (several having been concluded with Ptolemy upon very different conditions,) and nobody being able to answer that question, the decision of that affair was referred to another time.

At last the ambassadors of Seleucus were admitted to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance which had been concluded with him: but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships he offered.

Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints A. M. 3819. were carried from all quarters to Ant. J. C. 185. Rome against Philip. The senate thereupon nominated three commissioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognizance of those affairs upon the spot.

Philip still retained the strongest resentment against the Romans, with whom he believed he had just reason to be dissatisfied on many accounts; but particularly, because by the articles of peace, he had not been allowed the liberty of taking vengeance on such of his subjects as had abandoned him during the war. The Romans, however, had endeavoured to console him, by permitting him to invade Athamania, and Amynder the king of that country; by giving up to him some cities of Thessaly, which the Ætolians had seized; by leaving him the possession of Demetrias and all Magnesia; and by not opposing him in his attempts to make himself master of many cities in Thrace; all which circumstances had somewhat appeased his anger. He continually meditated, however, to take advantage of the repose which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. But the complaints that were made against him at Rome having been listened to there, revived all his former disputes.

The three commissioners being arrived at Tempe in Thessaly, an assembly was called there, to which came on one side the ambassadors of the Thessalians, of the Perrhæbians and Athamanians; and, on the other, Philip king of Macedon, a circumstance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of so powerful a prince. The ambassadors urged their various complaints against Philip, with greater or less force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excusing themselves for being obliged to plead against him in favour of their liberty, entreated him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a master, and to imitate the Romans in that particular, who endeavoured to win over their allies rather by friendship than fear. The rest of the ambassadors, with less reserve and moderation, reproached him to his face for his injustice, oppression, and usurpation; assuring the commissioners, that in case they did not apply a speedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their restoration of liberty to the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia, would all be rendered ineffectual: that this prince,² like a fiery courser, would never be kept in and restrained without a very tight rein and a sharp curb. Philip, that he might assume the air of an accuser rather than of one accused, inveighed heavily against those who had harangued on this occasion, and particularly against the Thessalians. He said, that, like slaves,³ who being made free on a sudden, contrary

to their expectations, break into the most injurious exclamations against their masters and benefactors, so they abused with the utmost insolence the indulgence of the Romans; being incapable, after enduring a long servitude, of making a prudent and moderate use of the liberty which had been granted them. The commissioners, after hearing the accusations and answers, the circumstances of which I have thought proper to omit, as little important, and making some particular regulations, did not judge proper at that time to pronounce definitively upon their respective demands.

From thence they went to Thessalonica, to inquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much disgusted, followed them thither. Eumenes's ambassadors said to the commissioners, that if the Romans were resolved to restore the cities of Ænus and Maronea to their liberty, their sovereign was far from having a design to oppose it; but that, if they did not concern themselves in regard to the condition of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus; in that case, the service which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome seemed to require that they should rather be given up to their master than to Philip, who had no manner of right to them, but had usurped them by open force: that, besides, these cities had been given to Eumenes by a decree of the ten commissioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine these differences. The Maronians, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the strongest terms against the injustice and oppression which Philip's garrison exercised in their city.

Here Philip delivered himself in quite different terms from what he had done before; and directing himself personally to the Romans, declared, that he had long perceived they were fully determined never to do him justice on any occasion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them; the services he had done the Romans on different occasions; and laid great stress on the zeal with which he had always adhered to their interest, so far as to refuse 3000 talents,⁴ fifty ships of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him. That, notwithstanding this, he had the mortification to see Eumenes preferred on all occasions, with whom he disdained to compare himself; and that the Romans, so far from enlarging his dominions; as he thought his services merited, had even dispossessed him, as well of those cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of such as they had bestowed upon him. "You, O Romans," says he, concluding his speech, "are to consider upon what terms you intend to have me be with you. If you are determined to treat me as an enemy, and to urge me to extremities, in that case you need only use me as you have hitherto done; but, if you still revere in my person the title and quality of king, ally, and friend, spare me, I beseech you, the shame of being treated any longer with so much indignity."

The commissioners were moved with this speech of the king. For this reason, they thought it incumbent on them to leave this affair in suspense, by making no decisive answer; and accordingly they decreed, that if the cities in question had been given to Eumenes, by the decree of the ten commissioners, as he pretended they were, in that case it was not in their power to reverse it; that if Philip had acquired them by right of conquest, it was but just that he should be suffered to continue in possession of them; that if neither of these things should be proved, then the cognizance of this affair should be left to the judgment of the senate; and, in the mean time, the garrisons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining his pretensions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded,

¹ Liv. l. xxxix. n. 23.—29.

² Ut equum sternacem non parentem, frenis asperioribus castigandum esse.—Liv.

³ Insolenter et inmodicè abuti Thessalos indulgentiâ

populi Romani; velut ex diutina sitinimis avidè meram maurientes libertatem. Ita, servorum modo, præter asperam repente manumissorum, licentiam vocis et lingue experiri, et jactare sese insectatione et conviciis dominorum.—Liv.

⁴ About 450,000*l.* sterling.

provisionally, to withdraw his garrisons out of the respective cities, far from satisfying that prince, so entirely discontented and enraged him, that the consequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

The commissioners,¹ at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Aristenes, who was the chief magistrate, assembled immediately all the chiefs of the republic in Argos. Cecilius coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wisdom of their government on all other occasions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much censured at Rome; and therefore, he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what had been done imprudently against them on that occasion. The silence of Aristenes, who did not reply a single word, showed that he was of the same opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better skilled in war than politics, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints against him. Upon this Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, began to speak with the utmost vigour in defence of the republic. They showed, that the whole transaction with respect to Sparta had been conducted with prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians: and that no alteration could take place, without violating human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods. When Cecilius quitted the assembly, the members of it, moved with Philopœmen's discourse, came to a resolution, that nothing should be changed in what had been decreed, and that this answer should be made the Roman ambassador.

When it was told Cecilius, he desired that the general assembly of the country might be convened. To this the magistrates replied, that he must produce a letter from the senate of Rome, by which the Achæans should be desired to meet. As Cecilius had no such letter, they told him plainly that they would not assemble; which exasperated him to such a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magistrates had to say. It was believed that this ambassador (and before him Marcus Fulvius) would not have delivered themselves with so much freedom, had they not been sure that Aristenes and Diophanes were in their interest. And, indeed, they were accused of having invited those Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly suspected by the populace.

Cecilius,² at his return to Rome, acquainted the senate with what
A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. ever had been transacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambassadors of Macedonia and Peloponnesus were brought in. Those of Philip and Eumenes were introduced first, and then the exiles of Ænus and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before said in the presence of Cecilius in Thessalonica. The senate, after hearing them, sent to Philip other ambassadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the spot whether he was withdrawn (as he had promised Cecilius) from the cities of Perrhæbia; to command him, at the same time, to evacuate Ænus and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from all the castles, territories, and cities, which he possessed on the sea-coast of Thrace.

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambassador whom the Achæans had sent to justify their having refused to give an answer to Cécilius; and to inform the senate of all that had been transacted with regard to the Spartans, who on their side had deputed to Rome, Areus and Alcibiades, who were both of the number of the first exiles, whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had restored to their country. The circumstance which most exasperated the Achæans was, to see that, notwithstanding the valuable and recent obligation conferred upon them,

they had, however, taken upon themselves the odious commission of accusing those who had saved them so unexpectedly, and had procured them the happiness of returning to their houses and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impossible to settle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the rest of the Achæans had done; and they likewise exculpated themselves for having refused to call a general assembly. On the other side, Areus and Alcibiades represented, in the most affecting manner, the lamentable condition to which Sparta was reduced; its walls demolished; its citizens dragged into Achaia,³ and reduced to a state of captivity; the sacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it subsist during so long a series of years, and with so much glory, entirely abolished.

The senate, after weighing and comparing the reasons on both sides, ordered the same ambassadors to inquire into this affair as had been nominated to inspect those of Macedonia; and desired the Achæans to convene their general assembly, whenever the Roman ambassadors should require it: as the senate admitted them to audience in Rome as often as they asked it.

When Philip was informed by his ambassadors,⁴ who had been sent back to him from Rome, that he must absolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace; in the highest degree of rage, to see his dominions contracted on every side, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomastes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Cassander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, he led a body of Thracians into it, who fell on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip having thus wreaked his vengeance on those who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commissioners, being firmly persuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after Appius arrives; who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maroneans had met with, reproached the king of Macedonia, in the strongest terms, on that account. The latter resolutely asserted, that he had not been in any manner concerned in the massacre, but that it was wholly occasioned by an insurrection of the populace. "Some," says he, "declaring for Eumenes, and others for me, a great quarrel arose, and they butchered one another." He went so far as to challenge them to produce any person who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His punishment would have been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. "It is to no purpose," says Appius to him, "for you to apologize for yourself; I know what things have been done as well as the author of them." These words gave Philip the greatest anxiety. However, matters were not carried farther at this first interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to send immediately Onomastes and Cassander to Rome, to be examined by the senate on the affair in question, declaring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himself. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himself, and hesitated a long time before he made answer. At last, he declared that he would send Cassander, whom the commissioners suspected to be the contriver of the massacre; but he was determined not to send Onomastes, who (he declared) so far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reason was, that Philip was afraid lest Onomastes, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, and had never concealed any thing from him, should betray him to the senate. As for Cassander, the instant the commissioners had left Macedonia, he put him on board

³ By the decree of the Achæans it had been enacted, that such slaves as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta, should leave the city and all Laconia; in default of which, the Achæans were empowered to seize and sell them as slaves, which had accordingly been executed.

⁴ Polyb. in Legat. c. xlii. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 34, 35.

a ship; but, at the same time, sent some persons in his company, who poisoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commissioners, who were fully persuaded that Philip had contrived the massacre of Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans; the king of Macedon, reflecting in his own mind, and with his friends, that he hated he bore the Romans, and the strong desire he had to wreak his vengeance on that people, must necessarily soon display itself, would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war against them; but, not being prepared, he conceived an expedient to gain time. He resolved to send his son Demetrius to Rome, whom, as having been many years a hostage, and having acquired great esteem in that city, he judged very well qualified either to defend him against the accusations with which he might be charged before the senate, or apologize for such faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations necessary for this embassy, and nominated several friends to attend the prince his son on that occasion.

He, at the same time, promised to succour the Byzantines; not that he was sincerely desirous of defending them, but because his barely advancing to aid that people would strike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and would prevent their opposing the resolution he had formed of engaging in a war against the Romans. And accordingly having defeated those petty sovereigns in a battle, and taken their chief prisoner, he hereby put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

The arrival of the Roman commissioners,¹ who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia, was expected in Peloponnesus. Lycortas, in order that an answer might be ready for them, summoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He represented to the assembly, what they had to fear from them; the Romans seeming to favour their interest much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been so base as to undertake the embassy against them to the senate, where they acted and spoke like professed enemies; as if the Achæans had driven them from their country, whereas it was they who had restored them to it. Upon this, great shouts were heard in every part of the assembly, and the president was desired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but passion and a thirst of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

The Roman commissioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmost terror; for seeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had just before condemned to die, arrive with the commissioners, they naturally supposed that the inquiry, which was going to be made, would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them that the senate had been deeply affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but disapprove of every thing which had been done with respect to them: the murder of those who, on the promise which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cause; the demolition of the walls of Sparta; the abolition of the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, which had spread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flourish for several ages.

Lycortas, both as president of the council, and as being of the same opinion with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been transacted against Lacedæmon, undertook to answer Appius. He showed, first, that as the Lacedæmonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expressly forbade them to make any attempt against the maritime cities; those exiles, in the absence of the Romans, could have recourse only to the Achæan league, which could not be justly blamed for having assisted them to the utmost of their power, in so ur-

gent a necessity. That with regard to the massacre which Appius laid to their charge, it ought not to be imputed to them, but to the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades; and who, by their own immediate impulse, and without being authorized by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmost fury and violence on those whom they considered the authors of their banishment, and of all the rest of the calamities they had suffered. "However," added Lycortas, "it is pretended that we cannot but own that we were the cause of the abolition of Lycurgus's laws, and the demolition of the walls of Sparta. This, indeed, is a real fact; but then how can this double objection be made to us at the same time? The walls in question were not built by Lycurgus, but by tyrants, who erected them some few years ago, not for the security of the city, but for their own safety, and to enable themselves to abolish, with impunity, the discipline and regulations so happily established by that wise legislator. Were it possible for him to rise now from the grave, he would be overjoyed to see those walls destroyed, and would say that he now recognizes his native country and ancient Sparta. You should not, O citizens of Sparta, have waited for Philopœmen or the Achæans; but ought yourselves to have pulled down those walls with your own hands, and destroyed even the slightest trace of tyranny. These were the ignominious scars of your slavery: and, after having maintained your liberties during almost 800 years, and been in former times the sovereigns of Greece, without the support and assistance of walls; they, for these hundred years, have become the instruments of your slavery, and, in a manner, your shackles and fetters. With respect to the ancient laws of Lycurgus, they were suppressed by the tyrants; and we have only substituted our own, by putting you upon a level with us in all things."

Addressing himself then to Appius, "I cannot forbear owning," says he, "that the words I have hitherto spoken, are not such as should be used from one ally to another, nor by a free nation, but slaves who speak to their master. For, in fine, if the voice of the herald, who proclaimed us, in the first place, to be free, was not a vain and empty ceremony; if the treaty concluded at that time be real and solid; if you are desirous of sincerely preserving an alliance and friendship with us; on what can that infinite disparity which you suppose to be between you Romans and us Achæans be grounded? I do not inquire into the treatment which Capua met with, after you had taken that city: why then do you examine into our usage of the Lacedæmonians, after we had conquered them? Some of them were killed: and I will suppose that it was by us. But did not you strike off the heads of several Campanian senators? We levelled the walls of Sparta with the ground; but as for you, Romans, you not only dispossessed the Campanians of their walls, but of their city and lands. To this I know you will reply, that the equality expressed in the treaties between the Romans and Achæans is merely specious, and a bare form of words; that we really have but a precarious and transmitted liberty, but that the Romans are the primary source of authority and empire. Of this, Appius, I am but too sensible. However, since we must submit to this, I entreat you at least, how wide a difference soever you may set between yourselves and us, not to put your enemies and our own upon a level with us, who are your allies; especially not to show them better treatment than you do to us. They require us, by forswearing ourselves, to dissolve and annul all we have enacted by oath, and to revoke that, which by being written in our records, and engraved on marble, in order to preserve the remembrance of it forever, is become a sacred monument, which it is not lawful for us to violate. We revere you, O Romans; and, if you will have it so, we also fear you; but then we think it glorious to have a greater reverence and fear for the immortal gods."

The greatest part of the assembly applauded this speech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had spoken like a true magistrate; it was there-

¹ Liv. l. xxxix. n. 35—37.

fore necessary for the Romans to act with vigour, or resolve to lose their authority. Appian, without descending to particulars, advised them, whilst they still enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders, to make a merit with the Romans, of enacting of their own accord what might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved at these words; but were instructed by them, not to persist obstinately in the refusal of what should be demanded. All they therefore desired was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleased with regard to Sparta; but not oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling their decree themselves. As to the sentence that was just before passed against Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

The Romans pronounced judgment the year following.¹ The chief articles of the ordinance were, that those persons who had been condemned by the Achæans should be recalled and restored; that all sentences relating to this affair should be repealed, and that Sparta should continue a member of the Achæan league. Pausanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy,² that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed commissary to settle the affairs of Macedonia, and those of Peloponnesus, where great feuds and disturbances subsisted, especially between the Achæans on one side, and the Messenians and Lacedæmonians on the other. They all had sent ambassadors to Rome;³ but it does not appear that the senate was in any great haste to put an end to their differences. The answer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themselves any farther about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans against the Messenians, pursuant to the treaty; or at least, not to suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of Italy to the latter people. It was answered them, that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans, the senate did not think itself obliged to enter into those disputes; for that this would open a door to ruptures and divisions, and even, in some measure, give a sanction to them.

In these proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended solely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whose power they were jealous; and who covered their ambitious designs with the specious pretence of succouring the weak and oppressed.

SECTION X.—PHILOPÆMEN BESIEGES MESSENE. HE IS TAKEN PRISONER, AND PUT TO DEATH BY THE MESSENIANS. MESSENE SURRENDERED TO THE ACHÆANS. THE SPLENDID FUNERAL PROCESSION OF PHILOPÆMEN, WHOSE ASHES ARE CARRIED TO MEGALOPOLIS. SEQUEL OF THE AFFAIR RELATING TO THE SPARTAN EXILES. THE DEATH OF PTOLEMY EMPHANES, WHO IS SUCCEEDED BY PHILOMETOR HIS SON.

DINOCRATES the Messenian,⁴ who A. M. 3821. had a particular enmity to Philopæmen, had drawn off Messene from the Achæan league; and was meditating how he might best seize upon a considerable post, called Corone, near that city. Philopæmen, then seventy years of age, and generalissimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, was then sick. However, the instant the news of this was brought him, he set out, notwithstanding his indisposition, made a forced march, and advanced towards Messene with a body of forces, not very numerous, but consisting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out against him, was soon put to flight; but 500 troopers, who guarded the open country of Messene, happening to come up and reinforce him, he faced about and routed Philopæmen. This general, whose sole concern was to save the gallant youths who had followed him in this expedition, performed the most extraordinary acts of bravery; but

happening to fall from his horse, and receiving a deep wound in his head, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, who carried him to Messene. Plutarch considers this ill fortune of Philopæmen as the punishment for a rash and arrogant expression that had escaped him upon his hearing a certain general applauded: "Ought that man," says he, "to be valued, who suffers himself to be taken alive by the enemy, whilst he has arms to defend himself?"

As soon as the news was brought to Messene, that Philopæmen was taken prisoner, and on his way to that city, the Messenians were in such transports of joy that they all ran to the gates of the city; not being able to persuade themselves of the truth of what they heard till they saw him themselves, so greatly improbable did such an event appear to them. To satisfy the violent curiosity of the inhabitants, many of whom had not yet been able to get a sight of him, they were forced to show the illustrious prisoner on the theatre, where multitudes flocked to see him. When they beheld Philopæmen dragged along in chains, most of the spectators were so much moved to compassion that the tears trickled from their eyes. There even was heard a murmur among the people, which resulted from humanity and a very laudable gratitude: "That the Messenians ought to call to mind the great services done by Philopæmen, and his having preserved the liberty of Achaia by the defeat of Nabis the tyrant." But the magistrates did not suffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, lest the pity of the people should be attended with ill consequences. They therefore took him away on a sudden: and, after consulting together, caused him to be conveyed to a place called the *treasury*. This was a subterranean dungeon, whither neither light nor air entered from without; and which had no door to it, but was shut with a huge stone that was rolled over the entrance. In this dungeon they imprisoned Philopæmen, and posted a guard round every part of it.

As soon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates caused the stone to be rolled away, and the executioner to descend into the dungeon with a dose of poison to Philopæmen, commanding him not to stir till he had swallowed it. The moment the illustrious Megalopolitan perceived the light, and saw the man advance towards him, with a lamp in one hand and the bowl of poison in the other, he raised himself with the utmost difficulty, (for he was very weak,) sat down, and then taking the cup, inquired of the executioner, whether he could tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans his followers, and particularly of Lycortas? The executioner answering, that he heard that almost all of them had saved themselves by flight; Philopæmen thanked him by a nod, and looking kindly to him, "You bring me," says he, "good news; and I find we are not entirely unfortunate:" after which, without breathing the least complaint, he swallowed the deadly dose, and laid himself again on his cloak. The poison was very speedy in its effects; for Philopæmen being extremely weak and feeble, he expired in a moment.

When the news of his death was spread among the Achæans, all their cities were inexpressibly afflicted and dejected. Immediately all their young men who were of age to bear arms, and all their magistrates, came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being summoned, it was unanimously resolved not to delay a moment taking vengeance for so horrid a deed; and accordingly, having elected on the spot Lycortas for their general, they advanced with the utmost fury into Messenia, and filled every part of it with blood and slaughter. The Messenians, having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themselves by force of arms, sent a deputation to the Achæans, to desire that an end might be put to the war, and to beg pardon for their past faults. Lycortas, moved at their entreaties, did not think it advisable to treat them as their furious and insolent revolt seemed to deserve. He told them, that there was no other way for them to expect a peace than by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopæmen; by submitting all their affairs to the disposal of the Achæ-

¹ Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 42.

² In Achaic, p. 414.

³ Polyb. in Legat. c. ii.

⁴ Liv. l. xxxix. n. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366—368. Polyb. in Legat. c. lii. liii.

ans, and receiving a garrison into their citadel. These conditions were accepted, and executed immediately. Dinocrates, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himself, in which he was imitated by all those who had advised the putting of Philopœmen to death. Lycortas caused those to be delivered up who had advised the insulting of Philopœmen. These were undoubtedly the persons who were stoned round his tomb, as we shall soon see.

The funeral obsequies of Philopœmen were then solemnized. After the body had been consumed by the flames, his ashes collected, and deposited in an urn, the train set out for Megalopolis. This procession did not so much resemble a funeral as a triumph, or rather it was a mixture of both. First came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all shedding floods of tears. Then followed the Messenian prisoners bound in chains: afterwards the general's son, young Polybius,¹ carrying the urn, adorned with ribands and crowns, and accompanied by the noblest and most illustrious Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whose arms glittered magnificently, and whose horses were all richly caparisoned, who closed the march, and did not seem too much dejected at this mournful scene, nor too much elated from their victory. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the procession, as if they came in honour of a victory obtained. All possible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Messenian captives were stoned round his sepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpose, ordered the greatest honours to be paid him, and erected many statues to him with magnificent inscriptions.

Several years after,² at the time when Corinth was burned and destroyed by Mummius the proconsul, a false accuser (a Roman) as I observed elsewhere, used his utmost endeavours to get them broken to pieces; prosecuted him criminally, as if alive; charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of discovering a hatred for them on all occasions. The cause was heard in council before Mummius. The slanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment and produced his proofs. They were answered by Polybius, who refuted them with great solidity and eloquence. It is a great pity so interesting a piece should have been lost. Neither Mummius nor his council would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be destroyed, though he had opposed, like a bulwark, the successes of the Romans; for the Romans of that age, says Plutarch, made the just and proper discrimination between virtue and interest: they distinguished the glorious and honourable from the profitable; and were persuaded, that worthy persons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who signalized themselves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as Roman writers observe, that three illustrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the same year, or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and, as it were, upon a level, with the two most celebrated generals of the two most powerful nations in the world. I believe I have already given the reader a sufficient idea of his character, so shall only repeat what I before observed, that Philopœmen was called the last of the Greeks, as Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans.

The Messenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the most deplorable condition, were, by the goodness and generosity of Lycortas and the Achæans, restored to the league from which they had withdrawn themselves. Several other cities, which, from the example they set them, had also renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a seasonable act of clemency produces; whereas a violent and excessive severity, that breathes nothing but blood and vengeance,

often hurries people to despair; and so far from proving a remedy to evils, only inflames and exasperates them the more.

When news came to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Messenians, the ambassadors were addressed in terms quite different from those which had been used to them before. The senate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Messene; an answer which manifestly discovers the insincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to good faith in their transactions with other nations. They seemed, at first, desirous of giving the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league, to take up arms; and now, they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion, that they had sought all opportunities to serve them.

It is manifest on this occasion, that the Roman senate consented to what had been transacted, because it was not in their power to oppose it; that they wanted to make a merit of this with the Achæans, who possessed almost the whole force of Peloponnesus: that they were very cautious of giving the least umbrage to this league, at a time when they could place no dependence on Philip; when the Ætolians were disgusted; and when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in some enterprise which might have been of ill consequence to the Romans.

I have related Hannibal's death in the history of the Carthaginians.³ After retiring from Antiochus's court, he had fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great service. Both sides were preparing for a naval engagement, on which occasion Eumenes's fleet consisted of a much greater number of ships than that of Prusias. But Hannibal opposed stratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous serpents, and had filled several earthen vessels with them. The instant the signal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and sailors to fall upon Eumenes's galley only, (informing them at the same time of a sign by which they should distinguish it from the rest;) and to annoy the enemy no otherwise than by throwing the earthen vessels into the rest of the galleys. At first this was only laughed at; the sailors not imagining that these earthen vessels could be of the least service: but when the serpents were seen gliding over every part of the galleys, the soldiers and rowers, now studious only of preserving themselves from those venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was so warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the king made his escape. Prusias, by Hannibal's assistance, gained several victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, because the victims had not been propitious: "What,"⁴ says Hannibal, "do you rely more upon the liver of a beast than upon the advice and experience of Hannibal?" To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans who required Prusias to deliver him up, he took a dose of poison, which brought him to his end.⁵

¹ Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c. x.—xii. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 41.

² An to, inquit, vitulinæ earunculae, quam imperatori veteri maxis credere?—Unius hostie jecinori longo experimento testatem gloriam quam postponi, æquo animo non tulit.—*Fal. Max.* l. iii. c. 7.

³ [The obscure village of Libyssa was the place where Hannibal died. It has been generally supposed to be the modern Ghebæ, or Ghebsa; a small dirty town, chiefly inhabited by Turks, at some distance from the northern shore of the Gulf of Nicomedia, and remarkable for a tumulus, or mound, supposed to be the monument of that celebrated commander. But a learned antiquary and classical geographer, Colonel Leake, has shown this to be a mistake. He says, that Ghebæ, pronounced Ghivizah by both Turks and Greeks, is more probably the successor of Dacibyza, the word when written in Greek *Κισυζα*, being probably the ancient *Δακισυζα*, with the loss of the first syllable. He farther remarks that the 36 or 39 Roman miles, placed in the itinerary between Chalcædonia and Libyssa, will not agree so well with the distance from Scutari to Ghebæ, as with

⁴ This was Polybius the historian, who might then be about two-and-twenty.

⁵ Thirty-seven years.

A. M. 3822. I before observed,¹ that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achaean league.

The ambassadors being returned, and having reported the answer which had been received from the senate, Lycortas assembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta should be admitted into the Achaean league. To incline the populace to acquiesce in this proposition, he represented that the Romans, to whose disposal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burdened with it; that they had declared to the ambassadors that they were no wise concerned in this affair; that the Spartans who were engaged in the administration of public affairs were very desirous of that union, which (he observed) could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achaean league, as the first exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them, would not be included in it; but would be banished from the city, and other citizens substituted in their room. Diophanes and some other persons undertook to defend the cause of the exiles. However, notwithstanding their opposition, the council decreed that Sparta should be admitted into the league, and accordingly it was so. With regard to the first exiles, those only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt against the Achaean republic.

When the affair was ended, ambassadors were sent to Rome, in the name of all the parties concerned. The senate, after giving audience to those sent by Sparta and by the exiles, said nothing to the ambassadors, which tended to show that they were disgusted at what had passed. With respect to those who had been lately sent into banishment, the senate promised to write to the Achaeans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after Bippus, the Achaean deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the senate; and there gave an account of the manner in which the Messenians had been restored to their former state; and the senators were not only satisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

A. M. 3823. The Lacedaemonian exiles² were no sooner returned from Rome into Ant. J. C. 181. Peloponnesus, than they delivered to the Achaeans the letters which the senate had sent by them, and by which they were desired to permit the exiles to settle again in their native country. It was answered, that the purport of those letters should be considered at the return of the Achaean ambassadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the senate had written in favour of the exiles, not so much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achaeans hearing this, thought it requisite not to make any change in what had been decreed.

that to Malsum; which small village he takes to correspond to the ancient Libyssa. This village of Malsum is three hours south of Ghebsa, on the northern shore of the Gulf of Nicomedia; where a long tongue of land, projecting from the opposite shore, affords a convenient ferry of two miles across, to the south side of the gulf. This ferry is called the ferry of the *Dil*, or *Tongue*; and, being much frequented, is well supplied with large boats and constant attendance, and the persons employed in it are lodged in tents by the water side. Plutarch also appears to confirm the supposition; for, in mentioning Libyssa, he speaks of a sandy place, which corresponds to the promontory of *Dil*, or the *Tongue*. Therefore, if Gheviza be supposed a corruption, not of Libyssa, as commonly believed, but of Dacibyza; and if the distance of the modern Malsum corresponds to that of 30 Roman miles, stated in the itinerary, between Chalcedonia (Scutari) and Libyssa; and to the remark of Plutarch above mentioned—then Malsum, and not Ghebsa, represents the ancient Libyssa.

In the Poutingerean Tables Libyssa is written Livissa. A tomb, however, has been lately discovered at Malta, with this plain inscription, "Hannibal, the Son of Hamilcar;" and if it could be established that there was no other Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, than this celebrated commander, it would overturn the general opinion, or rather universal opinion, that Hannibal died by a voluntary death at Libyssa.]

Hyperbates,³ having been elected general of the Achaeans, again debated in the council, whether any notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had written, concerning the re-establishment of the exiles who had been banished from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achaeans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. "When the Romans," says he, "listen favourably to such complaints and entreaties of unfortunate persons, as appear to them just and reasonable, they, in this, act a very becoming part. But when it is represented to them, that among the favours which are requested at their hands, some are not in their power to bestow, and others would reflect dishonour, and be very prejudicial to their allies, on these occasions they do not use to persist obstinately in their opinions, or exact from such allies an implicit obedience to their commands. This is exactly our case at present. Let us inform the Romans, that we cannot obey their orders without infringing the sacred oaths we have taken, without violating the laws on which our league is founded; and then they will undoubtedly waive their resolutions, and confess that it is with the greatest reason we refuse to obey their commands." Hyperbates and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans; and declared that all laws, oaths, and treaties, ought to be sacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was resolved that a deputation should be sent to the senate, in order to represent the reasons given by Lycortas in council. Callicrates, Lysiadès, and Aratus were the ambassadors, to whom instructions were given in conformity to what had been deliberated.

When these ambassadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates, being introduced into the senate, acted in direct opposition to his instructions. He not only had the assurance to censure those who differed in opinion from him, but took the liberty to tell the senate what they ought to do. "If the Greeks," says he, directing himself to the senators, "do not obey you; if they pay no regard either to the letters or orders which you send them, you must blame yourselves alone for it. In all the states of Greece, there are now two parties; one of which asserts, that all your orders ought to be obeyed, and that laws and treaties, in a word, that all things should pay homage to your will and pleasure; the other party pretends, that it is fitting that laws, treaties, and oaths, ought to take place of your will; and are forever exhorting the people to adhere inviolably to them. Of these two parties the last suits best with the genius and character of the Achaeans, and has the greatest influence over the people. What is the consequence of this? That those who comply with your measures are detested by the common people, whilst such as oppose your decrees are honoured and applauded. Whereas, if the senate would show favour to such as espouse their interest cordially, the chief magistrates and officers of all the republics would instantly declare for the Romans; and the people, intimidated by this, would soon follow their example. But, whilst you show an indifference on this head, you must expect that all the chiefs will certainly oppose you, as the infallible means of acquiring the love and respect of the people. And accordingly we see, that many people, whose only merit consists in their making the strongest opposition to your orders, and a pretended zeal for the defence and preservation of the laws of their country, have been raised to the most exalted employments in their states. In case you do not much care whether the Greeks are, or are not, at your devotion, then indeed your present conduct suits exactly your sentiments. But if you would have them execute your orders, and receive your letters with respect, reflect seriously on this matter; otherwise be assured that they will, on all occasions, declare against your commands. You may judge of the truth of this from their present behaviour towards you. How long is it since you commanded them, by your letters, to recall the Lacedaemonian exiles? Nevertheless, so

¹ Polyb. in Legat. c. lviii.

far from recalling them, they have published a quite contrary decree, and have bound themselves by oath never to reinstate them. This ought to be a lesson to you, and show how cautious you should be for the future."

Callicrates, after making this speech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their business in a few words, but in such as were well adapted to move compassion, and then retired.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of Rome as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to the senate. Thus it was that the Greeks began to throw themselves spontaneously into the arms of slavery, prostituted of their own accord the liberty of which their ancestors had been so jealous, and paid a submission and homage to the Romans, which they had always refused to the *Great King* of Persia. Some flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardless of every thing but their own interest, sold and sacrificed the independence and glory of Greece for ever; discovered the weak side of republics with regard to their internal constitution; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at last crushed; and furnished themselves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In consequence of this speech, it was soon concluded, that it would be proper to increase the power and credit of those who made it their business to defend the authority of the Romans, and to humble such as should presume to oppose it. Polybius observes, that this was the first time that the fatal resolution was taken, to humble and depress those who, in their respective countries, had the most noble way of thinking; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all such who, either right or wrong, should declare in favour of the Romans; a resolution which soon after increased the herd of flatterers in all the republics, and very much lessened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period the Romans made it one of the constant maxims of their policy, to oppress by all possible methods whoever ventured to oppose their ambitious projects. This single maxim may serve as a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republic, and show us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they sometimes display, but which does not long support itself, and of which a just judgment cannot be formed but by the consequences.

To conclude, the senate, in order to get the exiles restored to their country, did not think it sufficient to write to the Achæans alone, but to the Ætolians, Epigroti, Athenians, Boeotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incense all Greece against the Achæans. And, in their answer to the ambassadors, they did not make the least mention of any one but Callicrates, whose example, the senate observed, it would be well for the magistrates of all other cities to follow.

That deputy, after receiving this answer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cause of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For hitherto, a sort of equality had been observed between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the considerable services the Achæans had done them; and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them in the most perilous junctures, as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. The members of this league distinguished themselves at that time in a most conspicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty; and, above all, by the shining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates's treason (for we may justly bestow that name upon it) gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, says Polybius, noble in their sentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cause of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whose fidelity they may safely depend, suggests to them the inconveniences they would bring upon themselves should they

grant certain favours, they generally return to a just way of thinking, and correct, so far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiss. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates studies nothing but how he may best work upon their passions by flattery. He had been sent to Rome, to plead the cause of the Achæans, and, by a criminal and unparalleled prevarication, he declares against his clients; and becomes the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had suffered himself to be corrupted. At his return to Achaia, he spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he got himself elected captain-general. He was no sooner invested with this command, than he restored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Messene to their country.

Polybius, on this occasion, praises exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderness with which they listen to the complaints of the unfortunate, and the readiness to atone for such unjust actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauses he gives them will not admit of great abatement. The reader must call to mind that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a state of slavery. We are not to expect from an historian, in a state of submission and dependence, so much veracity as he very possibly would have observed in a state of freedom, and at a time when men were permitted to speak the truth: and we must not blindly believe every circumstance of this kind advanced by him; facts have more force, and speak in a clearer manner, than he does. The Romans were not eager to commit injustice themselves, whenever they had an opportunity of employing foreign means for that purpose, which procured them the same advantage, and served to conceal their unjust policy.

Eumenes,¹ in the mean time, was engaged in war against Pharnaces, A. M. 3822.
king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very strong city of Pontus, Ant. J. C. 182.
of which his successors remained in possession ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints against this at Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was united in interest with Eumenes, sent also ambassadors thither. The Romans several times employed their mediation and authority to put an end to their differences; but Pharnaces was insincere on these occasions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties, he took the field, and was opposed by the confederate kings. Several enterprises ensued; and after some years had been spent in this manner, a peace was concluded.

Never were more embassies sent than at the time we are now speaking of. A. M. 3824.
Ambassadors were seen in Ant. J. C. 180.
all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces, or from the allies and nations to one another. The Achæans deputed,² in this quality (to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt,) Lycortas, Polybius his son, and the young Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the presents he had already bestowed on their republic, and the new offers he had made them. However, these ambassadors did not leave Achaia, because, when they were preparing to set out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

This prince,³ after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, A. M. 3824.
as has been already mentioned, Ant. J. C. 160.
resolved to attack Seleucus, king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers asked by what methods he would raise money for the execution of it. He replied that his friends were his treasure. The principal courtiers concluded from this answer, that as he considered their purses as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent therefore that consequence, which had more weight with them than the

¹ Polyb. in Legat. c. 51—53—55—59.

² Ibid. c. lviij.

³ Hieron. in Daniel.

allegiance they owed their sovereign, they caused him to be poisoned. This monarch was thus despatched in his twenty-ninth year, after he had spent twenty-four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometor, his son, who was but six years of age, succeeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.

CHAPTER II.

SECTION I.—COMPLAINTS MADE AT ROME AGAINST PHILIP. DEMETRIUS, HIS SON, WHO WAS IN THAT CITY, IS SENT BACK TO HIS FATHER, ACCOMPANIED BY SOME AMBASSADORS. A SECRET CONSPIRACY OF PERSEUS AGAINST HIS BROTHER DEMETRIUS WITH REGARD TO THE SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE. HE ACCUSES HIM BEFORE PHILIP. SPEECHES OF BOTH THOSE PRINCES. PHILIP, UPON A NEW IMPEACHMENT, CAUSES DEMETRIUS TO BE PUT TO DEATH; BUT AFTERWARDS DISCOVERS HIS INNOCENCE AND PERSEUS'S GUILT. WHILST PHILIP IS MEDITATING TO PUNISH THE LATTER, HE DIES, AND PERSEUS SUCCEEDS HIM.

EVER since the spreading of a report among the states contiguous to Macedonia,¹ that such as went to

Rome to complain against Philip were heard there, and that many of them had found their advantage in having so done; a great number of cities, and even private persons, made their complaints in that city, against a prince who was a very troublesome neighbour to them all; with the hopes either of having the injuries redressed which they pretended to have received; or, at least, to console themselves in some measure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the rest, to whom, by order of the Roman commissioners and senate, the fortresses in Thrace, were to be given up, sent ambassadors, at whose head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the senate that Philip did not withdraw his garrisons in Thrace, as he had promised; and to complain of his sending succour into Bithynia to Prusias, who was then at war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, the son of Philip, king of Macedonia, was at that time in Rome, whither, as has been already mentioned, he had been sent by his father, in order to watch over his interests in that city. It was naturally his business to answer the several accusations brought against his father: but the senate, imagining that this would be a very difficult task for so young a prince, who was not accustomed to speak in public; to spare him that trouble, sent to him to inquire, whether the king his father had not given him some memorials; and contented themselves with his reading them. Philip therein justified himself to the best of his power, with respect to most of the articles which were exhibited against him; but he especially showed how much he was displeased at the decrees which the Roman commissioners had enacted against him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The senate saw plainly what all this tended to; and as the young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and with respect to others, assured them that every thing should be done agreeably to the will of the Romans, the senate replied, that his father Philip could not have done more wisely, nor what was more agreeable to them, than in sending his son Demetrius to make his excuses; that, as to past transactions, the senate might dissemble, forget, and bear with a great many things; that, as to the future, they relied on the promise which Demetrius gave: that although he was going to leave Rome, in order to return to Macedonia, he left there (as the hostage of his inclinations) his own good will and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing in any manner the duty he owed his father: that out of regard to him, ambassadors should be sent to Macedonia, to rectify, peaceably and without noise, what-

ever might have been hitherto amiss: and that, as to the rest, the senate was well pleased to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his son Demetrius for the tenderness with which the Romans behaved towards him. These marks of distinction which the senate gave him with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court, only animated envy against him, and at length occasioned his destruction.

The return of Demetrius to Macedonia,² and the arrival of the ambassadors, produced different effects, according to the various dispositions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the consequences of a rupture with the Romans, and the war that was preparing, were highly pleased with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace; not to mention that they considered him as the successor to the throne of Macedonia, after the demise of his father. For though he was the younger son, he had one great advantage over his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother who was Philip's lawful wife; whereas Perseus was the son of a concubine, and even reputed supposititious. Besides, it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perseus not having any credit with them. And these were the common reports.

On one side also, Perseus was greatly uneasy; as he feared, that the advantage of being another brother would be but a very feeble title against a brother superior to him in all other respects; and on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to dispose of the throne as he pleased, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded, the too great influence of his younger son. It was also a great mortification to him to see rising, in his lifetime, and before his eyes, a kind of second court in the concourse of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himself did not take sufficient care to prevent or soothe the growing disaffection to his person. Instead of endeavouring to suppress envy by gentleness, modesty, and complaisance, he only inflamed and exasperated it, by a certain air of haughtiness which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himself upon the marks of distinction with which he had been honoured in that city; and not scrupling to declare that the senate had granted him many things which they had before refused his father.

Philip's discontent was still more inflamed on the arrival of the new ambassadors, to whom his son paid his court more assiduously than to himself; and when he found he should be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons from that country, and to execute other things, either pursuant to the decrees of the first commissioners, or to the fresh orders he had received from Rome; orders and decrees with which he complied very much against his will, and with the highest secret resentment; but with which he was forced to comply, to prevent his being involved in a war for which he was not sufficiently prepared. To remove all suspicion of his harbouring the least design that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace, against people with whom the Romans did not concern themselves in any manner.

However,³ his inclinations were not unknown at Rome. Marcus, one of the commissioners, who had communicated the orders of the senate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's discourses, and the several steps he took, visibly threatened an approaching war. To make himself the more secure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them;⁴ settled them in the most northern part of Macedonia; and substituted in their places Thracians, and other barbarous nations, on whom he believed he might more securely depend. These changes occasioned a general murmur in every part of Macedonia; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of these poor unhappy people, who were forced away in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations and curses against the king, who was the author of these innovations.

¹ Liv. l. xxxix. n. 46, 47.

² Liv. l. xxxix. n. 53.

³ Ibid. l. xl. n. 3—5

⁴ Æmathia, called formerly Pœonia.

But Philip, so far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. Every thing seemed to afford him cause for suspicion, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of persons, upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be safe, but by retaining their children in his own power, and he imprisoned them under a strong guard, in order to have them all destroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itself than such a design; but the sad catastrophe of one of the most powerful and most illustrious families in Thessaly, made it still more execrable.

He had put to death, many years before, Herodiscus, one of the principal persons of the country, and, some time after, his two sons-in-law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had continued widows, each of them having a son, both very young. Theoxena, who was sought for in marriage by the richest and most powerful noblemen in Thessaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial state; but Archo married a nobleman of the Enean nation, called Poris, and brought him several children, whom Archo, dying early, left infants. Theoxena, that she might have an opportunity of bringing up her sister's children under her eye, married Poris; took the same care of them as she did of her own son; and was as tender to them as if she had been their mother. When news was brought her of Philip's cruel edict, to confine the children of those who had been put to death; plainly foreseeing that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, she formed a surprising resolution, declaring that she would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children, rather than suffer them to fall into the merciless power of Philip. Poris, whose soul was struck with horror at this design, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would send all their children to Athens, to some friends on whose fidelity and humanity he could safely rely, and that he himself would convey them thither. Accordingly, they all set out from Thessalonica, in order to sail to the city of Eneæ, to assist at a solemn festival, which was solemnized annually in honour of Eneâs their founder. Having spent the whole day in festivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body else was asleep, they embarked on board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Thessalonica, but in reality, to go to Eubœa; when, unhappily, a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forwards in spite of their utmost efforts, and drove them back towards the coast. At daybreak, the king's officers, who were posted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately sent off an armed sloop; commanding the captain of it, upon the severest penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was seen every moment, either exhorting the ship's company, in the strongest terms, to exert themselves to the utmost in order to get forward; or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the assistance of the gods. In the mean time, Theoxena, resuming her former resolution, and presenting to her children the poison she had prepared, and the daggers she had brought with her: "Death," says she, "alone can free you from your miseries; and here is what will procure you that last sad refuge. Secure yourselves from the king's horrid cruelty by the method you like best. Go, my dear children, such of you as are more advanced in years, and take these poignards; or, in case a slower kind of death may be more grateful, take this poison." The enemy were now nearly close to them, and the mother was very urgent. They obeyed her commands, and all, after having swallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their bosoms, were thrown into the sea. Theoxena, after giving her husband a last sad embrace, leaped into the sea with him. Philip's officers then seized the galley, but did not find one person alive in it.

The horror of this tragical event revived and inflamed, to a prodigious degree, the hatred against Philip. He was publicly detested as a bloody tyrant; and people vented, in all places, both against him and

his children, dreadful imprecations, which, says Livy, soon had their effect; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance against his own children.

Perseus saw, with infinite pain and affliction, that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans, increased daily. Having now no hopes left of being able to ascend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began, by sounding the disposition of those who were in the greatest favour with the king, and by addressing them in obscure and ambiguous words. At first, some seemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his proposals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, observing that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increased sensibly, which Perseus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, opposed to the utmost, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whose youth and inexperience made him not sufficiently upon his guard against the artifices of his brother, would at last fall a victim to them; they thought it their interest to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the strongest party. They accordingly did so, and devoted themselves entirely to Perseus.

Having postponed the execution of their more remote designs, they were of opinion, that for the present it would be proper for them to employ their utmost efforts to exasperate the king against the Romans, and to inspire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the same time, to render Demetrius every day more suspected, they industriously, on all occasions, made the discourse turn in the king's presence upon the Romans; some expressing the utmost contempt for their laws and customs, others for their exploits; some for the city of Rome, which according to them, was void of ornaments and magnificent buildings; and others, even for such of the Romans as were in highest estimation; making them all pass in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the scope and tendency of all these discourses, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to take fire on these occasions. Hence, without considering the consequences, he rendered himself suspected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accusations and calumnies preparing against him. Accordingly, his father did not communicate to him any of the designs, which he was continually meditating against Rome, and unbosomed himself only to Perseus.

Some ambassadors whom he had sent to the Bastarnæ, to desire aid from them, returned about the time we are now speaking of. They had brought with them several youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promised his sister in marriage to one of Philip's sons. This new alliance with a powerful nation very much exalted the king's courage. Perseus taking advantage of this opportunity, "Of what use," says he, "can all this be to us? We have not so much to hope from foreign aid, as to dread from domestic foes. We harbour in our bosoms, I will not say a traitor, but at least a spy. The Romans, ever since he was a hostage among them, have restored us his body; but as to his heart and inclinations, those he has left with them. Almost all the Macedonians fix already their eyes on him, and are persuaded, that they shall never have any king but him whom the Romans shall please to set over them." By such speeches, the old king's disgust was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated from Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed, at a festival solemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies whereof were as follow: A bitch, says Livy, is divided into two parts;² being cut long-wise

¹ Liv. l. xl. n. 5—16.

² We find in Scripture, the like ceremony, in which, in order for the concluding of a treaty, the two contracting parties pass between the parts of the victim divided.—*Jer.* xxiv. 13.

through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each side of the road. The troops under arms are made to march between the two parts of the victim thus divided. At the head of this march, the shining arms of all the kings of Macedon are carried, tracing them backwards to the most remote antiquity. The king, with the princes his children, appear afterwards, followed by all the royal household, and the companies of guards. The march is closed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the present occasion, the two princes walked on each side of the king; Perseus being thirty years of age, and Demetrius twenty-five; the one in the vigour, the other in the flower of his age; sons who might have formed their father's happiness, had his mind been rightly disposed and reasonable.

The custom was, after the sacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who fought with no other arms than foils, and represented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. However, this was not a mere mock battle; all the men exerted themselves with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been disputing for the throne. Several were wounded on both sides; and nothing but swords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the superiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perseus. His friends, on the contrary, rejoiced at it, judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accusation against his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the soldiers of their respective parties. Perseus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refused to come. The joy was very great on both sides, and the guests drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much discourse passed about the battle; and the guests intermixed their speeches with jests and railery (some of which were very sharp) against those of the contrary party, without sparing even the leaders. Perseus had sent a spy to observe all that should be said at his brother's banquet; but four young persons, who came by accident out of the hall, having discovered this spy, gave him very rough treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what had happened, said to the company: "Let us go and conclude our feast at my brother's, to soften his pain (if he has any remaining) by an agreeable surprise, which will show that we act with frankness and sincerity; and do not harbour any malice against him." Immediately all cried that they would go, those excepted who were afraid that their ill treatment of the spy would be revenged. But Demetrius forcing them thither also, they concealed swords under their robes, in order to defend themselves in case there should be occasion. When discord reigns in families, it is impossible for any thing to be kept secret in them. A man, running hastily before, went to Perseus, and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men well armed in his train. He might easily have guessed the cause of it, as he knew that they were the persons who had ill treated the spy. Nevertheless, to make this action still more criminal, Perseus orders the doors to be locked; and then, from the window of an upper apartment which looked into the street, cries aloud to his servants not to open the door to wretches who were come with arms in their hands to assassinate them. Demetrius, who was a little warm with wine, after having complained, in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refused admittance, returned back, and again sat down to table, still ignorant of the affair relating to Perseus's spy.

The next day, as soon as Perseus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air, and continued some time in his presence, but at a little distance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly surprised at his silence, asked what could be the cause of the concern which appeared in his countenance? "It is," answers Perseus, "by the merest good fortune in the world that you see me here alive. My brother now

no longer lays secret snares for me: he came in the night to my house, at the head of a body of armed men, purposely to assassinate me. I had no other way left to secure myself from his fury, but by shutting my doors, and keeping the wall between him and me." Perseus, perceiving by his father's countenance, that he was struck with astonishment and dread: "If you will condescend," says he, "to listen a moment to me, you shall be fully acquainted with the whole state of the affair." Philip answered, that he would willingly hear him; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be sent for. At the same time he sent for Lysimachus and Onomastes, to ask their advice on this occasion. These two men, who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themselves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very seldom at court. Philip, whilst he waited for their coming, walked several times up and down his apartment alone, revolving in his mind a variety of thoughts; his son Perseus standing all the time at a distance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life-guards; and permitted each of his sons to bring three persons, unarmed, along with him; and having taken his seat, he spoke to them as follows:

"Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to sit as judge between my two sons, one the accuser, and the other the accused, of fratricide; reduced to the sad necessity of finding in one of them, either a criminal or a false accuser. For a long time, indeed, from certain expressions which I have overheard, and from your behaviour towards each other, (a behaviour no way suiting brothers,) I have been afraid this storm would break over my head. And yet I hoped, from time to time, that your discontents and disgusts would soften, and your suspicions vanish away. I recollected, that contending kings and princes, laying down their arms, had frequently contracted alliances and friendships; and that private men had suppressed their animosities. I flattered myself, that you would one day remember the endearing name of brethren, by which you are united; those happy years of infancy which you spent in simplicity and union; in fine, the counsels of a father so often repeated; counsels which, alas! I am afraid have been given to children deaf and indocile to my voice. How many times, after setting before you examples of discord between brothers, have I represented its fatal consequences, by showing you that they had thereby involved themselves in inevitable ruin; and not only themselves, but their children, families, and kingdoms? On the other side, I proposed good examples for your imitation: the strict union between the two kings of Lacedæmonia, so advantageous during several centuries to themselves and their country; whereas division and private interest changed the monarchic government into tyranny, and proved the destruction of Sparta. By what other method, than by fraternal concord, did the two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, from such weak beginnings as almost reflected dishonour on the regal dignity, rise to a pitch of power equal to mine, to that of Antiochus, and of all the kings we know? I even did not scruple to cite examples from the Romans, of which I myself had either been an eye-witness, or heard from others: as the two brothers, Titus and Lucius Quintus, who were both engaged in war with me: the two Scipios, Publius and Lucius, who defeated and subjected Antiochus: their father and their uncle, who, having been inseparable during their lives, were undivided in death. Neither the crimes of the one, though attended with such fatal consequences; nor the virtues of the other, though crowned with such happy success, have been able to make you abhor division and discord, or to inspire you with gentle and pacific sentiments. Both of you, even in my life-time, have turned your eyes and guilty desires upon my throne. You suffer me to live, just so long as that, surviving one of you, I secure my crown to the other by my death. The fond names of father and brother are insupportable to both. Your souls are strangers to tenderness and duty. A restless desire of reigning

has banished all other sentiments from your breasts, and entirely engrosses you. But come, let me hear what each of you have to say. Pollute the ears of your parent with your accusations, whether real or feigned. Open your criminal mouths; mutually vent your slanders, and afterwards arm your parricidal hands one against the other. I am ready to hear all you have to say, firmly determined to shut my ears eternally from henceforth against the secret whispers and accusations of brother against brother." Philip having spoken these last words with great emotion and an angry tone of voice, all who were present wept, and continued a long time in a mournful silence.

At last, Perseus spoke as follows:—"I perceive plainly, that I ought to have opened my door in the dead of night; to have admitted the assassins into my house, and presented my throat to their murderous swords, since guilt is not believed till it has been perpetrated; and since I, who was so inhumanly attacked, receive the same injurious reproaches as the aggressor. People have but too much reason to say, that you consider Demetrius alone as your true son; whilst I am looked upon as a stranger, sprung from a concubine, or even a supposititious child. For, did your breast glow with the tenderness which a father ought to have for his child, you would not think it just to inveigh so bitterly against me, (for whose life so many snares have been laid,) but against him who contrived them; and you would not think my life of so little consequence, as to be entirely unmoved at the imminent danger I have escaped, and at that to which I shall be exposed, should the guilt of my enemies be suffered to go unpunished. If I must die without being suffered to complain, be it so; let me be silent, and be contented with beseeching the gods, that the crime which was begun in my person, may end in it, and not extend to you. But if I may be allowed to do with regard to you on the present occasion, what nature suggests to those who, seeing themselves attacked unawares in a desert, implore the assistance even of those whom they had never seen; if when I see swords drawn against me, I may be permitted to utter a plaintive and supplicating voice; I conjure you by the tender name of father, (for which whether my brother or I have had the greatest reverence, you yourself have long known,) to listen to me at this time, as you would, if, awakened suddenly from your sleep by the tumult of what passed last night, chance had brought you, at the instant of my danger, and in the midst of my complaints; and you had found Demetrius at my door, attended by persons in arms. What I should have told you yesterday, in the greatest emotion and petrified with fear, I say to you to-day.

"Brother, for a long time we have not lived together like persons desirous of sharing in parties of pleasure. Your predominant wish is to reign; but you find an invincible obstacle in my age, the law of nations; the ancient customs of Macedonia; and a still stronger circumstance, in my father's will and pleasure. It will be impossible for you ever to force these barriers, and to ascend the throne, but by imbruing your hands in my blood. To compass your horrid ends, you leave nothing untried, and set every engine at work. Hitherto, either my vigilance, or my good fortune, has preserved me from your murderous hands. Yesterday, at the review, and the ceremony of the tournament which followed it, the battle, by your contrivance, became almost bloody and fatal; and I escaped death only by suffering myself and my followers to be defeated. From this fight, which was really a combat between enemies, you insidiously wanted (as if what had passed had been only the diversion of brothers) to allure me to your feast. Can you suppose (father) that I should have met with unarmed guests there, since those very guests came to my palace completely armed, at so late an hour? Can you imagine that I should have had nothing to fear, in the gloom of night, from their swords, when in open day, and before your eyes, they had almost killed me with their wooden weapons? What! you who are my professed enemy; you, who are conscious that I have so much reason to complain of your conduct; you, I say, come to me in the night, at an un-

seasonable hour, and at the head of a company of armed young men! I did not think it safe for me to go to your entertainment; and should I receive you in my house at a time when, heated with the fumes of wine, you came so well attended? Had I then opened my door, (father) you would be preparing to solemnize my funeral at this very instant in which you vouchsafe to hear my complaints. I do not advance anything dubious, nor speak barely from conjecture. For can Demetrius deny that he came to my house attended by a band of young people, and that some of them were armed? I only desire to have those whom I shall name sent for. I believe them capable of any thing; but yet they will not have the assurance to deny this fact. Had I brought them before you, after seizing them armed in my house, you would be fully convinced of their guilt; and surely their own confession ought to be no less proof of it.

"You call down imprecations and curses upon impious sons who aspire to your throne: this (my father) you have great reason to do; but then, vent not your imprecations blindly, and at random. Distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. Let him who meditated to murder his brother, feel the anger of the gods, the just avengers of paternal authority; but then let him, who by his brother's guilt was brought to the brink of destruction, find a secure asylum in his father's tenderness and justice. For where else can I expect to find one! I, to whom neither the ceremony of the review, the solemnity of the tournament, my own house, the festival, nor the hours of night allotted by the gods to man for repose, could afford the least security? If I go to the entertainment to which my brother invites me, I am a dead man; and it will be equally fatal to me, if I admit him into my house when he comes thither at midnight. Snares are laid for me wherever I tread. Death lies in ambush for me wherever I move;—to what place then can I fly for security?

"I have devoted myself only to the gods, and to you, my father. I never made my court to the Romans, and cannot have recourse to them. They wish my ruin, because I am so much affected with their injustice to you; because I am tortured to the soul, and fired with indignation, to see you dispossessed of so many cities and nations; and, lately, of the maritime coast of Thrace. They cannot flatter themselves with the hopes of making themselves masters of Macedonia as long as you or I are in being. They are sensible, that, should I die by my brother's guilt, or age bring you to the grave, or the due course of nature be anticipated; then the king and kingdom will be at their disposal.

"Had the Romans left you some city or territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon, I possibly might have had some opportunity of retiring to it. But, it may be said, I shall find a sufficiently powerful protection in the Macedonians. You yourself, father, saw yesterday, with what animosity the soldiers attacked me in the battle. What was wanting for my destruction but swords of steel? However, the arms they then wanted, my brother's guests assumed in the night. Why should I mention a great part of the principal persons of your court, who ground all their hopes on the Romans, and on him who is all-powerful with them? They are not ashamed to prefer him not only to me, who am his elder brother, but I might almost say it, to you, who are our king and father. For they pretend that it is to him you are obliged for the senate's remitting you some of those things which they otherwise would have required: it is he who now checks the Romans, and prevents their advancing in a hostile manner into your kingdom. In fine, if they may be believed, your old age has no other refuge but the protection which your young son procures you. On his side are the Romans, and all the cities which have been dismembered from your dominions, as well as such Macedonians whose dependence, with regard to fortune, is placed wholly on the Romans. But with respect to myself, I look upon it as glorious to have no other protector than you, my father, and to place all my hopes in you alone.

"What do you judge to be the aim and design of the letter you lately received from Quintus, in which he declares expressly, that you acted prudently for your interest, in sending Demetrius to Rome: and wherein he exhorts you to send him back thither, accompanied by other ambassadors, and a greater train of Macedonian noblemen? Quintus is now every thing with Demetrius. He has no other guide but his councils, or rather his orders. Quite forgetting that you are his father, he seems to have substituted him in your place. It is in the city of Rome, and in his sight, that he formed the secret and clandestine designs which will soon break out into action. It is merely to ensure their success, that Quintus orders you to send along with Demetrius a greater number of the Macedonian nobility. They set out from this country with the most sincere attachment to your person and interest; but, won by the caresses which are lavished upon them in that city, they return from it corrupted and debauched by directly opposite sentiments. Demetrius is all in all with them: they already presume, in your lifetime, to give him the title of king. If I am indignant at his conduct, I have the grief to see not only others, but yourself, my father, charge me with the design of aspiring to your throne. Should this accusation be levelled at us both, I am conscious of my own innocence, and it cannot in any manner affect me. For whom, in that case, should I dispossess, to seize upon what would be another's right: there is no one but my father between me and the throne; and I beseech the gods that he may long continue so. In case I should happen to survive him, (and this I would not wish any longer than he shall think me worthy of it,) I shall succeed him in the kingdom, if it be his good pleasure. He may be accused of aspiring to the throne, and of aspiring in the most unjust and criminal manner, who is impatient to break the order and overleap the bounds prescribed by age, by nature, by the usages and customs of Macedonia, and by the law of nations. My elder brother, says Demetrius to himself, to whom the kingdom belongs both by the right of seniority and my father's will, is an obstacle to my ambitious views. I must dispatch him—I shall not be the first who has waded through a brother's blood to the throne.—My father in years, and without support, will be too much afraid for his own life to meditate revenge for his son's death. The Romans will be pleased to see me on the throne; they will approve my conduct, and be able to support me. I own, my father, these projects may all be defeated, but I am sure they are not without foundation. In a word, I reduce all to this: it is in your power to secure my life, by bringing to condign punishment those who yesterday armed themselves to assassinate me; but, should their villany take effect, it will not be in your power to revenge my death."

As soon as Perseus had ended his speech, all the company cast their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate that it was incumbent on him to answer immediately. But as he, quite oppressed with sorrow and overwhelmed in tears, seemed unable to speak, a long silence ensued. At last, being pressed to an answer, he made his grief give way to necessity, and spoke as follows:

"Perseus, by accusing me in your presence, my father, and by shedding fictitious tears to move you to compassion, has made you suspect mine, which, alas! are but too sincere; and by that means has deprived me of all the advantages the accused generally have. Although ever since my return from Rome he has been day and night laying snares for me, in secret cabals with his creatures; yet he now represents me to you, not only as laying hidden ambuscades to destroy him, but attacking him by open violence and an armed force. He endeavours to alarm you by the pretended dangers which surround him, in hopes of hastening by your means the death of his innocent brother. He declares that he has no refuge, no asylum left, with design to prevent my finding one in your clemency and justice. In the solitary and abandoned state to which I see myself reduced, quite friendless and unprotected, he strives to make me odious, by reproaching me with possessing an influ-

ence, an interest with foreigners, which are rather a prejudice than a service to me.

"Observe, I beseech you, with what insidious art he has blended and confounded the transactions of last night with every other circumstance of my life: and this in a double view; first, to raise a suspicion in you of my conduct in general from this last action, the innocence of which will soon be evident; and secondly, to support, by this idle story of a nocturnal attack, his equally idle accusation, of my harbouring criminal views, hopes, and pretensions. At the same time he has endeavoured to show that this accusation was not premeditated or prepared; but that it was wholly the effect of the fear with which he was seized, occasioned by last night's tumult. But, Perseus, if I had attempted to betray my father and his kingdom; had I engaged in conspiracies with the Romans, and with the enemies of the state; you ought not to have waited for the opportunity of the fictitious story of last night's transactions, but should have impeached me before this time of such treason. If the charge of treason, when separated from the other, was altogether improbable, and could serve no other purpose but to prove how much you envy me, and not to evince my guilt; you ought not to have mentioned it now, but should have postponed that charge to another time; and have examined now this question only, whether you laid snares for me, or I for you. I nevertheless will endeavour, as far as the confusion into which this sudden and unforeseen accusation has thrown me will permit, to separate and distinguish what you have thrown together indiscriminately; and to show whether you or myself ought in justice to be accused of laying a snare for the other last night.

"Perseus asserts, that I harboured a design to assassinate him, in order that, by the death of my elder brother, to whom the crown appertains by the right of nations, by the customs of Macedonia, and even, as he pretends, by your determination, I, though the younger son, might succeed to the throne. To what purpose, therefore, is that other part of his speech, where he declares, that I have been particularly studious to ingratiate myself with the Romans, and flattered myself with the hopes of being able to ascend the throne by their assistance? For, if I thought the Romans were powerful enough to bestow the kingdom of Macedon on whomsoever they pleased, and if I relied so much on my influence and authority with them, why should I commit a fratricide of no advantage to myself? What! should I have affected to surround my temples with a diadem, dyed with my brother's blood, merely that I might become odious and execrable, even to those with whom I had acquired some influence, (if indeed I have any) by a probity either real or dissembled? unless you can suppose that Quintus, whose counsel I am accused of following, (he, I say, who lives in so delightful a union with his brother,) suggested to me the horrid design of imbruing my hands in my brother's blood. Perseus has summoned up all the advantages, by which (as he would insinuate) I can promise myself a superiority over him: such as the credit of the Romans, the suffrages of the Macedonians, and the almost universal consent of gods and men; and yet he, at the same time (as if I were inferior to him in all respects) charges me with having recourse to an expedient which none but the blackest villains could employ. Are you willing to have us judged upon this principle and rule, that whichever of us two was apprehensive that the other would be judged more worthy of the diadem, shall be declared to have formed a design of murdering his brother?

"But let us come to facts, and examine the order and plan of the criminal enterprise with which I am charged. Perseus pretends to have been attacked in different manners, all which are, however, included within the space of one day. I attempted, as he says, to murder him in broad day-light, in the battle which followed the sacred ceremony of the review. I determined to poison him at an entertainment to which I had invited him. In fine, I resolved to attack him with open force in the dead of night, attended by armed persons to a party of pleasure at his house.

"You see, my father, the season I had chosen to commit this fratricide; a tournament, a banquet, a party of pleasure, and on how venerable and solemn a day! a day on which the army is reviewed, on which the resplendent arms of all the Macedonian monarchs are carried in front of the procession; on which it passes between the two parts of the sacred victim; and on which we have the honour to march on each side of you, at the head of the whole Macedonian people. What! though purified by this august sacrifice from all faults I might before have committed; having before my eyes the sacred victim through which we passed, was my mind intent upon fratricides, poisons, and daggers! Defiled in such a manner by crimes of the most horrid nature, by what ceremonies, by what victims, would it have been possible for me to purify myself?

"It is evident that my brother, hurried on by a blind wish to calumniate and destroy me, in his endeavour to make every thing suspected, and a crime in me, betrays and contradicts himself. For (brother) had I formed the design of poisoning you at my table, what could be more ill-judged than to exasperate you, and put you upon your guard by an obstinate battle in which I should have discovered that I had designs of violence against you; and by that means have prevented your coming to an entertainment to which I had invited you, and at which you accordingly refused to be present? But surely, after such a refusal, should I not have endeavoured to reconcile myself to you; and, as I had resolved to take you off by poison, ought I not to have sought another opportunity for giving you the fatal draught? Could it be expected that I should abruptly fly off on the very same day to another scheme, and attempt to assassinate you, upon pretence of going to your house on a party of pleasure? Could I reasonably flatter myself with the hopes, (taking it for granted that the fear of your being murdered had made you refuse to come to my entertainment,) that the same fear would not induce you to refuse me admittance into your house?

"I presume, father, I may confess to you without blushing, that in a day of festivity and rejoicing, happening to be in company with young people of my own age, I drank more plentifully than usual. Inquire, I beseech you, how we spent our time at the feast yesterday, how full of mirth we were, how transported with thoughtless gayety, very much heightened by our, perhaps, too indiscreet joy for the victory we had gained in the tournament. It is the sad condition of an unforeseen accusation; it is the danger in which I now see myself involved, that have dispelled but too easily the fumes of wine; otherwise a calm assassin, my eyes had still been closed in slumbers. Had I formed a resolution to attack your house with a view of murdering you, would it not have been possible for me to abstain for one day from immoderate drinking, and to keep my companions from the like excess?

"But, that it may not be thought that I alone act with frankness and simplicity, let us hear my brother, who has no malice, and does not harbour the least suspicion. All, says he, that I know, and the only thing I have to complain of, is, that they came armed to my house, upon pretence of engaging in a party of pleasure. Should I ask you how you came to know this, you will be forced to own, either that my house was filled with spies sent by you, or else that my attendants had taken up arms in so open a manner that every one new of it. What does my brother do? That he may not seem to have formerly watched all my motions, nor at this time to ground his accusation merely on suppositions; he beseeches you to inquire of those whom he shall name, whether it be not true that they came armed to his house; in order that (as if this were a doubtful circumstance) after this inquiry into an incident which they themselves own and confess, they may be considered as legally convicted. But is this the question? Why do not you desire an inquiry to be made whether they took up arms to assassinate you, and whether they did it with my knowledge, and at my request? For this is what you pretend; and not what they themselves own publicly, and which is very manifest, that they took up arms with

no other view than to defend themselves. Whether they had or had not reason to arm themselves, that they are to inform you. Do not blend and confound my cause with theirs, for they are quite distinct and separate. Only tell us whether we intended to attack you openly or by surprise. If openly, why did we not all take up arms? Why were these only armed who had insulted your spy? In case it was to have been by surprise, in what manner would the attack have been made? Would it have been at the end of the feast; and after I had left it with my company, would the four men in question have stayed behind, to have fallen upon you when asleep? How would it have been possible for them to conceal themselves in your house, since they were strangers in my service, and could not but be very much suspected, having been seen but a few hours before engaged in the quarrel? Again, supposing they had found an opportunity to murder you, in what manner could they have escaped? Could four men armed have been able to make themselves masters of your house?

"Leave, then, this nocturnal fiction, and come to what really pains you, and which you have so much at heart. For what reason, (methinks I hear my brother say,) for what reason (Demetrius) do the people talk of making you king? Why do some persons think you more worthy than I of succeeding our father? Why do you make my hopes doubtful and uncertain, which, were it not for you, would have been established on the most solid foundation? Such are the reflections which Perseus revolves in his mind, though he does not express himself in this manner. It is this that makes him my enemy and my accuser: it is this that fills the palace and every part of the kingdom with suspicions and accusations. If I ought not now, father, so much as to hope for the sceptre, nor perhaps ever think of contesting it, as being the younger, and because it is your will and pleasure that I should yield to my elder brother; it does not follow that I ought to make myself appear unworthy of it, either to you (my father) or all the Macedonians; a circumstance which nothing but my ill conduct could occasion. I can, indeed, through moderation, resign it to whom it belongs; but I cannot prevail with myself to renounce my virtue and good name.

"You reproach me with the affection of the Romans, and impute that to me for a crime which ought to be my glory. I did not desire to be sent to Rome, neither as a hostage at first, nor afterwards as ambassador; this, father, you yourself very well know. When you ordered me to go thither, I obeyed your commands: and I believe my conduct there and behaviour were such, as cannot reflect the least dishonour either on yourself, your crown, or the Macedonian nation. It is therefore yourself, father, who occasioned the friendship I have contracted with the Romans. So long as you shall be at peace with them, so long our friendship will subsist: but at the first signal for war, though I have been a hostage among them, and exercised the functions of an ambassador in such a manner as perhaps has not been disadvantageous to my father; from that moment, I say, I shall declare myself their enemy. I do not desire to reap any benefit on the present occasion, from the love which the Romans have for me; all I entreat is, that it may not be of prejudice to me. It was not begun in war, nor is it designed to subsist in it. As a hostage and an ambassador, peace was my only object; let that be neither considered in me as a crime nor a merit.

"If I have violated, in any manner, the respect I owe to you, my father; if I have formed any criminal enterprise against my brother, let me be punished as I deserve; but if I am innocent, this I claim; that as I cannot be convicted of the least guilt, I may not fall a victim to envy. This is not the first time that my brother has charged me with harbouring horrid designs; but it is the first time he has attempted to do it openly, though without the least foundation. Was my father exasperated against me, it would be

1 Instead of *indignus te, pater*, *Æconovius* reads, *indignus tui patris*; which seems to agree better with the context.

your duty, as the elder, kindly to intercede for your younger brother, to solicit his pardon, to entreat that some regard might be shown to his youth; and that a fault which had been committed merely through inadvertency, might be overlooked. My ruin comes from that very quarter, whence I might naturally have expected my safety.

"Almost half asleep, after the feast and party of pleasure, I am dragged here on a sudden, to answer a charge of fratricide; and am forced to plead my own cause, unassisted by advocates, and unsupported by the advice or influence of a single person. Had I been to speak in favour of another, I should have taken time to prepare and compose my discourse; and yet, on such an occasion, my reputation only would have laid at stake, and I should have had nothing to do but to display my wit and eloquence;—at this instant, without knowing the cause for which I am ordered to appear in this place, I hear an offended father commanding me to make my defence, and a brother charging me with the most horrid crimes. Perseus has had all the time he could desire to prepare his accusation, whilst I did not so much as know what the business was, till the very instant the accusation was brought against me. In this rapid moment, ought I to be more attentive to my accuser than studious of my own apology? Surprised by a sudden and unforeseen accusation, I could scarce comprehend what was laid to my charge, so far from being able to know how to make my defence. What hope could I have left, did I not know that it is my father who is to judge! He may show a greater affection for my brother, as the elder; but he owes more compassion to me, as being the party accused: I myself conjure you to preserve my life for your own sake and mine; whereas Perseus insists upon your sacrificing me to his safety. What may you not naturally expect from him when you shall once have invested him with your authority, as he now demands the favour at no less a price than my blood?"

Whilst Demetrius defended himself in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep sighs, and groans intermixed with tears. Philip, dismissing both of them for a moment, advised with his friends; and then ordering them to be called in again, he told them: "I will not pronounce sentence in this affair from mere words and an hour's discussion, but from the inquiry I shall make into your conduct, from your behaviour in small as well as great things, and from your words as well as actions." This judgment showed plainly enough, that although Demetrius had cleared himself with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother's life, Philip, however, suspected him from the connexions with the Romans. These were in a manner the first seeds of the war that were sown in Philip's lifetime, and which were to ripen under Perseus his successor.

The king, some time after, sent A. M. 3823. Philotes and Appelles as his ambassadors to Rome; not so much with the design of employing them in any negotiation, as to gain information how the inhabitants of that city stood affected with regard to Demetrius; and to inquire secretly into what he had said there (particularly to Quintus), respecting the succession to the throne. Philip imagined that these two men were not attached to any party; but they were Perseus's adherents, and had engaged in his conspiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was transacting, (his brother's accusation excepted,) had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father; especially when he found that his brother had so ordered matters that he could not have the least access to him. All he therefore endeavoured was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to give no ground for suspicion and envy. He avoided speaking of the Romans, or holding the least correspondence with them, even by letter, knowing it was this that chiefly incensed the Macedonians against him. He ought to have taken these precautions sooner; but this young prince, who had

no experience, and was frank and sincere, and judged of others from himself, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whose intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedonia, that from the top of mount Hæmus the Black Sea and the Adriatic, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be discovered, had the curiosity to ascertain the truth of it himself; imagining that this prospect might be of some service to the design he meditated, of making Italy the seat of war. He only took Perseus with him, and sent Demetrius into Macedonia; appointing Didas, governor of Pæonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to escort him. This man was a creature of Perseus, who had taught him his lesson perfectly; and exhorted him, above all things, to insinuate himself as artfully as possible into the good graces of the young prince, in order to discover all his secrets.

Didas executed his commission but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius said, lamented his ill fate, seemed to detest the injustice and insincerity of his enemies, who represented him, on all occasions, in the most odious light to his father; and offered to serve him, to the utmost, in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at last resolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means (for it was necessary to pass through Pæonia, of which Didas, as I observed above, was governor,) and accordingly he revealed his design to him. Didas, without loss of time, sent advice of this to Perseus, and the latter to king Philip; who, after having undergone inexpressible fatigues in his journey up mount Hæmus, was returned from his expedition with no better information than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not, however, refuse the vulgar opinion; in all probability, that they might not expose so ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the public; rather than because they had seen from one and the same spot, rivers, seas, and mountains, at so vast a distance from one another. Be this as it may, the king was at that time employed in the siege of a city called Petra, when the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, Demetrius's bosom-friend, was seized, and strict orders were given to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedonia, was seized with a deep melancholy. This last attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him to wait the return of the ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, and who had been taught their lesson before they left Macedonia. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them; and presented the king with a forged letter, sealed with the counterfeit seal of T. Quintus, in which he desired Philip, "not to be offended at his son Demetrius, for some unguarded expressions which might have escaped him with respect to the succession to the crown; assuring him that he would not engage in any attempt contrary to the ties of blood and nature." He concluded with observing, "that he was very far from ever giving him such counsel." This letter confirmed all that Perseus had advanced against his brother. Herodotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack, without charging his master with any thing.

Perseus again accused his brother before the king. His having projected the design of flying to the Romans through Pæonia, and of bribing certain persons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him as a crime. But the circumstance which bore hardest against him was, the forged letter of Quintus. His father nevertheless did not declare himself publicly against him, resolving to make away with him secretly; not out of regard to his son, but lest the noise which the bringing him to execution would make, should discover too visibly the designs he projected against Rome. At his leaving Thessalonica to go to Demetrius he commanded Didas to despatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pæonia, poisoned him at an entertainment that was made after a sacrifice. Demetrius had no sooner drunk the deadly draught, than he

found himself seized with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pains increasing, two of Didas's domestics entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and stifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deserved a much better fate.

Almost two years were elapsed

A. M. 3825. before the conspiracy of Perseus Ant. J. C. 179. against his brother was discovered.¹

In the mean time Philip, tortured by grief and remorse, incessantly deplored his son's murder, and reproached himself with his cruelty. His surviving son, who looked upon himself already as king, and to whom the courtiers began to attach themselves, from the expectation that he would soon be their sovereign, gave him no less pain. It was infinitely shocking to him to see his old age despised; some waiting with the utmost impatience for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

Among those who had access to him, Antigonus held the first rank. He was nephew of another Antigonus,² who had been Philip's guardian; and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the person of his prince, in the midst of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perseus had never cared for him; but this inviolable attachment to his father had made him his professed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be exposed when that prince should succeed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought, and would from time to time sigh and weep for his son Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that disposition; and sometimes listening to his discourse on that subject, at other times beginning it himself, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been conducted, he entered into his sentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves some footsteps by which in may be discerned, he used his utmost endeavours to trace out the secret intrigues of Perseus's conspiracy.

The persons who had had the greatest concern in that affair, and of whom the strongest suspicion might with the greatest justice be entertained, were Appelles and Philocles, who had been sent ambassadors to Rome, and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quintus Flaminius, the letter which had proved so fatal to the young prince. It was generally whispered at court that this whole letter was forged; but still this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Appelles and Philocles in quality of secretary of the embassy, happened upon some occasion to apply to Antigonus. Immediately he put him under an arrest, caused him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a strong guard, went to Philip. "I imagined," says he, "royal sir, from several things I have heard you say, that nothing could give you greater pleasure than to know exactly what idea you ought to entertain of your two sons; and to ascertain which of them it was that made an attempt on the other's life. You now have in your power the man who is best able to give you a perfect account of that whole affair, and this is Xychus. He is now in your palace, and you may command him to be sent for." Xychus being immediately brought in, at first denied every thing; but so very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full discovery, upon being ever so little intimidated. Accordingly, the instant that the officer of justice appeared, he made a full confession, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambassadors, and the share he himself had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was seized; but Appelles, who was absent, hearing that Xychus had made a full discovery, fled to Italy. History does not inform us of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend that after having resolutely denied the charge

at first, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other historians, he bore the torture with the utmost fortitude, and asserted his innocence to the last gasp. All these things only revived and augmented the sorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections on his murdered son, or on him who was still living.

Perseus, being informed that his whole plot had been discovered, knew too well his own power and influence to believe it necessary to secure himself by flight. The only precaution he took was, a resolution to keep at a distance from court as long as his father should live, in order to withdraw himself from his resentment.

Philip did not entertain the hope of having it in his power to seize Perseus, and bring him to condign punishment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying, with impunity, the fruits of his guilt. In this view he sent for Antigonus, to whose great care he owed the discovery of the conspiracy; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his personal merit, and of his uncle Antigonus's recent fame and glory, to fill the Macedonian throne. "Reduced," says Philip, "to the deplorable necessity of wishing that to be my fate, which other fathers detest as the most dreadful calamity that can befall them (the being childless); I am now resolving to bequeath to you a kingdom, for which I am indebted to the guardianship of your uncle; and which he not only preserved by his fidelity, but enlarged considerably by his valour. I know no man worthy of the crown but yourself. And were there none capable of wearing it with dignity, I had infinitely rather it should be lost for ever, than that Perseus should have it as the reward of his infamous perfidy. Methinks I shall see Demetrius risen from the sepulchre, and restored to his father, if I can substitute you in his place; you, who alone bewailed the untimely death of my dear son, and the unhappy credulity which proved his destruction."

After this he bestowed the highest honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the most advantageous light to the public. Whilst Perseus resided in Thrace, Philip made a progress through several cities of Macedonia, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greatest distinction, with the utmost zeal and affection; and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he would have put him in possession of the throne. Having left Demetrius, he made a considerable stay in Thessalonica, from whence he went to Amphipolis, where he fell dangerously ill. The physicians declared, that his sickness proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and he frequently imagined he saw, in the dead of night, the ghost of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curses on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his sons with a shower of tears, and venting imprecations against the other. Antigonus might have been raised to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes the physician, who presided in all the consultations, did not stay till the king had breathed his last; but the very instant he saw that it was impossible for him to recover, he despatched couriers to Perseus; it having been agreed between them that he should keep some in readiness for that purpose; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perseus appeared, whose sudden arrival surprised all people. He then took possession of the crown which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned eleven years; the last four of which were employed in war against the Romans, for which he had made preparations from the time of his accession to the throne. At last, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the series of Perseus's history, which has scarce any connexion with that of the other kings, I shall defer it to the following book, where it shall be related at large, and without interruption.

¹ Liv. l. xl. n. 54—57. ² He was surnamed *Dosen*.

SECTION II.—THE DEATH OF SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR, WHOSE REIGN WAS SHORT AND OBSCURE. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS BROTHER ANTIOCHUS, SUR-NAMED EPIPHANES. CAUSES OF THE WAR WHICH AFTERWARDS BROKE OUT BETWEEN THE KINGS OF EGYPT AND SYRIA. ANTIOCHUS GAINS A VICTORY OVER PTOLEMY. THE CONQUEROR POSSESSES HIMSELF OF EGYPT, AND TAKES THE KING PRISONER. A REPORT PREVAILING OF A GENERAL REVOLT, HE GOES INTO PALESTINE; BESIEGES AND TAKES JERUSALEM, WHERE HE EXERCISES THE MOST HORRID CRUELITIES. THE ALEXANDRIANS, IN THE ROOM OF PHILOMETOR, WHO WAS ANTIOCHUS'S PRISONER, RAISE TO THE THRONE HIS YOUNGER BROTHER PTOLEMY EUERGETES, SUR-NAMED ALSO PHYSCON. ANTIOCHUS RENEWS THE WAR WITH EGYPT. THE TWO BROTHERS ARE RECONCILED. HE MARCHES TOWARDS ALEXANDRIA, IN ORDER TO LAY SIEGE TO IT. POPILIUS, ONE OF THE ROMAN AMBASSADORS, OBLIGES HIM TO QUIT EGYPT AND NOT TO MOLEST THE TWO BROTHERS.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR did not reign long in Asia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the second book of Maccabees.¹ The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. The piety and resolution of Onias, the high priest, caused the laws of God to be strictly observed there, and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the highest veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furnished, from his own private revenues, all that was necessary for the solemnization of the sacrifices. Nevertheless, the perfidy of a Jew called Simon, governor of the temple, raised on a sudden great disorder in the city. This man, to revenge himself of the opposition which Onias the high priest made to his unjust enterprises, informed the king that there were immense treasures in the temple, which were not designed for the expenses of the sacrifices, and that he might seize upon them all. The king, on this information, sent Heliodorus his first minister to Jerusalem, with orders to carry off all those treasures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-priest with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey, and asked him whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treasure, was true. The high-priest told him, that these treasures were only deposited there as in trust, and were allotted to the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not absolutely dispose of them to the prejudice of those to whom they belonged; and who imagined that they could not secure them better, than by depositing them in a temple, the holiness of which was revered throughout the whole universe. This treasure consisted of 400 talents of silver (about 50,000*l.* sterling,) and 200 talents of gold (300,000*l.* sterling.) However, the minister sent from the prince, insisting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly that this money, whatever might be the consequence, must all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the intention to execute his commission. Immediately the whole city was seized with the utmost terror. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; beseeching the God of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to deposits, to preserve those laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly besought the Creator upon their knees, not to suffer so holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with sackcloth, were seen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a spectacle truly worthy of compassion, to see such multitudes, and especially the high-priest, pierced with the deepest affliction, under the apprehension of so impious a sacrilege.

By this time, Heliodorus, with his guards, was

come to the gate of the treasury, and preparing to break it open. But the Spirit of the Almighty² now revealed himself by the most sensible marks; inasmuch that all those who had dared to obey Heliodorus, were struck down by a divine power, and seized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties. For there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which rushing at once upon Heliodorus, struck him several times with his fore-feet. The man who sat on this horse had a terrible aspect, and his arms seemed of gold. At the same time there were seen two young men, whose beauty dazzled the eye, and who, standing on each side of Heliodorus, scourged him incessantly, and in the most violent manner. Heliodorus, falling to the ground, was taken up, and put into his litter; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to succour him; and that, because the power of God had displayed itself in the strongest manner. By the same power he was cast to the ground speechless, and without the least sign of life; whilst the temple, which before resounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raised the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But now, some of Heliodorus's friends besought the high-priest to invoke God in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a sacrifice for his health. Whilst he was praying, the two young men above-mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and said to him: "Return thanks to Onias the high-priest; for it is for his sake that the Lord has granted you life. After having been chastened of GOD, declare unto the whole world his miraculous power." Having spoken these words, they vanished.

Heliodorus offered up sacrifices and made solemn vows to him who had restored him to life. He returned thanks to Onias, and went his way; declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye-witness. The king asking him, whether he believed that another person might be sent with safety to Jerusalem, he answered; "In case you have an enemy or any traitorous wretch who has a design upon your crown, send him thither; and you will see him return back flayed with scourging, if indeed he return at all. For he who inhabiteth the heavens is himself present in that place: he is the guardian and protector of it; and he strikes those mortally who go thither to injure it."

The king was soon punished for this sacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great having, after his defeat at Sipylus concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before-mentioned, had given them, among other hostages, Antiochus, one of his sons, and the younger brother of Seleucus. He had resided thirteen years in Rome.³ Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reason is not known; (perhaps to put him at the head of some military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing;) and to obtain him, he sent Demetrius his only son, who was but twelve years of age, to Rome, as a hostage in Antiochus's room. During the absence of the A. M. 3829. whom was gone to Rome, (one of Ant. J. C. 175. the other not returned from it.) Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty, seize upon it, by taking off Seleucus; and accordingly he poisoned him.

In this manner was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel. After speaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, he adds, "Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom:⁴ but within a few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle."⁵ These few words denote evidently the

² Sed Spiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit sue ostentationis evidantiam.

³ Appian, in Syr. p. 116.

⁴ Dan. xi. 20.

⁵ The Hebrew word may signify either days or years.

¹ 2 Maccab. iii.

short and obscure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out still more clearly. "There shall rise up in his place," of Antiochus, "a man who, as an extortioner, a collector of taxes, shall cause to pass away," shall destroy, "the glory of the kingdom." And, indeed, this was the sole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furnish the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, 1000 talents annually;¹ and the twelve years of this tribute end exactly with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

Antiochus² afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, heard at Athens of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told that the usurper had a very strong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whose claim was founded in right of his mother, the late king's sister. Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who seated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel (from verse 21 of chapter xi. to the end of chapter xii.) foretells every thing that was to befall Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elsewhere by the "little horn which was to issue out of one of the four large horns."³ I shall explain this prophecy hereafter.

Here (chap. xi. verse 21.) the prophet describes his accession to the throne. "And in his" Seleucus's, "estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries." Antiochus's conduct will show how vile he was. It is said, "that to him they shall not give the honours of the kingdom." He did not obtain the crown either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son who was his lawful heir, or by the free choice of the people; Eumenes and Attalus having set it on his head. Being returned from the west peaceably (or rather secretly) to surprise his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a specious appearance of clemency.

He assumed the title of Epiphanes,⁴ that is, illustrious, which title was never worse applied. The whole series of his life will show, that he deserved much more that of Epimanes, (mad or furious) which some people gave him.

Some circumstances related of him, prove how justly the epithet vile is bestowed upon him in Scripture. He used frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domestics, and ramble up and down the streets of Antioch. He would spend his time in talking with goldsmiths and engravers in their shops, and in disputing with them on the most minute particulars relating to the arts they professed, and which he ridiculously boasted he understood as well as they. He would very often stoop so low as to converse with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places where they were assembled. On these occasions he would sit and drink with foreigners of the meanest condition in life. Whenever he heard of pleasure between young people, he used to go (without saying a word to any person) and join in all their wanton fooleries; would carouse and sing with them, without observing the least moderation or decorum. He sometimes would take it into his head to divest himself of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe; and in that garb would go from street to street, as he had seen the candidates at Rome do at an election for magistrates. He asked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another, and sometimes would canvass for the office of ædile, and at other times for that of tribune. After having got himself elected, he would call for the Curule chair,⁵ and, seating himself in it, would judge the petty suits relating to contracts of buying or selling, and pronounce sentence with as

much seriousness and gravity as if he decided affairs of the utmost importance. We are likewise told that he was very much given to drinking; that he squandered away a great part of his revenues in excess and debauch; and that, when intoxicated with liquor, he would frequently scour up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, "Catch as catch can." At other times, he would leave his palace, (dressed in a Roman robe, with a crown of roses on his head,) and walk without attendants about the streets; on which occasions, if any person offered to follow him, he used to pelt them with stones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe, for that purpose. He often used to go and bathe himself in the public baths with the common people, where he committed such extravagancies, as made every body despise him. After what has been said, (and I omit a great many other particulars,) I submit to the reader's judgment, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of madman, rather than that of illustrious.

Scarce was Antiochus well seated on the throne,⁶ when Jason, brother A. M. 3830. of Onias the Jewish high-priest, hav- Ant. J. C. 174. ing formed a design to supplant his brother, offered that prince, secretly, 360 talents (about 90,000*l.* sterling,) besides 80 more (about 12,000*l.*) for another article, upon condition that he should appoint him high-priest. He succeeded in his negotiation; and accordingly Onias, who was universally revered for his strict piety and justice, was deposed, and Jason established in his room. The latter subverted entirely the religion of his ancestors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewish nation, as appears from the second book of the Maccabees and Josephus.

In Egypt,⁷ from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, Ant. J. C. 173. had assumed the regency and the guardianship of her young son; and had acquitted herself with the greatest care and prudence. But she dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to superintend the king's education. These were no sooner in their employments, than they sent a deputation to demand Cæle-syria and Palestine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very soon after occasioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of these kings and sister to the other, had prevented them as long as she lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not show so much regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand of him what they believed their sovereign's right. It is certain that the Egyptian monarchs had always possessed the sovereignty of these provinces from the time of the first Ptolemy,⁸ till Antiochus the Great wrested them from Ptolemy Epiphanes, and left them to Seleucus his son, with no other right than that of conquest. They had descended from the latter to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretensions, declared, that in the last division of the empire between the four successors of Alexander, who remained masters of every thing after the battle of Ipsus, these provinces had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter: that himself and his successors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time till the battle of Pænæus, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to dispossess Egypt of those provinces: that this price had stipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to restore to him at the same time those provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage contract.

Antiochus denied both these facts: and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general division which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria (including Cæle-syria and Palestine) had been assigned to Seleucus Nicator; and that consequently they

¹ About 150,000*l.*

² Appian, in Syr. p. 116, 117. Hieron. in Dan.

³ Dan. viii. 9.

⁴ Athen. l. v. p. 193.

⁵ This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magistrates.

⁶ 2 Maccab. e. iv.

⁷ Polyb. in Legat. e. lxxii. lxxiii.

⁸ Hieron. in Dan

belonged to the prince in possession of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back those provinces, he asserted that it was an absolute chimera. In fine, after having given their reasons on both sides without coming to any conclusion, they found it necessary to decide their pretensions by force of arms.

Ptolemy Philometor,¹ having entered his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the solemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian custom. Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador, to be present on that occasion, and to congratulate the young king in his name. This, in outward appearance, was to do honour to his nephew; but the real motive was, to discover, if possible, the designs of that court with respect to the provinces of Cæle-syria and Palestine, as well as what measures were taking with regard to them. The instant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by sea to Joppa, visited the frontiers of the country, and put it into a condition of defending itself against all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progress he passed through Jerusalem. Jason and the whole city received him there with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the honours paid him in Jerusalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city and the whole Jewish nation. From Jerusalem he went to Phœnicia; and, after having settled all things in every place through which he passed, he returned to Antioch.

The same Apollonius who has been just mentioned,² had been sent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embassy. He made excuses to the senate for his master's having sent the tribute later than was stipulated by the treaty. Besides the sum due, he made a present to the people of several golden vases. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendship which had been granted his father should be renewed with him; and desired that the Romans would give him such orders as suited a king, who valued himself on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his sovereign could never forget the great favours he had received from the senate; from all the youths of Rome; and from persons of all ranks and conditions, during his abode in that city, where he had been treated not merely as a hostage, but as a monarch. The senate made an obliging answer to these several particulars, and dismissed Apollonius with the highest marks of distinction, and laden with presents. It was well known, from the Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much esteemed by the king, and had the highest regard for the Romans.

Jason,³ the year following, sent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay Ant. J. C. 172. the tribute to the king, and to negotiate some affairs of importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, instead of confining himself to his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office, by offering 300 talents more than he did. This new choice gave rise to tumults, disorders, murders, and sacrilegious acts; but the death of Onias, who was universally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, hard-hearted as he was, however, lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign punishment. I make only a transient mention of these facts, and omit the principal circumstances of them, because they belong properly to the history of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only such particulars at large as are too important to be entirely omitted, or which cannot be abridged in such a manner as to preserve their beauty.

Antiochus,⁴ who from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court had been preparing for the war with which he saw himself threatened

by Ptolemy on account of Cæle-syria and Palestine, finding himself in a condition to begin it, resolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined that as Ptolemy was but sixteen, and was governed entirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. He was persuaded that the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, had so much upon their hands, that it would be impossible for them to give the latter the least succour; and that the war they were carrying on against Perseus, king of Macedon, would not allow them leisure for it. In a word, he thought the present juncture very favourable for him to decide his differences with the Egyptians on account of those provinces.

In the mean time, to observe measures with the Romans, he sent ambassadors to the senate to represent the right he had to the provinces of Cæle-syria and Palestine, of which he was actually possessed, and the necessity he was under of engaging in a war in order to support that right: immediately after which he put himself at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his near mount Casius and Pelusium; and a battle was fought, in which Antiochus was victorious. He made so good a use of his success, that he put the frontier in a condition to serve as a barrier, and to check the utmost efforts the Egyptians might make to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into Egypt; after which, without engaging in any other enterprise that year, he returned to Tyre, and placed his army in winter quarters in the neighbourhood of that city.

During his stay there,⁵ three persons, deputed from the sanhedrim of Jerusalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved in his presence to be guilty of impiety and sacrilege. The king was going to condemn him; but at the request of Ptolemy Macron, one of his ministers in the interest of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies, as false witnesses: an action, says the author of the Maccabees, so very unjust, "that before the Scythians they would have been judged innocent."⁶ The Tyrians, touched with compassion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

This Ptolemy Macron,⁷ having formerly been governor of the island of Cyprus, under king Ptolemy Philometor, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the ministers, though they made the warmest remonstrances upon that head; but had constantly refused to pay any attention to them, in consequence of the well-founded suspicions he entertained of their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole treasure to Alexandria, and deposited it in the exchequer: a rare instance of a noble disregard of wealth, in a man who had the public finances at his disposal! So considerable a sum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him prodigious influence at court. But afterwards, exasperated at some ill treatment he met with from the ministers, or at his not having been rewarded as he wished for so important a service, he rebelled against Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus's service, and delivered up the island of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite satisfaction, took him into the number of his confidants, made him governor of Cæle-syria and Palestine, and sent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the castle at Jerusalem under Sostratus. Frequent mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the Books of the Maccabees.

Antiochus spent the whole winter in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into Egypt; and the instant the season would permit it, invaded that country both by sea and land. Ptolemy had raised a very considerable army, but it was unable to make head against Antiochus; for that monarch gained

¹ 2 Maccab. iv. 21, 22.

² Liv. l. xlii. n. 6.

³ 2 Maccab. iv. 23, &c.

⁴ Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxi. lxxii. Justin.

⁵ l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. Legat. xviii. Hieron. in Daniel,

VOL. II.—25

⁶ 2 Maccab. iv. 41—50. ⁷ Ibid. 47.

⁸ Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 12; vi. 8; iv. 29, and 1 Maccab. iii. 38.

second battle on the frontiers, took the city of Pelusium, and marched into the very heart of Egypt. In this last defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have suffered a single man to escape; but the more completely to ruin his nephew, instead of making use of the advantage he had gained, he himself rode up and down on all sides, and obliged his soldiers to discontinue the slaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their submission to him; so that he soon took Memphis and all the rest of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out against him.¹

Philometor was either taken or else surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at full liberty. After this they had but one table; lived, seemingly, in great friendship; and, for some time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the interests of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But when he had once possessed himself of the country, under that pretext he seized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himself, as well as his soldiers, with the spoils of the Egyptians.

Philometor made a miserable figure all this time.² In the field, he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shown himself to those who fought for him. And after the battle, in how abject a manner did he submit himself to Antiochus, by whom he suffered himself to be dispossessed of so fine a kingdom, without making any effort to preserve it? This, however, was not so much owing to want of courage and natural capacity, (for he afterwards gave proofs of both,) as the effects of his soft and effeminate education under Eulaeus his governor. That eunuch, who also was his prime minister, had used his utmost endeavours to plunge him in luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of public business, and to make himself as necessary when the young prince came of age as he had been during his minority; and thereby retain all power in his own hands.

Whilst Antiochus was in Egypt,³ a false report of his death spread throughout Palestine. Jason thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had lost in that country. Accordingly, he marched with a few more than 1000 men to Jerusalem; and there, by the assistance of his partisans in the city, made himself master of it, drove out Menelaus, who withdrew to the citadel, exercised every species of cruelty upon his fellow-citizens, and put to death, without mercy, all those who fell into his hands, and whom he considered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general insurrection, and therefore set forward immediately to quell it. The circumstance which chiefly exasperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings, when a false report had prevailed of his death. He therefore besieged the city; took it by storm; and, during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, he caused 80,000 men to be inhumanly butchered. Forty thousand were also taken prisoners, and the like number sold to the neighbouring nations.

But not yet satisfied, this impious wretch entered forcibly into the temple, as far as the sanctuary and the most sacred places; even polluting, by his presence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding sacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of incense, the table for the show-bread, the candlestick with seven branches, belonging to the sanctuary, (all these were of gold,) with several other vases, utensils, and gifts of kings, also of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch laden with the spoils of Judea and Egypt,

which together amounted to immense sums.⁴ To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his setting out, appointed, as governor over Judea, a Phrygian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty. He nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous disposition, governor of Samaria; and bestowed on Menelaus, the most wicked of the three, the title of high-priest, investing him with the authority annexed to the office.

Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold at Jerusalem by strange phenomena in the skies,⁵ that had appeared there, some time before, during forty days successively. These were men, some on horseback and others on foot, armed with shields, lances, and swords, who, forming considerable bodies, combated in the air, like two hostile armies.

The Alexandrians,⁶ seeing Philometor in the hands of Antiochus, A. M. 3835. whom he suffered to govern his Ant. J. C. 169. kingdom at discretion, considered him as lost to them, and therefore seated his younger brother upon the throne, which they first declared void. On this occasion he had the name of Ptolemy Evergetes II. given him, which was soon changed to that of Cacergetes; the former signifying beneficent, and the latter evil-doer. He afterwards was nicknamed Physcon,⁷ or tun-bellied, because his gluttony had made him remarkably corpulent. Most historians mention him under the latter epithet.⁸ Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief ministers, and were ordered to use their utmost endeavours to restore, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom, now so dilapidated, to their former flourishing condition.

Antiochus, who had advice of what was transacting, took occasion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under the specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch; but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a sea-fight near Pelusium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly towards Alexandria in order to besiege it. The young king consulted his two ministers, who advised him to summon a grand council, composed of all the principal officers of the army, and to deliberate with them on the measures proper to be taken in the present exigency. After many debates, they came at last to this resolution; that, as their affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, it would be absolutely necessary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors of the several states of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, should be desired to employ their mediation; to which they readily consented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus, with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambassadors, who had the same instructions. He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed the next day for them to make their proposals. The Achæans spoke first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All were unanimous in their accusation of Eulaeus; ascribing the calamities of the war to his mal-administration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometor. At the same time, they apologized in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetoric to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with him; laying great stress on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the answer he gave, agreed entirely with them, as to the cause and origin of the war; took occasion from thence to expatiate on the right he had to Coele-syria and Palestine: alleged the reasons we have related above; and produced some documents, which were judged so strong, that all the members of this congress were convinced of the justice of his claim to those provinces. As to the conditions of

⁴ We are told in the Maccabees, Book II. ch. i. v. 21, that he carried off from the temple alone 1800 talents, which are equivalent to about 270,000*l.* sterling.

⁵ 2 Maccab. v. 2-4.

⁶ Porphy. in Græc. Euseb Scalig.

⁷ Athen. l. iv. p. 184.

⁸ Φυσκων, *ventricosus, obesus*; from *εὐσκη, crassum, intestinum, center.* ⁹ Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxxi.

¹ 2 Maccab. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17-20. Hieron. in Dan.

² Jod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 311.

³ Justin. l. xxiv. c. 2. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.

⁴ 1 Maccab. i. 20-29. 2 Maccab. v. 5-21. Joseph.

⁵ Tntiq. l. xii. c. 7. Diod. l. xxiv. Eclog. l. Hieron. in Dan.

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the peace, he postponed them till another opportunity; giving them reason to hope that he would cause a solemn treaty to be drawn up, as soon as two absent persons, whom he named, should be with him; declaring, at the same time, that he would not take a single step without them.

After this answer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to besiege it. In this extremity,¹ Ptolemy Euergetes and Cleopatra his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to Rome, representing the deplorable condition to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambassadors appeared in the audience to which they were admitted by the senate, with all the marks of sorrow used at that time in the greatest afflictions, and made a speech still more affecting. They observed that the authority of the Romans was so much revered by all nations and kings; and that Antiochus particularly had received so many obligations from them; that if they would only declare by their ambassadors, that the senate did not approve of his making war against kings in alliance with Rome, they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria: that should the senate refuse to afford them protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and that it would reflect a dishonour on the Romans, to have neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were so desperate.

The senate, moved with their remonstrances, and persuaded that it would not be for the interest of the Romans to suffer Antiochus to attain to such a height of power, and that he would be too formidable should he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, resolved to send an embassy to Egypt to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hostilius, were appointed for this important negotiation. Their instructions were, that they should first wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; should order them, in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war; and that should either of the parties refuse compliance, the Romans would no longer consider them as their friend or ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution had been taken in the senate, they set out from Rome with the Egyptian ambassadors.

A little before their departure,² some ambassadors from Rhodes arrived in Egypt, who came expressly to terminate, if possible, the disputes between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's camp. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to come to an accommodation with the king of Egypt; strongly insisting on the friendship with which both crowns had so long honoured them; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to settle a lasting peace between them. As they expatiated considerably on these common-place topics, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in few words, that they had no occasion to make long harangues on this subject; that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace and contracted a strict friendship; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

These indeed were his words, but his intentions were very different; his views being only to perplex affairs for the attainment of his own ends.³ The resistance he met with from Alexandria, the siege of which he plainly saw he should be forced to raise, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that it would henceforward be his interest to keep up an enmity and occasion a war between the two brothers, which might weaken them to such a degree, that it should be in his power to overpower both whenever he pleased. In this view he raised the siege, marched towards Memphis, and gave Philometor, in outward appearance, possession of the whole kingdom, Pelusium excepted, which he kept as a key for en-

tering Egypt when he pleased, and the instant matters should be ripe for his purpose. After having made these dispositions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometor began at last to wake from the lethargy into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, and to be sensible of all the calamities these revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to see through Antiochus's design; and that king's keeping possession of Pelusium opened his eyes. He saw plainly, that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view than to re-enter it, when his brother and himself should be reduced so low, by the war which they carried on against each other, as to be unable to make the least resistance; and that then, both would fall victims to his ambition. The instant, therefore, that Antiochus marched away, he sent to inform his brother that he was willing to come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected by the mediation of Cleopatra their sister, on condition that the two brothers should reign jointly. Philometor returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alexandria, who had suffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus spoken from his heart, when he declared that the sole design of his coming into Egypt was to restore Philometor to his throne, he would have been pleased to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining such thoughts; and I before observed, that he concealed beneath those specious professions, an intention to crush the two brothers, after they should have weakened each other by a war.

The brothers,⁴ convinced that Antiochus would again invade them with great vigour, sent ambassadors into Greece to desire some auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The assembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requested only one thousand foot under the command of Lycortas, and two hundred horse, under Polybius. They had also given orders for raising 1000 mercenary troops. Callicrates, who presided in the assembly, opposed the request made by the ambassadors, under the pretence that it would not be for the interest of the Achæan confederates to concern themselves in any manner with foreign affairs; but that they ought to preserve their soldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would soon come to a battle with Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius then speaking, observed, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcus, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to send him; the consul, when he thanked him, said, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he should not want the aid of the allies; and therefore that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Besides that, as the league was able without the least inconvenience to levy 30 or 40,000 men, so small a number as was desired by the Egyptian princes would not lessen their strength: that the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they now had of aiding the two kings: that it would be the highest ingratitude in them to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians; and that their refusal on this occasion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates dismissed the ambassadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate an affair of that nature in such an assembly.

Another therefore was held, some time after, in Sicyon; and as the members were upon the point of taking the same resolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcus, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemies and Antiochus; and in consequence caused a decree to pass, whereby the Achæan confederates agreed to send only an embassy to those princes.

¹ Liv. l. xlv. n. 12. Polyb. Legat. xc.

² Polyb. Legat. lxxiv.

³ Liv. l. xiv. n. 11.

⁴ Polyb. Legat. lxxxix-xci.

The instant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers,¹ he resolved to employ his whole force against them. Accordingly he sent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preserve the possession of that island: at the same time he marched at the head of a very powerful land army, with the design to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cause of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambassadors from Philometor, who told him, that their sovereign was very sensible that he owed his restoration to Antiochus; that he conjured him not to destroy his own work by employing force and arms; but on the contrary to acquaint him amicably with his pretensions. Antiochus, throwing off the mask, no longer used the tender and affectionate expressions of which he had till then been so ostentatiously lavish, but declared himself at once an enemy to both. He told the ambassadors, that he insisted upon having the island of Cyprus, with the city of Pelusium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile on which it was situated, resigned to him for ever; assuring them, that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He also fixed a day for a final answer to his demand.

The time being elapsed, and the satisfaction he claimed not being made, he began hostilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, subjecting the whole country through which he passed; and there received the submission of almost all the rest of the kingdom. He afterwards marched towards Alexandria, with design to besiege that city, the possession of which would have made him absolute master of all Egypt. He would certainly have succeeded in his enterprise, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embassy, which broke all the measures he had been so long taking, in order to possess himself of Egypt.

We before observed, that the ambassadors who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmost diligence. They landed at Alexandria, just at the time Antiochus was marching to besiege it. The ambassadors came up with him at Eleusine,² which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king seeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome when he was a hostage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him as his old friend. The Roman, who did not consider himself on that occasion as a private man, but as a servant of the public, desired to know, before he answered his compliment, whether he spoke to a friend or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate, bade him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he had in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raising his voice; "Answer," says he, "the senate, before you stir out of that circle." The king, quite confounded at so haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied that he would act according to the desire of the senate. Popilius then received his civilities; and behaved afterwards in all respects as an old friend. How important was the effect of this blunt loftiness of sentiment and expression!³ The Roman with a few words strikes terror into the king of Syria, and saves the king of Egypt.

The circumstance which made the one so bold, and the other so submissive, was the news that arrived just before of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perseus, king of Macedonia. From that instant every thing gave way before them; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time stipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria,

¹ Liv. l. xlv. n. 11—13. Polyb. Legat. xcii.

² Turnebus and H. Valesius think that we should read, in Livy, *Eleusinem* instead of *Leusinem*.

³ Quam efficax est animi sermonisque abscissa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Ægypti tonit.—*Fal. Naz.* l. vi. c. 4.

where he brought to a conclusion the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had hitherto been but slightly sketched out. He then crossed into Cyprus; sent home Antiochus's fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians; restored the whole island to the kings of Egypt, who had a just claim to it; and returned to Rome, in order to acquaint the senate with the success of his embassy.

Ambassadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemies, and Cleopatra their sister, arrived there almost at the same time. The former said, "That the peace which the senate had been pleased to grant their sovereign, appeared to him more glorious than the most splendid conquests; and that he had obeyed the commands of the Roman ambassadors, as strictly as if they had been sent from the gods." How grovelling, and at the same time how impious, was all this! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perseus. The rest of the ambassadors declared, in the like extravagant strain, "That the two Ptolemies and Cleopatra thought themselves bound in as great obligations to the senate and people of Rome, as to their parents, and even to the gods; having been delivered by the protection which Rome had granted them, from a very grievous siege; and re-established on the throne of their ancestors, of which they had been almost entirely dispossessed." The senate answered, "That Antiochus acted wisely in paying obedience to the ambassadors: and that the people and senate of Rome were pleased with him for it." Methinks this is carrying the spirit of haughtiness as high as possible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was answered, "That the senate were very much pleased with the opportunity of doing them some service: and that they would endeavour to make them sensible, that they ought to look upon the friendship and protection of the Romans as the most solid support of their kingdom." The praetor was then ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents.

SECTION III.—ANTIOCHUS, ENRAGED AT WHAT HAD HAPPENED TO HIM IN EGYPT, WREAKS HIS VENGEANCE ON THE JEWS. HE ENDEAVOURS TO ABOLISH THE WORSHIP OF THE TRUE GOD IN JERUSALEM. HE EXERCISES THE MOST HORRID CRUELITIES IN THAT CITY. THE GENEROUS RESISTANCE MADE BY MATTHATHIAS, WHO IN HIS EXPIRING MOMENTS, EXHORTS HIS SONS TO FIGHT IN DEFENCE OF THE LAW OF GOD. JUDAS MACCABEUS GAINS SEVERAL VICTORIES OVER THE GENERALS AND ARMIES OF ANTIOCHUS. THAT PRINCE, WHO HAD MARCHED INTO PERSIA, IN ORDER TO AMASS TREASURES THERE, ATTEMPTS TO PLUNDER A RICH TEMPLE IN ELYMAIS, BUT IS SHAMEFULLY REFUSED. HEARING THAT HIS ARMIES HAD BEEN DEFEATED IN JUDEA, HE SETS OUT ON A SUDDEN TO EXTIRPATE ALL THE JEWS. IN HIS MARCH, HE IS STRUCK BY THE HAND OF HEAVEN, AND DIES IN THE GREATEST TORMENTS, AFTER HAVING REIGNED ELEVEN YEARS.

ANTIOCHUS,⁴ at his return from Egypt, exasperated to see forcibly A. M. 3836. torn from him by the Romans a Ant. J. C. 168. crown which he looked upon already as his own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Palestine, he detached 22,000 men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to destroy the city of Jerusalem.

Apollonius arrived there just two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his first coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received such cruel orders, and waited till the first sabbath-day before he executed them. But then, seeing all the people assembled peaceably in the synagogues, and engaged in paying their religious worship to the Creator; he put in execution the barbarous commission he had received, and setting all his troops

⁴ 1 Maccab. i. 30—40, and 2 Maccab. v. 24—27. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

upon them, he commanded them to cut to pieces all the men, and to seize all the women and children, in order that they might be exposed to sale. These commands were obeyed with the utmost cruelty and rigour. Not a single man was spared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, inasmuch that the streets streamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered; and fire set to several parts of it, after all the riches that could be found had been carried off. They demolished such parts of the houses as were still standing; and, with the ruins, built a strong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, opposite to the temple, which it commanded. They threw a strong garrison into it, to awe the whole Jewish nation; they made it a place for arms, furnished with good magazines, where they deposited all the spoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From thence the garrison fell on all who came to worship the true God in the temple: and shed their blood on every part of the sanctuary, which they polluted by all possible methods. A stop was put to the morning and evening sacrifices; not one of the servants of the true God daring to come and adore him there.

As soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch,¹ he published a decree, by which the several nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aside their ancient religious ceremonies and their particular usages; and to conform to the religion of the king, and to worship the same gods, and after the same manner, as he did. This decree, though expressed in general terms, was nevertheless aimed chiefly at the Jews, whose religion, as well as their nation, he was absolutely determined to extirpate.

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he sent commissioners into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to see it put in execution, and to instruct the people in all the ceremonies and customs to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. However little affected we might suppose them to be with the change of their worship or gods, they however were not very well pleased with this innovation in religious matters. No people seemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court than the Samaritans. They presented a petition to the king, in which they declared themselves not to be Jews; and desired that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular,² might henceforward be dedicated to the Grecian Jupiter, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciously; and ordered Nicanor, deputy-governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter as they had desired, and not to molest them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apostates who forsook their God and their law in this trial. Several Jews also, either to escape the persecution, to ingratiate themselves with the king or his officers, or else from inclination or libertinism, did the same. From these different motives many fell from Israel;³ and several of those who had once taken this wicked step, joining themselves with the king's forces, became (as is but too common) greater persecutors of their unhappy brethren than the heathens themselves, employed to execute this barbarous commission.

The commissioner who was sent into Judea and Samaria, to see the king's decree punctually obeyed, was called Athenæus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well versed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reason, was judged a fit person to invite those nations to join in it. As soon as he arrived in Jerusalem, he began by putting a stop to the sacrifices which were offered up to the God of Israel, and suppressing all the observances of the Jewish law. They polluted the temple in such a

manner, that it was no longer fit for the service of God; profaned the sabbaths and other festivals; forbade the circumcision of children; carried off and burnt all the copies of the law wherever they could find them; abolished all the ordinances of God in every part of the country, and put to death whoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian soldiers, and the commissioner who commanded over them, were the chief instruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion professed by the sovereign.

To establish it the sooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels filled with idols were erected in every city, and sacred groves were planted. Officers were appointed over these, who caused all the people in general to offer sacrifices in them every month, on the day of the month on which the king was born, who made them eat swine's flesh, and other unclean animals sacrificed there.

One of these officers,⁴ Appelles by name, came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the law of God. He was son to John, and grandson to Simon, from whose father Asmoneus the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of God as himself. These were Joannan, surnamed Gaddis; Simon, surnamed Thasi; Judas, surnamed Maccabeus; Eleazar, surnamed Abaron; and Jonathan, surnamed Apphus. On his arrival at Modin, Appelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders, in hopes that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised that, in case of his compliance, the king would rank him in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that himself and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, with a loud voice, so as to be heard by the whole assembly, that though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus,⁵ and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet himself, his children, and his brothers, would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of God.

After having made this declaration, seeing a Jew going up to the altar which the heathens had raised, to sacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction; fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and transported with a just and holy indignation,⁶ he rushed upon the apostate and killed him: after this, being assisted by his sons, and some others who joined them, he also killed the king's commissioner and all his followers. Having in a manner set up the standard, by this bold action, he cried aloud in the city: "Whosoever⁷ is zealous of the law,⁸ and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me." Having now assembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worship of God, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they were soon followed by others; so that all the deserts of Judea were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the persecution.

At first,⁹ when the Jews were attacked on the sabbath, for fear of violating the holiness of the day, they did not dare to make the least defence, but suffered themselves to be cut to pieces. However, they soon became sensible, that the law of the sabbath was not binding on persons in the case of such imminent danger.

⁴ 1 Maccab. ii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

⁵ Esti omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediant, ut discedat unusquisque a servitute legis patrum suorum, et consentiant mandatis ejus; ego, et filii mei, et fratres mei, obediemus legi patrum nostrorum.

⁶ God had commanded his people to slay those who should persuade them to sacrifice to idols. See Deut. xiii. 6—11.

⁷ Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, statuens testamentum, exeat post me.

⁸ 1 Maccab. ii. 27.

⁹ 1 Maccab. ii. 31—41. 2 Maccab. vi. 11. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

¹ 1 Maccab. i. 41—64, and 2 Maccab. vi. 1—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

² They expressed themselves in that manner, because the mighty name of the God of Israel (*Jehovah*) was never uttered by the Jews.

³ 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24.

Advice being brought to Antiochus, that his decrees were not so Ant. J. C. 167. implicitly obeyed in Judea as in all other nations, he went thither in person, in order to see them put in execution. He exercised the most horrid cruelties over all such Jews as refused to abjure their religion; in order to force the rest, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them. At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar,² and that of the mother and her seven sons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their history is universally known, it appears to me so important, and relates so nearly to Antiochus, whose reign I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myself to omit it. I shall therefore repeat it in almost the very words of Scripture.

The extreme violence of the persecution occasioned many Jews to fall away; but on the other side, several continued inflexible, and chose to suffer death, rather than pollute themselves by eating impure meats. One of the most illustrious among these, was Eleazar. He was a venerable old man, ninety years of age, and a doctor of the law, whose life had been one continued series of spotless innocence. He was commanded to eat swine's flesh, and endeavours were used to make him swallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But Eleazar, preferring a glorious death to a criminal life, went voluntarily to execution; and persevering in his resolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law to save his life.

His friends who were present, moved with an unjust compassion, took him aside, and earnestly besought him to permit them to bring him such meats as he was allowed to eat; in order that it might be imagined that he had eaten of the meats of the sacrifice, pursuant to the king's command; and by that means save his life. But Eleazar, considering only what his great age, the noble and generous sentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, answered, pursuant to the ordinances of the holy law of God, that he would rather die than consent to what was desired of him. "It would be shameful," says he to them, "for me, at this age, to use such an artifice, which would occasion many young men, upon the supposition that Eleazar, at fourscore and ten years of age, had embraced the principles of the heathens, to be imposed upon by the deceit, which I should have employed to preserve the short remains of a corruptible life; and thereby I should dishonour my old age, and expose it to the curses of all men. Besides, supposing I should by that means for the present avoid the punishment of men, I could never fly from the hand of the Almighty, neither in this world nor in that which is to come. For this reason, if I lay down my life courageously, I shall appear worthy of my old age, and shall leave behind me, for the imitation of young people, an example of constancy and resolution, by suffering patiently an honourable death, for the sake of our venerable and holy laws." Eleazar had no sooner ended his speech, than he was dragged to execution. The officers that attended him, and who hitherto had behaved with some humanity towards him, grew furious upon what he had said, which they looked upon as the effect of pride. When the torments had made him ready to breathe his last, he vented a deep sigh, and said: "O Lord! thou who art possessed of the holy knowledge, thou seest that I, who could have delivered myself from death, do yet suffer cruel agonies in my body: but in my soul find joy in my sufferings, because I fear thee." Thus died this holy man, leaving by his death, not only to the young men, but to his whole nation, a glorious example of virtue and resolution.

At this time seven brothers, with their mother, were seized; and king Antiochus would force them to eat swine's flesh contrary to their law, by causing their bodies to be scourged in a most inhuman manner. But the eldest of the brethren said to him:

"What is it thou wouldst ask or learn of us? We are ready to lay down our lives, rather than violate the holy laws which God gave to our forefathers." The king being exasperated at these words, ordered brazen pans and caldrons to be heated; and, when they were red, he caused the tongue of that man who had spoken first, to be cut off; had the skin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before the eyes of his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated in every part of his body, he was brought to the fire, and fried in the pan. Whilst these tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageously, saying, "The Lord God will have regard to truth: he will have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moses declares in his song."

The first dying in this manner, the second was taken; and after the skin of his head, with the hair, were torn away, he was asked whether he would eat of some meats which were presented to him, before that all his limbs should be severed one after another from his body. But he answered in the language of his country, "I will not." He was then tortured in the same manner as his brother. Being ready to expire, he spoke thus to the king: "Wicked prince! you bereave us of this present life; but the king of heaven and earth, if we die for the defence of his laws, will one day raise us up to everlasting life."

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately; and afterwards stretching forth his hands manfully, he bravely said: "I received these limbs from heaven, but now I despise them, since I am to defend the laws of God; from the sure and steadfast hope that he will one day restore them to me." The king and all his followers were astonished at the intrepidity of this young man, who utterly disregarded the severest tortures.

The fourth was tortured in the same manner, and being ready to die he said to the king: "It is for our advantage to be killed by men, because we hope that God, by raising us up again, will restore us to life; but thy resurrection, O king, will not be unto life."

The fifth, whilst they were tormenting him, said to Antiochus: "You now act according to your own will and pleasure, because you are invested with absolute power among men, though you are but a mortal man. But do not imagine that God has forsaken our nation. Stay but a little, and you will see the wondrous effects of his power; and in what manner he will torment both yourself and your posterity."

The sixth came next, who, the moment before he expired said: "Do not deceive yourself; it is true, indeed, our sins have drawn upon us the exquisite tortures which we now suffer; but do not flatter yourself with the hopes of impunity, after having presumed to make war against God himself."

In the mean time their mother, supported by the hopes that she had in God, beheld with incredible resolution all her seven sons die thus in one day. She encouraged them by her discourse, full of fortitude and wisdom, and uniting a manly courage with the tenderness of a mother, she said to them: "I know not in what manner you were formed in my womb; for it was not I who inspired you with a soul and with life, nor formed your members; but I am sure that the Creator of the world, who fashioned man, and who gave being to all things, will one day restore you to life by his infinite mercy, in return for your having despised it here, out of the love you bear to his laws."

There still remained her youngest son. Antiochus began to exhort him to compliance; assuring him, with an oath, that he would raise him to riches and power, and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forsake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth being insensible to all these promises, the king called his mother, and advised her to counsel the young man so as to save his life. This she promised; and going up to her son, and laughing at the tyrant's cruelty, she said to him in her native language, "Son, have pity on me, who bore you nine months in my womb; who for three years fed you with milk from my breasts, and brought you up to

¹ Joseph. de Maccab. c. iv. and v.

² 2 Maccab. vi. and vii.

your present age. I conjure you, dear child, to look upon heaven and earth, and every thing they contain, and to consider that God formed them all of things that were not, as well as man. Fear not that cruel executioner; but show yourself worthy of your brethren, by submitting cheerfully to death: in order that, by the mercy of God, I may receive you, together with your brothers, in the glory which awaits us."

As she was speaking in this manner, the young man cried aloud: "What is it you expect from me? I do not obey the king's command, but the law which was given us by Moses. As to you, from whom all the calamities with which the Hebrews are afflicted flow, you shall not escape the hand of the Almighty. Our sufferings, indeed, are owing to our sins: but if the Lord our God, to chasten and correct us, be for a little time angry with us, he at last will be appeased and be reconciled to his servants. But as for you, the most wicked, the most impious of men, do not flatter yourself with vain hopes. You shall not escape the judgment of God, who is all-seeing and omnipotent. As to my brothers, they, after having suffered a moment the most cruel tortures, have entered into the eternal covenant. In imitation of the example they have set me, I freely give up my body and life for the laws of my forefathers; and I beseech God to extend his mercy soon to our nation; to force you by plagues and tortures to confess that he is the only God; and that his anger, which is justly fallen on the Hebrews, may end by my death and that of my brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tortured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in the same holy manner as his brethren, and with a full confidence in God. At last the mother also suffered death.

Mattathias,¹ before he died, sent A. M. 3838. for his five sons, and after exhorting Ant. J. C. 166. them to fight valiantly for the law of God against their persecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as president of the council. He afterwards died, and was interred at Modin, in the burying-place of his ancestors, much regretted and lamented by all the faithful Israelites.

Antiochus,² finding that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus and conquered Macedonia, had solemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, situated on the river Strymon, was desirous of doing the same at Daphne near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, sent to all places to invite spectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, cost immense sums, and lasted several days. The part he there acted during the whole time, answered in every respect to the character given of him by Daniel,³ who calls him a vile or contemptible person, as I have said elsewhere. He there committed so many extravagant actions before that infinite multitude of people, assembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing stock of them all: and many of them were so much disgusted, that, to prevent their being spectators of a conduct so unworthy a prince, and so repugnant to the rules of modesty and decorum, they refused to go any more to the feasts to which he invited them.

He had scarce ended the solemnization of those games,⁴ when Tiberius Gracchus arrived as ambassador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus's actions. That prince gave him so polite and friendly a reception, that the ambassador not only laid aside all suspicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any resentment for what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed those who had spread such reports of him. And indeed Antiochus, besides other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus and his train, and was even going to resign his crown

to him. The ambassador ought to have been politician enough to suspect all these civilities: for it is certain that Antiochus was meditating, at that time, how he might best revenge himself of the Romans; but he disguised his sentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

Whilst Antiochus was amusing himself with celebrating games at Daphne,⁵ Judas was acting a very different part in Judea. After having levied an army, he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortresses, threw strong garrisons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he should be able to check his progress, and accordingly marched directly against him. However, Judas defeated him, killed him, and made a great slaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himself with the hopes of revenging the affront his master had received, met with the same fate as Apollonius, and like him was also defeated and killed in the battle.

When news was brought to Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. Immediately he assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in the country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his coffers, having exhausted them in the foolish expenses he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he meditated against the Jewish nation, and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design.

He had squandered immense sums on the games.⁶ Besides this, he had been extravagantly profuse in every other respect, particularly in the presents he bestowed on private persons and whole bodies of men. He would often throw handfulls of money among his attendants and others; sometimes seasonably enough, but most frequently without sense or reason. On these occasions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he should "scatter among them the prey and spoil of riches;"⁷ and the author of the Maccabees says,⁸ that he had been exceedingly liberal, and had "abounded above the kings that were before him." We are told by Athenæus,⁹ that the funds which enabled him to defray so prodigious an expense were, first, the spoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promise he had made Philometor in his minority; secondly, the sums he had raised among his friends, by way of free gifts; lastly, (which was the most considerable article,) the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had sacrilegiously pillaged.

Besides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him,¹⁰ others arose, according to Daniel's prophecy, "from the tidings" which came to him "out of the east and out of the north." For, northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled against him; and Persia, which lay eastward, discontinued the regular payment of the tribute. There,¹¹ as in almost every other part of his dominions, all things seemed in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the new ordinance, by which the ancient customs of so many of his subjects were abolished; and those of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculously fond, established in their stead. These commotions occasioned great confusion with respect to the payments, which ill then had been very regular throughout that vast and rich empire, and had always supplied sums sufficient to defray the great expense it was necessary to incur.

To remedy these grievances,¹² as well as a multitude of others, he resolved to divide his forces into

¹ 1 Maccab. iii. 1—26. ² Maccab. viii. 5—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 10. ⁶ Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

⁷ Dan. xi. 24.

⁸ 1 Maccab. iii. 30.

⁹ Athen. l. v. p. 195.

¹⁰ Dan. xi. 44, and Hieron. in hunc locum.

¹¹ 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

¹² 1 Maccab. xiii. 31—60, and iv. 1—25. ² Maccab. viii.

8—28. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. Appian, in Syr. p. 117. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 44.

¹ 1 Maccab. ii. 49—70. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 12.

² Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. p. 193, &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 321.

³ Dan. xi. 21.

⁴ Polyb. Legat. ci.—civ. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322.

two parts; to give the command of one of his armies to Lysias, descended from the blood-royal, in order that he might subdue the Jews; and to march the other himself into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, to regulate affairs and restore order in those provinces. He accordingly left to Lysias the government of all the countries on this side of the Euphrates; and the care of his son's education, who was then only seven years old, and who afterwards was called *Antiochus Eupator*. After passing mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, defeated Artaxias, and took him prisoner. He marched from thence into Persia, where he supposed he should have no other trouble than to receive the tribute of that rich province, and those in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himself that he should there find sums sufficient to fill his coffers, and reinstate all his affairs upon as good a footing as ever.

Whilst he was revolving all these projects, Lysias was meditating how he might best put in execution the orders he had left him, especially those which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, so as not to leave one Hebrew in the country; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to distribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it necessary for him to make the more despatch in this expedition, because advice was daily brought him that the arms of Judas made prodigious progress, and increased in strength by taking all the fortresses which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judea, seeing Judas's success, had sent expresses, with advice of this, to Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœle-syria and Palestine, on which Judea depended; and had pressed him, by letter, to employ such measures as might best support the interests of their common sovereign in this important juncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lysias. A resolution was therefore immediately taken, to send an army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generalissimo, into Judea. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant general; sent him before, at the head of 20,000 men, with Gorgias, a veteran officer of consummate experience, to assist him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were soon followed by Ptolemy, with the rest of the forces intended for that expedition. The army, after their junction, came and encamped at Emmaus, near Jerusalem. It consisted of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse.

Thither also repaired an army of another kind. It consisted of merchants who came to purchase the slaves who, it was supposed, would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of levying large sums of money by this means, sufficient to pay the 2000 talents¹ which the king still owed the Romans, on account of the ancient treaty of Sipylus, published a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring that all the prisoners taken in that war should be sold, at the rate of ninety for a talent.² A resolution indeed had been taken to cut to pieces all the men grown; to reduce all the rest to a state of captivity; and 180,000 of the latter, at the price above mentioned, would have sold exactly for the sum in question. The merchants, therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them, (as it was a very low price), flocked thither in crowds, and brought considerable sums with them. We are told that 1000, all of them very considerable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occasion, without including their domestics, and the persons that would be wanted to look after the captives they intended to purchase.

Judas and his brethren, perceiving the danger with which they were threatened by the approach of so powerful an army, which they knew had been commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewish nation, resolved to make a very vigorous defence; to fight for themselves, their law, and their liberty; and either to conquer or die sword in hand. Accord-

ly, they divided the 6000 men under their command into four bodies of 1500 men each. Judas put himself at the head of the first, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maspha, there to offer together their prayers to God, and to implore his assistance in the extreme danger to which they were now exposed. He made choice of this place, because, as Jerusalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the sanctuary trodden down, they could not assemble in it to solemnize that religious act; and Maspha seemed the fittest place for that purpose, because God was worshipped there before the foundation of the temple.

Here are now two armies ready to engage; the numbers on each side very unequal, and the disposition of their minds still more so. They agree, however, in one point; that is, both are firmly persuaded they shall gain the victory; the one, because they have a mighty army of well-disciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, because they put their whole trust in the God of armies.

After proclamation had been made according to the law,⁴ that those who had built a house that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, bad liberty to retire; Judas's 6000 men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheless, this valiant captain of the people of God, resolutely determined to fight the mighty host of the enemy with only this handful of men, and to leave the issue to Providence, advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his soldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the present conjuncture supplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they must prepare for it.

But receiving advice that same evening, that Gorgias had been detached from the enemy's camp with 5000 foot and 1000 horse, all chosen troops, and that he was marching by a by-way, through which the apostate Jews led him, in order to come and surprise his camp in the night; he was not satisfied with frustrating that design, but even made use of the very stratagem which the enemy intended to employ against him, and was successful in it; for, raising his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage, he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the best troops having been detached from it; and spread such terror and confusion into every part of it, that after 3000 Syrians had been cut to pieces, the rest fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was still to be apprehended, at the head of this formidable detachment, Judas, like a wise captain, kept his troops together, and would not suffer them to straggle about after plunder, or in pursuit of the enemy, till they should have defeated that body also. He was successful, without coming to a battle; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having sought for him in vain in the mountains, whither he supposed he had retired, withdrew at last into his camp, and finding it in flames, and the army routed and put to flight, it was impossible for him to keep his soldiers in order; so that these threw down their arms and fled also. Then Judas and the men under his command pursued them vigorously, and cut to pieces a greater number on this occasion than they had before done in the camp. Nine thousand Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greatest part of those who escaped were either maimed or wounded.

After this Judas marched back his soldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immense booty; and great numbers of those who were come as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themselves taken prisoners and sold. The next day, being the sabbath, was kept in the most religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occasion, gave themselves up to a holy joy, and returned a solemn thanksgiving to God for the great and signal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

¹ About 300,000*l.* sterling.

² A thousand crowns.

³ Judges xx. 1. 1 Sam. vii. 5.

⁴ Deut. xx. 5, &c.

We have here a sensible image of the feeble opposition which an arm of flesh is able to make against that of the Almighty, on whom alone the fate of battles depends. It is evident that Judas was fully sensible of his own weakness. "How can we," says he to the Almighty before the battle, "stand before them, unless thou thyself assistest us?" And it is as evident that he was no less firmly persuaded of the success of his arms. "The victory," he had said before, "does not depend on the number of soldiers, but it is from Heaven that all our strength comes." But although Judas had so entire a confidence in God, he employs all those expedients which the most experienced and bravest general could use, in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals! to pray with humility, because all things depend on God; and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man. We still possess (thanks to the Almighty) generals who glory in entertaining such thoughts; and who, at the head of great armies, composed of as brave soldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almost unparalleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all those human advantages, but solely on the protection of the God of armies.

Judas,¹ encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and reinforced by a great number of troops whom this success brought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him to distress the rest of his enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus's lieutenants, were raising troops to fight him, he marched against them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of 20,000 of their men.

Lysias hearing of the ill success which Antiochus's arms had met with A. M. 3839. in Judea,² and the great losses he had sustained in that country, was in great astonishment and perplexity. However, knowing that the king had a strong desire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition against the Jews. Accordingly he levied an army of 60,000 foot and 5000 horse, all chosen troops, and putting himself at their head, he marched into Judea, firmly resolved to lay waste the whole country, and destroy all the inhabitants.

He encamped at Bethsura, a city standing to the south of Jerusalem, towards the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced towards him at the head of 10,000 men; and fully persuaded that the Lord would assist him, he engaged the enemy with this disproportionate body of troops, killed 5000 of them, and put the rest to flight. Lysias, dismayed at the surprising valour of Judas's soldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his defeated army to Antioch; intending, nevertheless, to come and attack them again the next year with a still more powerful body of forces.

Judas,³ being left master of the country by the retreat of Lysias, took advantage of this interval of rest, and marched to Jerusalem, where he recovered the sanctuary from the heathens, purified and dedicated it to the service of God. This solemn dedication continued for eight days, which were spent in thanksgiving for the deliverance that God had vouchsafed them; and it was ordained that the anniversary of it should be solemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the prosperity of the Jews, made a league to destroy them, and resolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

This prince was then in Persia,⁴ A. M. 3840. levying the tribute which had not Ant. J. C. 164. been paid regularly. He was informed that Elymais was thought to abound with riches; and especially, that in a temple of that city, which according to Polybius was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus according to Appian,

prodigious sums were laid up. He went thither with a design to take the city, and plunder the temple, as he had before done to Jerusalem: but his design having been discovered, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a shameful repulse. Antiochus, enraged at this disgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to this affliction, news was there brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judea. In the violence of his rage he set out with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march, and breathing only fual ruin and destruction. Advancing in this disposition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, fresh expresses came to him with advice of Lysias's defeat, and also that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up in them, and re-established their ancient worship. At this news his fury increased. Immediately he commands his coachman to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might sooner have an opportunity of fully satiating his vengeance; threatening to make Jerusalem the burying-place of the whole Jewish nation, and not to leave one single inhabitant in it. He had scarce uttered that blasphemous expression, when he was struck by the hand of God. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the colic. "Thus the murderer and blasphemer," says the author of the Maccabees, "having suffered most grievously, as he treated other men, so died he a miserable death."

But still his pride was not abated by this first shock; so far from it, that suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey. But as his horses were running forwards impetuously, he fell from his chariot, and, thereby bruised, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his flesh fell away piecemeal; and the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it, "it is meet,"⁵ says he, "to be subject unto God; and man, who is mortal, should not think of himself as if he were a God." Acknowledging that it was the hand of the God of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jerusalem, he promises to exert the utmost liberality towards his chosen people; to enrich with precious gifts the holy temple of Jerusalem which he had plundered; to furnish from his revenues the sums necessary for defraying the expense of the sacrifices; to turn Jew himself; and to travel into every part of the world in order to publish the power of the Almighty. He hoped he should calm his wrath by these mighty promises, which the violence of his present affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author of the Maccabees, "This wicked person vowed unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him."⁶ And indeed this murderer and blasphemer, (these are the names which this writer substitutes in the place of illustrious, which men had bestowed on that prince,) being struck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finished an impious life by a miserable death.⁷

Before he expired, he sent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy, and was his favourite; and bestowed on him the regency of Syria during the minority of his son, then nine years of age. He put into his hands the diadem, the seal of

¹ 2 Maccab. ix. 12.

⁶ Ver. 13.

⁷ Polybius attests the truth of this, and relates that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining that spectres stood continually before him, reproaching him with his crimes. This historian, who was unacquainted with the Scriptures, assigns as the cause of this punishment, the sacrilegious attempt formed by this prince against the temple of Diana in Elymais.—Polyb. in *Excerpt. Vales.* p. 145.

¹ 2 Maccab. viii. 30—33.

² 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

³ 1 Maccab. iv. 35—61, and v. 1, 2. 2 Maccab. x. 1—8. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

⁴ 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. 1—29. Polyb. in *Excerpt. Vales.* p. 145. Appian. in *Syr.* p. 131.

the empire, and all the other ensigns of royalty; exhorting him, especially, to employ his utmost endeavours to give him such an education as would best teach him the art of reigning, and of governing his subjects with justice and moderation. Few princes give such instructions to their children till they are near their end: and that, after having set them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip caused the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had reigned eleven years.

SECTION IV.—PROPHECIES OF DANIEL RELATING TO ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

As Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent persecutor of the people of God, who formed the Jewish church, and was at the same time the type of the Antichrist, who in after ages was to afflict the Christian church; Daniel details much more fully his prophecy respecting this prince, than those which relate to any other of whom he makes mention. This prophecy consists of two parts: one of which relates to his wars in Egypt, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the Jews. We shall treat these separately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

I. *The wars of Antiochus Epiphanes against Egypt, foretold by Daniel the prophet.*

"And in his,"¹ Seleucus Philopator's, "estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries." This verse, which points out the accession of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

"And with the arms of a flood shall they,"² the Syrians, "be overflowed before him," Antiochus Epiphanes, "and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant." Heliodorus, the murderer of Seleucus and his adherents, as also those of the Egyptian king, who had formed designs against Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and dispersed by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their projects. By the prince of the covenant, we may suppose to be meant, either Heliodorus, the ringleader of the conspirators, who had killed Seleucus; or rather Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who lost his life by a conspiracy of his own subjects, at the very time that he was meditating a war against Syria. Thus Providence removed this powerful adversary, to make way for Antiochus, and raise him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet, in the following verses, points out clearly enough the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

Antiochus's first expedition into Egypt.

"And after the league made with him,"³ with Ptolemy Philometor his nephew, king of Egypt, "he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people." Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war, still assumed a specious appearance of friendship for the king of Egypt. He even sent Apollonius to Memphis, to be present at the banquet given on occasion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheless, soon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt with a small army, in comparison with those which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Pelusium. Antiochus was strong, that is, victorious: and afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his first expedition.

Antiochus's second expedition into Egypt.

"He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the pounce, (Egypt),⁴ and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers: he shall scatter among them (his troops) the prey and spoil and riches: yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong-holds, even for a time.

"And he⁵ shall stir up his power and his courage

against the king of the South (of Egypt) with a great army, and the king of the South shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand, for they shall forecast devices against him.

"Yea,⁶ they that feed of the portion of his (the king of Egypt's) meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow; and many shall fall down slain."

In these three verses appear the principal characters of Antiochus's second expedition into Egypt; his mighty armies, his rapid conquests, the rich spoils he carried from thence, and the dissimulation and treachery he began to put in practice towards Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by sea and land, the instant the season would permit. "Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude,⁷ with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy. And made war against Ptolemy, king of Egypt: but Ptolemy was afraid of him, and fled; and many were wounded to death. Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof."

Daniel, some verses after, is more minute and circumstantial in his prophecy of this event.

"And⁸ at the time of the end shall the king of the South push at him, (Ptolemy is here meant;) and the king of the North (Antiochus) shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.

"He shall enter also into the glorious land,⁹ and many countries shall be overthrown: but he shall escape out of his hand.

"He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries,¹⁰ and the land of Egypt shall not escape.

"But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver,¹¹ and over the precious things of Egypt."

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophecy, we find a perfect resemblance, except that the prophet is even more clear and particular than the historian.

Diodorus relates,¹² that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at least the greatest part of it: for all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He subdued Egypt with an astonishing rapidity, and did that "which his fathers had not done,¹³ nor his fathers' fathers."

Ptolemy either surrendered himself, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at first treated him with kindness; had but one table with him; seemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable possession of his kingdom, reserving to himself Pelusium, which was the key to it. For Antiochus assumed this appearance of friendship with no other view than to have the better opportunity of ruining him. "They that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him."¹⁴

Antiochus did not make a long stay in Egypt at that time; the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews obliging him to march against them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometor for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raised Euergetes, his younger brother, to the throne in his stead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had passed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of restoring the dethroned monarch, but in reality to make himself absolute master of the kingdom.

Antiochus's third expedition into Egypt.

"And both these kings' hearts shall be to do mischief;¹⁵ and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.

¹ Dan. xi. 21.

² Ver. 22.

³ Ver. 23.

⁴ Ver. 24.

⁵ Ver. 25.

⁶ Dan. xi. 26.

⁷ 1 Maccab. i. 13—20.

⁸ Dan. xi. 40.

⁹ Ver. 41.

¹⁰ Ver. 42.

¹¹ Ver. 43.

¹² In Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.

¹³ Dan. xi. 24

¹⁴ Dan. xi. 26

¹⁵ Ver. 27.

"Then shall he (Antiochus) return into his land with great riches."¹

Antiochus's third expedition could scarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince, hearing that the Alexandrians had raised Euergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the specious pretence of restoring Philometor: *Per honestam speciem majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum*.² After having overcome the Alexandrians in a sea-fight at Pelusium, he laid siege to Alexandria. But finding the inhabitants made a strong opposition, he was contented with making himself again master of the rest of Egypt, in the name of his nephew, in whose behalf he pretended to have drawn the sword: *Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat*.³ They were then at Memphis, at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have his nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose the highest confidence in his uncle; but all this was mere show and outside, both dissembling their real sentiments. The uncle endeavoured to crush his nephew; *Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat*,⁴ *ut mox victorem aggrederetur*; and the nephew, who saw through this design, *voluntatis ejus non ignarus*, strove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus did neither prosper in deceiving of the other: nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

Antiochus's fourth expedition into Egypt.

"And at the time appointed he shall return and come towards the South,⁵ but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.

"For the ships of Chittim shall come against him.⁶ Therefore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant."

Advice being brought Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the mask, and declared publicly, that he intended to conquer Egypt for himself. And to support his pretensions, "he returned towards the South," that is, into Egypt, but was not so successful in this expedition as before. As he was advancing forward to besiege Alexandria,⁷ Popilius and other Roman ambassadors, who were on board a fleet composed of Macedonian or Greek ships (for this the Hebrew word Chittim signifies,) which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms, and leave Egypt. He obeyed; but "was grieved and returned, and had indignation against the holy covenant," and the city and temple of Jerusalem, as will be presently seen.

Had the prophet been eye-witness to this event, would it have been possible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner?

II. Cruel persecutions exercised by Antiochus against the Jews, and foretold by the prophet Daniel.

I have mentioned and explained, in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and those of his four successors.

"Behold a he-goat came from the West,⁸ on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground." Is it possible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conquests?—"The he-goat waxed very great;⁹ and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven." These are Alexander's four successors. "And out of one of them came forth a little horn,¹⁰ which waxed exceeding great towards the South, and towards the East, and towards the pleasant land." This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained several victories towards the South and the East, and who strongly opposed the army of the Lord and the Jewish people, of whom God was the strength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed against the people of God, the priests of the Lord, his laws and his temple.

"And it waxed great, (the horn,)¹¹ even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea,¹² he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, (to God;) and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And a host was given him against the daily sacrifice, by reason of transgression,¹³ and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered."

Daniel gave still greater extent to the same prophecy in his eleventh chapter.

"His heart shall be against the holy covenant,¹⁴ and he shall do exploits. He shall return, and have indignation against the holy covenant."

During the siege of Alexandria,¹⁵ a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had been accused of expressing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, stormed it, and exercised all the barbarity that his fury could suggest. About 40,000 men were killed in the compass of three days,¹⁶ and the same number sold as slaves. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the vessels, treasures and rich ornaments.

After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt,¹⁷ he turned the fury with which he was inflamed upon that occasion against the Jews. He sent Apollonius into Judea, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to sell the women and children. Accordingly, Apollonius made dreadful havoc in Jerusalem, set fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

"He shall return,¹⁸ and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant. And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall set up the abomination that maketh desolate. And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries."

Antiochus declared openly for all those who should renounce the law.¹⁹ Having published an ordinance, by which all the Jews in general were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion, he sent some officers to Jerusalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and abolish the worship of the Most High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his statue in it. They raised in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer sacrifices, and eat of meats sacrificed to idols. Many, from the dread of the torture, seemed to comply in all things required of them; and even prompted others to imitate their dissimulation in order to countenance their base apostasy.

"And such as do wickedly against the covenant,²⁰ shall he (Antiochus) corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God, shall be strong and do exploits." This manifestly points at old Eleazar, the seven Maccabees, and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageously opposed the impious orders of the king.

"And they that understand among the people,²¹ shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days." This relates chiefly to Mattathias and his sons.

"Now when they shall fall,²² they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries." Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus supported the distressed nation, and the almost universally abandoned religion, with so small a number of forces, that we can consider the success which the Almighty gave to their arms no otherwise than as a miracle. Their troops grew more numerous by de-

¹ Dan. viii. 10.

¹² Ver. 11.

¹³ Ver. 12.

¹⁴ Chap. xi. ver. 28—30.

¹⁵ 1 Maccab. i. 21—24. ² Maccab. v. 5—21. Joseph. Lib. de Maccab. &c.

¹⁶ We are told in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.

¹⁷ 1 Maccab. i. 30—34. ² Maccab. v. 24—26.

¹⁸ Dan. xi. 30—32.

¹⁹ 1 Maccab. i. 43, &c. ² Maccab. iv. 7, &c. vi. 1, &c.

²⁰ Dan. xi. 32.

²¹ Ver. 33.

²² Ver. 34.

¹ Dan. xi. 28.

² Liv. i. xlv. n. 19.

³ Ibid. i. xlv. n. 11. Hieron in Daniel.

⁴ Liv. i. xlv. n. 11.

⁵ Dan. xi. 29.

⁶ Ver. 30.

⁷ Liv. i. xlv. n. 10.

⁸ Dan. viii. 5.

⁹ Ver. 8.

¹⁰ Ver. 9.

grees, and afterwards formed a very considerable body.

"And some of them of understanding shall fall,¹ to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end, because it is yet for a time appointed." The sufferings and death of those who steadfastly refused to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

"And the king shall do according to his will,² and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation (of God) be accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done.

"Neither shall he regard the god of his fathers,³ nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all."

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elynaïs. He exercised his impious fury chiefly against Jerusalem and the Jews, and almost without any resistance. The Almighty seemed to wink for a time at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath against his people was satisfied.

"But tidings out of the East,⁴ and out of the North, shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly make away many."

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the East, and Artaxias king of Armenia towards the North, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke.

Tacitus⁵ tells us, that when Antiochus had formed a resolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus. Before he set out for the provinces on the other side of the Euphrates,⁶ he gave Lysias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his absence, half his army; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to settle other nations in their country.

"He shall plant the tabernacles of his palace [in Apadno]⁷ between the seas in the glorious mountain [of Zabi];⁸ yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him." The former part of this verse, which is translated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, because of the two words Apadno and Zabi, which are not to be found in the ancient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up these kind of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reason to suspect, imagined that this verse alluded to Antiochus's expedition beyond the Euphrates, and to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greatest part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be satisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares, that Antiochus shall pitch his camp near mount Zabi, (doubtless the same with Taba,⁹ where, according to Polybius,¹⁰ he died,) and that there "he shall come to his end," being abandoned by God, and having none to "help him."¹¹ We have seen how he expired in the most cruel agonies, and struck with an unavailing repentance, which only increased his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerome, and several interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel speaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in a double sense, as alluding to Antichrist. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the most sensible, as well as most expressive, types of that enemy of Christ Jesus and our holy religion.

It is impossible for us, whilst we are reading this prophecy, not to be prodigiously struck when we see the justness and accuracy with which the prophet traces the principal characteristics of a king, whose history is so much blended with that of the Jews: and we perceive evidently, that for this reason the Holy Spirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a transient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells so long on those of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With what certainty does Daniel foretell a multitude of events, so very remote, and which depended on so many arbitrary circumstances! How manifestly did the Spirit, which presented futurity to his view, show it him as present, and in as clear a light, as if he had seen it with his bodily eyes! Do not the divine authority of the Scriptures, and by a necessary consequence, the certainty of the Christian religion, become by such proofs, in a manner, palpable and self-evident?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in so clear, so perfect, and so incontrovertible a manner as this. Porphyra¹² the professed enemy of the Christian religion, as well as of the Holy Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed at finding so great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel and the relations given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny this conformity, for that would have been repugnant to plain sense, and denying the shining of the sun at noon-day. However, he took another course, in order to undermine the authority of the Scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are since lost, to show, at great length, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold by that prophet: and he inferred from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events, could not possibly have been written by Daniel so many years before they happened; and that this work must certainly have been written by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this contest between the Christians and Heathens, the former would indisputably carry their cause, could they be able to demonstrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now this they proved unanswerably, by citing the testimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews; whose evidence could not be suspected nor disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the Christian religion than the Heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred writings, of which Providence had appointed them the depositories and guardians, was carried to such a pitch, that they would have thought him a criminal and sacrilegious wretch, who should have attempted only to transpose a single word, or change one letter in them. What idea, then, would they have entertained of that man who should pretend to introduce any supposititious books among them? Such are the witnesses who attested the genuineness of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs so convincing, or cause so victorious? "Thy testimonies are very sure, O Lord, for ever."¹²

¹ Dan. xi. 35. ² Ver. 36. ³ Ver. 37. ⁴ Ver. 44.

⁵ Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quominus terrerrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est: nam ed tempestate Arsaces defecerat.—*Tacit. l. v. c. 8.*

⁶ 1 Maccab. iii. 31—39.

⁷ N. B. The words between the crochets in this verse are not in our English translation of the Bible.

⁸ Dan. xi. 45.

⁹ Taba, according to Polybius, was in Persia; and in Patacena, according to Quintus Curtius.

¹⁰ Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

¹¹ Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tyre, A. D. 233, and wrote a very voluminous treatise against the Christian religion.

¹² Psalm xciii. 5.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

CONTINUED.

BOOK XX

This twentieth book contains three articles. In the first, the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related. He reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The second article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burnt in the year of the world 3838, and includes something more than twenty-one years. The third article contains the history of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria comprises almost one hundred years, from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphaneus, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became part of the Roman empire; that is to say, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The history of Egypt includes also 100 years, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, till the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes; that is, from the year of the world 3845 to the year 3946.

ARTICLE I.

This article contains eleven years, being the duration of the reign of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826 to 3837.

SECTION I.—PERSEUS PREPARES SECRETLY FOR A WAR AGAINST THE ROMANS. HE ENDEAVOURS A RECONCILIATION WITH THE ACHÆANS IN VAIN. HIS SECRET MEASURES NOT UNKNOWN AT ROME. EUMENES ARRIVES THERE, AND INFORMS THE SENATE OF THEM. PERSEUS ATTEMPTS TO RID HIMSELF OF THAT PRINCE, FIRST BY ASSASSINATION, AND AFTERWARDS BY POISON. THE ROMANS BREAK WITH PERSEUS. DIFFERENT OPINIONS AND DISPOSITIONS OF THE KINGS AND STATES, IN REGARD TO THE MACEDONIAN WAR. AFTER SEVERAL EMBASSIES ON BOTH SIDES, THE WAR IS DECLARED IN FORM.

A. M. 3826. The death of Philip happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans,¹ and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a strange design, and had already begun to put it in execution; this was to bring a considerable body of troops, both horse and foot, from European Sarmatia, which now forms part of Poland. Certain Gauls had settled near the mouths of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnæ. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to engage in commerce: they lived by war, and sold their services to any people that would employ them. After they had passed the Danube, Philip was to have settled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had resolved utterly to exterminate; because, being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every favourable occasion for making inroads into it. The Bastarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new settlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themselves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip conceived he should find great advantages in it: if it should happen that the Bastarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat in seeing himself delivered from his dangerous neighbours, the Dardanians, by their means; and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repulsing these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The

Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were considerably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and several accidents that befell them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negotiating this affair. At his return, Perseus put him to death; and to secure himself the better on the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans, to demand that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king. His sole intent was to gain time.

Part of the Bastarnæ had pursued their march,² and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by his ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent for them, and had no share in their enterprise. The senate, without making any farther inquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care that he observed inviolably the treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube frozen over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were swallowed up in the river.

It was known at Rome that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage,³ and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æsculapius. It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the Dolopians,⁴ who refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced towards Delphi, upon pretence of consulting the oracle; but in reality, as it was believed, of having an opportunity to make the tour of Greece, and negotiate alliances. This journey at first alarmed the whole country, and occasioned so general a consternation, that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, passing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent either ambassadors or circular letters to all the states through which he had passed, to demand that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himself with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as by a decree to prohibit all intercourse with them. This declared enmity gave the slaves, who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum, and where they knew they should not be followed or claimed after that general interdiction. Perseus caused all these slaves to be seized, and

¹ Freinsheim. in Liv.

² Liv. l. xli. n. 27—29.

³ Dolopia was a region of Thessaly, upon the confines of Epirus.

⁴ Liv. l. xli. n. 57, 58. Oros. l. iv. c. 20.

sent them back to the Achæans, with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from making his dominions their place of refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient intercourse. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and desirous of making his court to the king, seconded his demand very strongly, and was supported by those who were most solicitous for recovering their slaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the assembly, who was convinced that the safety of the league consisted in the inviolable observance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, represented, that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilst that Macedonia was making preparations to declare war against Rome as soon as possible. He concluded, that it was necessary to leave things in their present condition, till time should ascertain whether their fears were just or not. That if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough, when that appeared, to re-establish an intercourse with them; without which, a reunion would be precipitate and dangerous.

Acron, Xenarchus's brother, who spoke after Callicrates, did his utmost to prove that such terrors were without foundation; that the question did not relate to the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to coming to a rupture with the Romans, but solely to reverse a decree, for which the injustice of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deserving. That that prince could not but be assured, that, in case of a war against the Romans, the league would not fail to declare for them. "But," added he, "whilst the peace subsists, if animosities and dissensions are not made to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable to suspend them, and to let them sleep for a while."

Nothing was concluded in this assembly. As it was taken amiss that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter, he afterwards sent ambassadors to the assembly, which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those who apprehended giving Rome offence, used such effectual means, that they were refused audience.

The ambassadors sent by the senate, A. M. 3831. ate into Macedonia,¹ reported, at Ant. J. C. 173. their return, that they could not get access to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed; two subterfuges equally false. That, for the rest, it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it would speedily break out. They gave an account also of the state in which they found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domestic divisions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried to the utmost excess; and that their authority had not been capable of uniting and appeasing the persons at the head of them.

As Rome expected a war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongst the Romans always preceded declarations of war; that is to say, by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeared to the utmost of his power the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he had caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all intercourse with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince was incessantly soliciting the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far exceeding his power to perform. They were sufficiently inclined in his favour, and far more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great services to most of those cities; and those

who formed a part of his dominions would not have changed condition with such as were entirely free. There was, however, no comparison between the two princes in point of character and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made way with Appelles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother; and of having committed many other murders, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himself esteemed by his tenderness for his brothers and relations; by his justice in governing his subjects; and by his generous propensity to do good and to serve others. Notwithstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the preference; whether it was that the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inspired them with contempt for a state whose origin was wholly recent, and whose birth they had witnessed; or that the Greeks had some change in view; or because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in respect.

Perseus was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians,² and in separating them from the side of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to share the Macedonian throne with Perseus, by marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perseus had furnished the materials, and gave gold ribands to every soldier and seaman who came with Laodice. A sentence passed by Rome in favour of the Lycians against the people of Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter. Perseus endeavoured to take advantage of their resentment against Rome to attach them to himself.

The Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken by Perseus to A. M. 3832. bring over the states of Greece into Ant. J. C. 172. his views;³ Eumenes came expressly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared that, besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishment which left him nothing to wish, he had undertaken this voyage expressly to advise the senate in person to be upon their guard against the enterprises of Perseus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of succession. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed supplied him with the means of raising numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the sight and under the conduct of his father, and in which he had since much exercised himself, in different enterprises against his neighbours. That he was highly considered by the cities of Greece and Asia, though it was impossible to say by what sort of merit he had acquired that influence, unless it were by his enmity for the Romans. That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings. That he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given his sister in marriage to Prusias. That he had found means to engage the Æolians in his interest, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the opposition of a few persons well affected to the Romans, he certainly would have renewed the alliance with the Achæan confederates. That it was to Perseus the Ætolians applied for aid in their domestic troubles, and not to the Romans. That, supported by these powerful allies, he made such preparations for war himself, as put him into a condition to dispense with any foreign aid. That he had 30,000 foot, 5000 horse, and provisions for ten years. That, besides his immense annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay 10,000 foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning those of his own kingdom. That he had laid up in his arsenals a sufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had

¹ Liv. l. xlii. n. 2, 5, 6.

² Polyb. Legat. lx. lxi.

³ Div. l. xlii. n. 11-14.

actually on foot; and that, though Macedonia should be incapable of supplying him with troops, Thrace (which was an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers) was at his devotion. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon simple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts, founded upon the best information. "For the rest," said he, in concluding, "having discharged the duty which my regard and gratitude for the Roman people made indispensable, and delivered my conscience, it only remains for me to implore all the gods and goddesses, that they would inspire you with sentiments and measures consistent with the glory of your empire, and the preservation of your friends and allies, whose safety depends upon yours."

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except that king Eumenes had spoken, was known abroad, or suffered to take air at first; so invariably were the deliberations of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassadors from king Perseus had audience some days after. They found the senate highly prejudiced against their master; and what Harpalus (one of them) said in his speech, inflamed them still more against him. It was, that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor said any thing that argued an enemy. That, as for the rest, if he discovered that they were absolutely bent upon a rupture with him, he should know how to defend himself with valour. That the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious for the effect which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexes, especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus; and they were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having stirred up Lycia against the Rhodians, and of having rendered himself more insupportable to Asia than Antiochus himself. This discourse was very agreeable to the Asiatic people, who secretly favoured Perseus; but very much displeased the senate, and had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and hold Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they saw formed against him. He was dismissed in consequence with the highest honours and great presents.

Harpalus having returned into Macedonia with the utmost diligence, reported to Perseus,¹ that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer long a declaration of war against him. The king was not displeased with his account, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to support it with success. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprized of his most secret measures; and began with declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He despatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occasions, to assassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphi, and directed his assassins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose house he had lodged when he was in that city. They lay in ambush in a defile, so narrow that two men could not pass abreast. When the king came there, the assassins, from the heights where they had posted themselves, rolled two great stones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him senseless upon the earth, and the other wounded him considerably in the shoulder; after which they poured a hail of lesser stones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one who stayed to assist him. The assassins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnassus. His officers, when they returned, found him without motion, almost without life. When he came a little to himself, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence

into the island of Ægina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, but with so much secrecy that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reason to believe him dead. That report spread even to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too readily for a good brother; and looking upon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse the widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could not forbear making him some gentle reproaches upon that head, though he had at first resolved to dissemble his sentiments of his brother's imprudence.

Perseus had attempted at the same time to poison him by the means of Ramnius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundisium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign noblemen, and even princes, who passed through that city. The king put into his hands a very subtle poison, for him to give to Eumenes when he should come to his house. Ramnius did not dare to refuse this commission, however great his horror for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself; but he set out with a full resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the assassins had lodged in Delphi. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black attempts, they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer upon declaring war against a prince who made use of assassinations and poison to rid himself of his enemies, and proceeded to take due measures for the success of so important an enterprise.

Two embassies which arrived at Rome about the same time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He sent the son whom he intended for his successor, to Rome, to be educated there, from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by the conversation and study of their great men; and he desired that the Roman people would take him under their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shown him; and the senate caused a commodious house to be provided for him and his train at the expense of the public. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who desired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As soon as Eumenes² was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself in making preparations for war with uncommon ardour, inflamed more than ever by the new crime of his enemy. The senate sent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped; and despatched others at the same time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They had sent also to Perseus to make their complaints, and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors, seeing they could not have audience, though many days had elapsed, set out in order to return to Rome. The king caused them to be recalled. They represented that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expressly stipulated, that he should not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then enumerated all his infractions of that treaty, and demanded that restitution should be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with their avarice and pride, and the insupportable haughtiness with which they treated kings, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their slaves. Upon their demanding a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, as he intended to give it them in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him: that if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could not do otherwise, not being sufficiently established upon

¹ Liv. xlii. n. 15-19.

² Liv. l. xlii. n. 25-27.

the throne: that if the Romans were willing to enter into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable conditions, he should consider what it was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew abruptly; and the ambassadors declared that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they were to take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the result of their embassy; and added, that they had observed, in all the cities of Macedonia through which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambassadors that had been sent to the kings in alliance with the Romans, reported that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be desired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Gentius king of Illyria, who was accused of holding intelligence with Perseus; and deferred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the new consuls entered upon their office. However, not to lose time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty galleys, to sail as soon as possible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Crassus, and C. Cassius Longinus, were elected consuls, Ant. J. C. 171. and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities, as well of Europe as Asia, had their eyes fixed upon the two great powers on the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated by an ancient hatred against Perseus, still more by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life in his journey to Delphi.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himself that the Romans would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother; and hoped that, if Perseus were victorious, that prince would easily acquiesce in his neutrality at the request of his sister.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party which Eumenes espoused, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to possess himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that prince, by disputing Coele-syria with him; and that the Romans, employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious designs. He had, however, declared to the senate by his ambassadors, that they might dispose of all his forces, and had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors whom the Romans had sent to him.

Ptolemy, through his tender age, was incapable of resolving for himself. His guardians were making preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Coele-syria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to aid the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Masinissa supplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to send his son Misa-genes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his desire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which case he should continue in his present condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone, out of policy, prevented him from extending his conquests, and at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected, in consequence, to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing, however, which party he should choose; and it seemed, that if he had adhered to either, it would be rather

out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odrysæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the populace were universally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority amongst those states and cities were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned themselves so abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them they lost all credit and authority among their citizens; and of these, few concerned themselves about the justice of the Roman government; most of them having no views but to their private interest, convinced that their influence in their cities would prevail in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those who gave entirely in to the king's measures; some because their debts and the bad state of their affairs made them desire a change; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perseus valued himself, agreed best with their own pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans' to the king's; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied that neither of the parties should become too powerful by reducing the other; but, preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace; because then one of them, by taking the weaker states under its protection, whenever the other should attempt to oppress them, would render the condition of them all more happy and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they saw, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those who had engaged either in one party or the other.

The Romans, after having, according to their laudable custom, discharged all the duties of religion, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy success of the enterprise for which they had been so long preparing, declared war in form against Perseus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction in regard to the several grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time arrived ambassadors from him, who said that the king their master was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction that could be required. As it was known that Perseus sought only to gain time, they were answered, that the consul Licinius would be soon in Macedonia, with his army; and that if the king desired peace in earnest, he might send his ambassadors to him, but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more into Italy, where they would not be received: and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

The Romans omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their arms.¹ They despatched ambassadors on all sides to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with them.

Whilst they were at Larissa, in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendship his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoken of king Philip's friendship and hospitality; and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither some days after. The king had a great train, and was surrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of La-

¹ Liv. l. xlii. n. 37, 44. Polyb. Legat. lxiii.

riſſa, and of the deputies from other ſtates, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleaſed with that occaſion of carrying home what they ſhould ſee and hear. They had beſides a curioſity to be preſent at an interview between a great king and the ambaffadors of the moſt powerful people in the world.

After ſome difficulties which aroſe about the ceremonial, and which were ſoon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedence, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly reſpectful on both ſides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends, bound by the ſacred ties of hoſpitality. Marcius, who ſpoke firſt, began by excuſing himſelf for the unhappy neceſſity he was under of reproaching a prince for whom he had the higheſt conſideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the cauſes of complaint the Roman people had againſt him, and his various infractions of treaties with them. He inſiſted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with profeſſing, that he ſhould be very glad the king would ſupply him with good reaſons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cauſe, and juſtify him before the ſenate.

Perſeus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he ſeemed aſtoniſhed that any one ſhould preſume to impute to him without any proof, rather than to ſo many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long detail, and replied, as well as he was able, to the ſeveral heads of the accuſation againſt him. "Of this I am aſſured," ſaid he, in concluding, "that my conſcience does not reproach me with having committed any fault knowingly, and with premeditated deſign, againſt the Romans; and if I have done any thing unwarily, apprized as I now am, it is in my power to amend it. I have certainly done nothing to deſerve the implacable enmity with which I am purſued, as if I had been guilty of the blackeſt and moſt enormous crimes, which were neither to be expiated nor forgiven. It muſt be without foundation, that the clemency and wiſdom of the Roman people are univerſally extolled, if for ſuch ſlight cauſes as ſcarce merit complaint and remonſtrance, they take up arms and make war upon kings in alliance with them."

The reſult of this conference was, that Perſeus ſhould ſend new ambaffadors to Rome, in order to try all poſſible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a ſnare laid by the artful commissioner for the king's inadvertency, in order to gain time. He feigned at firſt great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perſeus, for time to ſend his ambaffadors to Rome, and ſeemed at laſt to accede to it only out of conſideration for the king. The true reaſon was, becauſe the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas on the ſide of Perſeus every thing was ready; and if he had not been amuſed by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture ſo favourable for himſelf, and ſo contrary to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview the Roman ambaffadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great commotions; ſome declaring for Perſeus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bœotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the conſent of the whole body of the nation according to ancient cuſtom. In this manner the Bœotians, from having raſhly engaged in the party of Perſeus, after having formed, through a long courſe of time, a republic which on ſeveral occaſions had preſerved itſelf from the greateſt dangers, ſaw themſelves ſeparated and governed by as many councils as there were cities in

the province; all of which in the ſequel remained independent of each other; and formed no longer one united league as at firſt. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them, to make them weak; well knowing that it was much eaſier to bring them into their meaſures, and ſubject them by that means, than if they were ſtill all united together. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronea and Haliartus, perſiſted in the alliance with Perſeus.

From Bœotia the commissioners went into Peloponneſus. The aſſembly of the Achæan league was ſummoned to Argos. They demanded only 1000 men, to gariſſon Chalcis, till the Roman army ſhould enter Greece: which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the ſame time Rome ſent new commissioners into the moſt conſiderable iſlands of Aſia,² to exhort them to ſend powerful aid into the field againſt Perſeus. The Rhodians ſignaliſed themſelves upon this occaſion. Hegiſilochus, who was at that time prytanis, (the principal magiſtrate was ſo called,) had prepared the people, by repreſenting to them that it was neceſſary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impreſſions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inſpire the Romans in regard to their fidelity. So that upon the arrival of the ambaffadors, they ſhewed him a fleet of forty ſhips, entirely equipped, and ready to ſail upon the firſt orders. This agreeable ſurpriſe was highly pleaſing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly ſatisfied with ſo conſpicuous a zeal, which had even anticipated their demands.

Perſeus, in conſequence of his interview with Marcius, ſent ambaffadors to Rome to treat there upon what had been propoſed in that conference.

He deſpatched other ambaffadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had paſſed in the interview, and deduced at large the reaſons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and wait as mere ſpectators till they ſaw what reſolutions the Romans would take. "If, contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting between us, they attack me, you will be," ſaid he, "the mediators between the two nations. All the world is intereſted in their continuing to live in peace, but it bechooves none more than you to endeavour to reconcile them. Defenders not only of your own, but of the liberty of all Greece, the more zeal and ardour you have for ſo great a good, the more ought you to be upon your guard againſt every one who ſhould attempt to inſpire you with different ſentiments. You cannot but know, that the certain means to reduce Greece into ſlavery,³ is to make it dependent upon one people only, without leaving it any other to have recourſe to." The ambaffadors were received with great reſpect; but were answered that, in caſe of war, the king was deſired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them to the prejudice of the alliance they had made with the Romans. The ſame ambaffadors went alſo into Bœotia, where they had almoſt as little reaſon to be ſatisfied; only a few ſmall cities ſeparating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.⁴

Marcius and Atilius at their return to Rome reported to the ſenate the ſucceſs of their commiſſion. They dwelt particularly upon their addreſs, in their ſtratagem to deceive Perſeus, by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their dexterity in diſſolving the general aſſembly of the Bœotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common conſent.

¹ Conſcius mihi ſum, nihil me ſcientem deliquiſſe; et ſi quid fecerim imprudentiâ lapſus, corrigi me et emendari caſtigatiõe hæc poſſe. Nihil cetum inſanabile, nec quod bello et armis perſequendum eſſe cenſentis, commiſi: aut fruſtrâ clementiæ gravitatiſque veſtræ fama vulgata per gentes eſt, ſi talibus de cauſis, quæ vix querelâ et expoſtulatione dignæ ſunt, arma capitis, et regibus ſociis bella inferitis.—*Liv.*

² Liv. l. xlii. n. 45—48. Polyb. Legat. l. xiv.—lxviii.

³ Cùm ceterorum id intereſſe, tum præcipuè Rhodiorum, qui pluſ inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant: quæ ſerva atque obnoxia fore, ſi nullus aliò eſt quàm ad Romanos reſpectus.—*Liv.*

⁴ Coronea and Haliartus.

The greatest part of the senate expressed much satisfaction in so wise a conduct, which argued profound policy and uncommon dexterity in negotiation. But the old senators, who had imbibed other principles, and persevered in their ancient maxims, said, they did not recognize the Roman character in such dealing: that their ancestors, relying more upon true valour than stratagem, used to make war openly, and not in disguise and under cover; that such unworthy artifices should be abandoned to the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was reckoned more glorious to deceive an enemy, than to conquer him with open force; that indeed stratagem sometimes, in the moment of action, seemed to succeed better than valour; but that a victory, obtained vigorously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was closely tried, and which the enemy could not ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it left a strong conviction of the victor's superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the elder senators, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, that part of the senate which preferred the useful to the honourable were much the majority upon this occasion, and the conduct of the two commissioners was approved. Marcius was sent again with some galleys into Greece, to regulate affairs as he should think most consistent with the service of the public; and Atilius into Thessaly, to take possession of Larissa, lest, upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus should make himself master of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was also sent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Bœotia.

Though the war with Perseus was resolved at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same things which had been said in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to justify their master, principally upon the attempt he was accused of having made on the person of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the senate ordered them and all the Macedonians at Rome to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as soon possible with his army. The pretor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, set out with five-and-forty galleys from Naples, and arrived in five days at Cephalonia, where he waited for the arrival of the land forces.

SECTION II.—THE CONSUL LICINIUS AND KING PERSEUS TAKE THE FIELD. THEY BOTH ENCAMP NEAR THE RIVER PENEUS, AT SOME DISTANCE FROM EACH OTHER. ENGAGEMENT OF THE CAVALRY, IN WHICH PERSEUS HAS CONSIDERABLY THE ADVANTAGE, AND MAKES AN ILL USE OF IT. HE ENDEAVOURS TO MAKE A PEACE, BUT INEFFECTUALLY. THE ARMIES ON BOTH SIDES GO INTO WINTER QUARTERS.

THE consul Licinius, after having

A. M. 3833. offered his vows to the gods in the Ant. J. C. 171. capitol, set out from Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the custom. The departure of the consuls, says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity and an incredible concourse of the people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest which every individual might have in the glory of the consul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curiosity to see the general, to whose prudence and valour the fate of the republic was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage, of their generals. "What mortal," said they, "can know the fate of a consul at his departure: whether we shall see him with his victorious army return in triumph to the capitol, from whence he sets out, after having offered up his pray-

ers to the gods; or whether the enemy may not rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip, who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus; and every body knew, that from the time of his accession to the crown a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts, the citizens in crowds conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mutius, who had both been consuls, did not think it below them to serve in his army in quality of military tribunes, (or as we may now say, as colonels or brigadiers,) and went with him; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidinii. The consul repaired in their company to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army; and passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum, in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the report of his ambassadors who had returned from Rome, and assured him that there remained no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word, to suffer every thing that could be endured, for the sake of peace, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction. That if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition not only to recover all he had lost, but even to render him formidable to those who at present made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They insisted, that by making cession of any part, he must determine to lose all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor lands that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal empire. That they knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires were subject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories; contenting themselves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Masinissa. That they had driven Antiochus and his son beyond mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia that was capable of giving umbrage to, or making head against the Romans. That prudence required Perseus, whilst he was still master of it, seriously to consider with himself, whether by making the Romans sometimes one concession, and sometimes another, he was resolved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to ask as a favour of the Romans, permission to retire and confine himself in Samothracia, or some other island, there to pass the rest of his days in contentment and misery, with the mortification of surviving his glory and empire; or whether he would prefer to hazard all the dangers of the war, armed as became a man of courage in defence of his fortunes and dignity; and, in case of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the universe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. Besides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having opposed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp his crown, to resign it merely to strangers that endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands? That, in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more inglorious than to give up empire without resistance, nor more laudable than to have used all possible endeavours to preserve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. "Since you think it so necessary," said the king, "let us make war then, with the help of the gods." He gave orders at the same time to his generals to assemble all their troops at Cithium, whither he went soon after himself, with all the lords of his court and his regiments of guards, after having offered a sacrifice of a hecatomb, or 100 oxen, to Minerva Alcideia. He found the whole army assembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to 59,000 foot, of whom almost half composed the phalanx, and 4000 horse. It was agreed, that

since the army Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia commanded one so numerous.

It was twenty-six years since Philip had made peace with the Romans; and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any considerable war, there were in it great numbers of youth capable of bearing arms, who had already begun to exercise and form themselves in the wars which Macedonia had supported against the Thracians their neighbours. Philip besides, and Perseus after him, had long formed the design of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was that at the time we speak of every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne, therefore, and from thence, having his two sons on each side of him, spoke to them with great energy. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to resolve to take up arms against them; but that a sudden death had prevented him from putting that design in execution. He added, that presently after the death of Philip, the Romans had sent ambassadors to him, and at the same time had marched troops into Greece to take possession of the strongest places; that afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amused him during all the winter with deceitful interviews and a pretended truce, under the specious pretext of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the consul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which, in his opinion, was much superior to the other, both in the number and valour of their troops, as well as in ammunition and provisions of war, collected with infinite care during a great number of years. "You have, therefore, Macedonians," said he, in concluding, "only to display the same courage which your ancestors showed, when having triumphed over all Europe, they crossed into Asia, and set no other bounds to their conquests, than those of the universe. You are not now to carry your arms to the extremities of the East, but to defend yourselves in the possession of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Romans attacked my father, they covered the unjust war with the specious pretence of re-establishing the ancient liberty of Greece; the present they undertake without any disguise, to reduce and enslave Macedonia. That haughty people cannot bear that the Roman empire should have any king for its neighbour, nor that any warlike nation should have arms for their defence. For you may be assured, if you refuse to make war, and will submit to the orders of those insulting masters, that you must resolve to deliver up your arms with your king and his kingdom to them."

At these words the whole army, which had expressed only moderate applause for the rest of his discourse, raised cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king to entertain the best hopes, and demanding earnestly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the occasions of the army; each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers; giving for his reason, that the army was abundantly provided with all things necessary. He only demanded carriages to convey the battering-rams, catapultæ, and other military engines.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after some days' march, arrived at Sycurium, a city situated at the foot of mount Eta: the consul's was at Gomphi in Thessaly, after having surmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almost impassable. The Romans themselves confessed, that had the enemy defended those passes, they might easily have destroyed their whole army in them. The consul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the same time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis, with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus: Philætarus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus, for the defence of the

country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with 4000 foot and 1000 horse. They had left Athenæus with 2000 foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. The allies sent also other troops, though not in any considerable number, and some galleys. Perseus, in the mean time, sent out several detachments to ravage the neighbouring country of Phære, in hopes that if the consul should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might surprise and attack him to advantage; but he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with distributing the booty he had made amongst his soldiers, which was very considerable, and consisted principally in cattle of all sorts.

The consul and king held each of them a council at the same time, in order to resolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Phæreans without opposition, thought it advisable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loss of time. The Romans were very sensible, that their slowness and delays would discredit them very much in the opinion of their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Phære. Whilst they were consulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, (Eumenes and Attalus present,) a courier came in upon the spur, and informed them that the enemy was very near with a numerous army. The signal was immediately given for the soldiers to stand to their arms, and 100 horse were detached, with as many of the light-armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no farther from the Roman camp than a short half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horse and light-armed soldiers. He had scarce marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, against which he sent a small detachment of horse, supported by some light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither side sent any fresh troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without its being possible to say which side was victorious. Perseus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day, at the same hour, Perseus advanced with all his troops to the same place. They were followed by carts laden with water, for there was none to be found within six leagues of the place; the way was very dusty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, fatigued as they were with thirst, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping close in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their intrenchments, the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the same several days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard, and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was begun, that they might face about. As the king's horse and light-armed foot were very much superior to those of the Romans, they assured themselves of having no difficulty in defeating them.

This first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the same place as he had done the two preceding days, about 1000 paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry and light-armed foot towards the camp of the Romans. The sight of the dust, which flew nearer than usual, and seemed to be raised by a greater number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the first who brought the news could scarcely persuade them that the enemy was so near, because for several days before they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the sun at that time was just rising. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion. All the officers repaired with the utmost haste to the general's tent, as the soldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the consul, so ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whose nearness to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than 500 paces from the consul's intrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, commanded the left, with the horse of his nation; the light-armed troops were distributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing, the king's horse and those of the auxiliaries were posted. The king kept the centre with the horse that always attended his person; before whom were placed the slingers and archers, about 400 in number.

The consul, having drawn up his foot in battle array within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his intrenchments. The right wing, which consisted of all the Italian horse, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother; the left, composed of the horse of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with the light-armed troops. Q. Mutius was posted in the centre with a select body of horse; and 200 of the Gaulish cavalry, and 300 of Eumenes's troops, were drawn up in his front. Four hundred Thessalian horse were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a body of reserve. King Eumenes and his brother Atalus, with their troops, were posted in the space between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which in number was almost equal on both sides, and might amount to about 4000 on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the slings and missile weapons, which were posted in front; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beasts long pent up, and thereby rendered more furious, threw themselves first upon the right wing of the Romans, who perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, sometimes cutting the legs of the horses, and sometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perseus, who attacked the centre of the enemy, soon put the Greeks into disorder; and as they were vigorously pursued in their flight, the Thessalian horse, which at a small distance from the left wing formed a body of reserve, and in the beginning of the action had been only spectators of the battle, were of great service when that wing gave way. For those horse retiring gently and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled and were dispersed; and when they saw the enemy was not warm in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Hippias and Leonatas having learned the advantage gained by the cavalry, that the king might not lose so favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their intrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared, indeed, that had the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and in the present ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated. Whilst he was deliberating with himself between hope and fear, upon what he should resolve, Evander of Crete,¹ in whom he reposed great confidence, upon seeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, and earnestly begged of him not to abandon himself to his present success, nor engage rashly in a new action that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace, or, if he should choose to continue the war, this first success would

infallibly determine those, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore, having praised the counsel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return into the camp.

The Romans lost 2000 of their light-armed infantry at least in this battle; and had 200 of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the other side, only twenty of their cavalry and forty foot soldiers were left upon the field. The victors returned into the camp with great joy, especially the Thracians, who, with songs of triumph, carried the heads of those they had killed upon the ends of their pikes: it was to them that Perseus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound sorrow, kept a mournful silence, and, filled with terror, expected every moment that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other side of the Peneus, in order that the river might serve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered from their panic. The consul was averse to taking that step, which, as an open profession of fear, was highly dishonourable to himself and his army; but, however, being convinced by reason, and yielding to necessity, he passed with his troops, under cover of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perseus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle; but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them intrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately upon their defeat; but he confessed it a still greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For without putting the rest of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops against the enemy during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might, without difficulty, have cut off at least part of their army.

We see here, in a sensible example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the fall of the greatest empires, owe their being. There is no reader but must have been surprised at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and let slip an almost certain occasion of defeating his enemy; it requires no great capacity nor penetration to discern so gross a fault. But how came it to pass, that Perseus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, should be so much mistaken? A notion is suggested to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd. But God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the destruction of the kingdom of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breast, and removes every thought which might, and naturally ought to have induced him to take quite different measures. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been easily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God seems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound sleep. Not one of his officers has the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this: but the Holy Scripture teaches us to think otherwise; and we may well apply to this event what was said of Saul's soldiers and officers: "And no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awaked; for they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the Lord was fallen upon them," 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans, indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, saw themselves no longer in danger of being suddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the consul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was said, that they were the first who took the alarm and fled; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the first who took to flight. The Thessalians, on the contrary, were praised for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with several marks of honour.

¹ Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.

The spoils taken from the Romans were not inconsiderable. They amounted to 1500 bucklers, 1000 cuirasses, and a much greater number of helmets, swords, and darts of all kinds. The king made great presents of them to the officers who had distinguished themselves most; and having assembled the army, he began by telling them, that what had happened was a happy presage for them, and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action; and in magnificent terms expatiated upon the victory over the Roman horse, in which the principal force of their army consisted, and which they had before believed invincible; and promised himself from thence a more considerable success over their infantry, who had only escaped their swords by a shameful flight during the night; but that it would be easy to force the intrenchments in which their fear kept them shut up. The victorious soldiers, who carried the spoils of the enemies they had slain upon their shoulders, heard this discourse with sensible pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the past. The foot, on their side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, stimulated by a laudable jealousy, pretended at least to equal, if not to excel, the glory of their companions upon the first occasion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king, after having dismissed the assembly, set forward the next day, passed the river, and encamped at Mopsium, an eminence situate between Tempe and Larissa.

The joy for the good success of so important a battle affected Perseus at first in all its extent. He looked upon himself as superior to a people, who themselves were so with respect to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by surprise, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own sight and under his own conduct. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way before him three times in one day: at first, in keeping close through fear in their camp; then, when they ventured out of it, shamefully betaking themselves to flight; and, lastly, by flying again, during the obscurity of the night, and in finding no other security than by being enclosed within their intrenchments, the usual refuge of terror and apprehension. These thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his first transports were a little abated, and the inebriating fume of sudden joy was somewhat evaporated, Perseus came to himself; and reflecting in cold blood upon all the consequences which might attend his victory, he began to be in some sort of terror. The wisest of the courtiers about him, taking advantage of so happy a disposition, ventured to give him the advice which his present temper made him capable of appreciating; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They represented to him, that the most certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity. That, therefore, he would do well to send to the consul, and propose a renewal of the treaty, upon the same conditions as had been imposed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle; nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a sure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture when the check the Romans had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions. That if, notwithstanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable accommodation, he would at least have the consolation of having the gods and men for witnesses of his own moderation, and the haughty obstinacy of the Romans.

The king acquiesced in these wise remonstrances, to which he never was averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the consul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him they came to demand peace; that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans as his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, which that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was proper to make. The Roman firmness displayed itself upon this occasion in an extraordinary manner. It was the custom at that time, to express in adversity all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune, and to act with moderation in prosperity. The answer was, that no peace could be granted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were strangely surprised at so extraordinary, and, in their opinion, so ill-timed a pride; most of them believed it needless to talk any farther of peace, and that the Romans would soon be reduced to demand what they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty but from a consciousness of superiority; and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He sent again to the consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than had been imposed upon Philip. When he saw the consul would retract nothing from his first answer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Scyrium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude, from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To think himself fortunate in being able, after a signal victory, to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue that he had taken his measures and concerted the means of success very ill; since, after a first action entirely to his advantage, he begins to discern all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort inclines to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness, till his own victory showed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and discovered in its full light to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partizans of Macedonia, but even by most of those whom the Romans had obliged, of whom some suffered with pain their haughty manners and insolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the same time was besieging the city of Haliartus in Bœotia.³ After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken at last by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harassing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thousand carriages, laden principally with sheaves of corn which the Romans had been to reap, and made 600 prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himself master with little or no difficulty; but he found more resistance than he had imagined. That small body was commanded by a brave officer called L. Pompeius, who, retiring to an eminence, defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops,

³ Ita tum mos erat, in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis.

² Liv. l. xlii. n. 64—67.

¹ Polyb. Legat. lix.

rather than surrender. He was upon the point of being borne down by numbers, when the consul arrived to his assistance with a strong detachment of horse and light armed foot; the legions were ordered to follow him. The sight of the consul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were 800 men, all Romans. Perseus immediately sent for his phalanx; but the consul did not wait his coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous resistance for some time, were at last broken and put to the rout. Three hundred foot were left upon the field, with twenty-four of the best horse, of the troop called the Sacred Squadron, of which the commander himself, Antimachus, was killed.

The success of this action reanimated the Romans and very much alarmed Perseus. After having put a strong garrison into Gonnus, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The consul having reduced Perrhæbia, and taken Larissa and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, except the Achæans; dispersed his troops in Thessaly, where he left them in winter quarters, and went into Bœotia at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronea had made incursions.

SECTION III.—THE SENATE PASS A WISE DECREE TO PUT A STOP TO THE AVARICE OF THE GENERALS AND MAGISTRATES, WHO OPPRESSED THE ALLIES. THE CONSUL MARCIUS, AFTER SUSTAINING GREAT FATIGUE, ENTERS MACEDONIA. PERSEUS TAKES THE ALARM, AND LEAVES THE PASSES OPEN; HE RESUMES COURAGE AFTERWARDS. INSOLENT EMBASSY OF THE RHODIANS TO ROME.

Nothing memorable passed the A. M. 3834. following year.¹ The consul Hostilius Ant. J. C. 170. lius had sent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with 4000 foot, to defend such of the inhabitants of that country as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add 8000 men, raised among the allies, to his first body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Dassarete. Near that place was another city called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus, and where he had a strong garrison. Claudius, upon the promise which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it with almost all his troops, without any order, distrust, or precaution. Whilst he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious sally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and pursued them a great way with dreadful slaughter. Of 11,000 men, scarce 2000 escaped into the camp, which 1000 had been left to guard; Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loss very much afflicted the senate; and the more, because it had been occasioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

This was the almost universal disease of the commanders at that time.² The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors, well satisfied with the manner in which their remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the future, they passed a decree, which expressed that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressly appointed; which ordinance was published in all the cities of Peloponnesus.

C. Popilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the

Greeks. They found great divisions in almost all the cities, especially among the Ætolians, occasioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The assembly of Achaia was not exempt from these divisions; but the wisdom of the persons of greatest authority prevented their consequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal persons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers against the republic, and to avoid the misfortunes into which those were fallen, who had not been sufficiently aware of the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed; and it was resolved that Archon should be made chief magistrate, and Polybius captain-general of the horse.

About this time Attalus, having something to demand of the Achæan league, caused the new magistrate to be sounded; who being determined in favour of the Romans and their allies, promised that prince to support his suit with all his power. The affair in question was, to have a decree reversed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of king Eumenes should be removed from the public places. At the first council that was held, the ambassadors of Attalus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded, that in consideration of the prince who sent them, Eumenes, his brother, should be restored to the honours which the republic had formerly decreed him. Archon supported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius spoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and services of Eumenes, demonstrated the injustice of the first decree, and concluded that it was proper to repeal it. The whole assembly applauded his discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored to all his honours.

It was at this time that Rome sent Popilius to Antiochus Epiphanes,³ A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. prevent his enterprises against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcus Philippus, one of the two consuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he set out, Perseus had conceived the design of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions during the king's being employed against the Romans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began with the siege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, (it is not known how,) and took it, after a defence of some duration. He afterwards made himself master of all the strong places in the country, the most part of which had Roman garrisons in them, and took a great number of prisoners.

Perseus at the same time sent ambassadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and to come over to him. Gentius was far from being averse to it; but he observed, that having neither ammunition for the war, nor money, he was in no condition to declare against the Romans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or rather affected not to understand, his demand, and sent a second embassy to him without mention of money, and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expense, which denotes a little and mean soul, and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprises miscarry; and that if he would have sacrificed certain sums, and those far from considerable, he might have engaged several republics and princes in his party. Can such a blindness be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius considers it as a punishment from the gods.

Perseus, having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia, above the gulf of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes that they would surrender it as soon as he appeared before the walls;

¹ Liv. l. xliiii. n. 9, 10.

² Polyb. Legat. lxxiv. Liv. l. xliii. n. 17.

³ Liv. l. xliiii. n. 11; and 18—23. Polyb. Legat. lxxv. lxxvii.

but the Romans prevented them, and threw succours into the place.

Early in the spring the consul Marcius left Rome, and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully assured that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon the report that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magistrate of the Achæans, to justify his country from the suspicions and injurious reports that had been propagated against it, advised the Achæans to pass a decree, by which it should be ordained, that they should march an army into Thessaly, and share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to the consul, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know from him where and when the Achæan army should join him. Polybius, our historian, with some others, was charged with this embassy. They found the Romans had quitted Thessaly, and were encamped in Perrhæbia, between Azorus and Doliche, greatly perplexed about the route it was necessary to take. They followed them, in order to await a favourable opportunity of speaking to the consul, and shared with him in all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perseus,² who did not know what route the consul would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium, marching and counter-marching without any fixed object.

Marcius, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the forest that covered the heights of Octolophus. He had incredible difficulties to surmount, the ways were so steep and impracticable; but he had had the precaution to seize an eminence, which favoured his passage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not distant above a thousand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila, might be discovered; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes such opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themselves. Hippias, whom the king had posted to defend this pass with a body of 12,000 men, seeing the eminence possessed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the consul, who was advancing with his whole army, harassed his troops for two days, and distressed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with safety, or retreat without shame, or even danger. He had no other choice to make, than to pursue with vigour an undertaking, formed perhaps with too much boldness and temerity, but which could not succeed without a determinate perseverance, which is often crowned in the end with success. It is certain, that if the consul had had to deal with an enemy like the ancient kings of Macedonia, in the narrow defile where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to support Hippias, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his cavalry into the country about Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans an opportunity of extricating themselves from the dangerous situation into which they had brought themselves.

It was not without infinite pains that they effected this; the horses laden with their baggage sinking under their burdens as they descended the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants, especially, gave them great trouble: it was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having cleared a level on the snow on these declivities, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the road, at the distance of something more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon those

beams they laid planks of thirty feet in length and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge, but at some little distance, they erected a second, then a third, and as many more of the same kind as were necessary. The elephant passed from the firm ground to the bridge; and before he came to the end, they contrived to lower insensibly the beams that supported it, and let him gently down with the bridge: he went on in that manner to the second, and so to all the rest. It was not easy to express the fatigues they underwent in this pass; the soldiers being often obliged to roll down with their arms, because it was impossible for them to keep their footing. It was agreed, that with a handful of men, the enemy might have defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself in safety.

As the consul seemed then to have happily overcome the greatest difficulties of his enterprise,³ Polybius thought this a proper time for presenting to Marcius the decree of the Achæans, and assuring him of their resolution to join him with all their forces, and to share with him in all the labours and dangers of this war. Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their good will in the kindest terms, told them, they might spare themselves the trouble and expense that war would give them; that he would dispense with both; and that, in the present posture of affairs, he had no occasion for the aid of the allies. After this discourse, Polybius's colleagues returned into Achæia.

Polybius alone continued in the Roman army, till the consul, having received advice that Appius, surnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of 5000 men to be sent him into Epirus, despatched him home with advice, not to suffer his republic to furnish those troops, or engage in expenses entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to demand that aid. It is difficult, says the historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Did he wish to spare the Achæans, or was he laying a snare for them? or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing?

Whilst the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what plan to pursue, and changing every moment his resolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the passes; sent the gilt statues⁴ at Dium on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans: gave orders that his treasures, which were laid up at Pella, should be thrown into the sea, and all his galleys at Thessalonica burnt. For himself, he retired to Pydna.

The consul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. The only passage for him was through two forests; by the one he might penetrate through the valley of Tempe in Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter farther into Macedonia; and both these important posts were possessed by strong garrisons whom the king had placed there. So that if Perseus had only stayed ten days without taking fright, it had been impossible for the Romans to have entered Thessaly by Tempe, and the consul would have had no pass by which provisions could be conveyed to him. For the ways through Tempe are bordered by such vast precipices, that the eye could scarce look down from them without dizziness. The king's troops guarded this pass at four several places, of which the last was so narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans, therefore, not being able either to receive provisions by the narrow passes of Tempe, nor to get through them, must have been obliged to regain the mountains from whence they came down, which was become imprac-

³ Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

⁴ These were the statues of the horse soldiers killed in passing the Granicus, which Alexander had caused to be made by Lysippus, and to be set up in Dium.

¹ Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

² Liv. l. xlv. n. 1—10.

ticable, the enemy having possessed themselves of the eminences. The only choice they had left was to open their way into Macedonia, through their enemies, to Dium; which would have been no less difficult, if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived Perseus of prudence and counsel. For in making a fosse with intrenchments in a very narrow defile at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have absolutely shut them out, and stopped them short. But in the blindness into which his fear had thrown the king, he neither saw nor put in execution any of the various means in his power to save himself, but left all the passes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The consul perceived aright, that he owed his safety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned, in order to secure a retreat in case of accident; and sent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter, in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly surprised that the king had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march, and made himself master of several places, almost without any resistance. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the more the dearth increased; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him he might find provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium suggested to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his courage what he had lost by his fear. He repossessed himself therefore of that city, and soon repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his side, besieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league distant from Phila.

Perseus, having recovered his fright and resumed his spirits, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treasures at Pella into the sea, and burn all his ships at Thessalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might soon follow that command, as indeed it happened. Nicias, with less precaution, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea. But his fault was soon repaired by divers, who brought up almost the whole money from the bottom of the sea. To reward their services, the king caused them all to be put to death secretly, as well as Andronicus and Nicias; so much was he ashamed of the abject terror to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions passed on both sides by sea and land, which were neither of much consequence nor importance.

When Polybius returned from his embassy into Peloponnesus,¹ Appius's letter, in which he demanded 5000 men, had been received there. Some time after, the council, which was assembled at Sicyon, to deliberate upon that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he had received from Marcus, had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was dangerous to refuse the Romans the troops they might have occasion for, and of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themselves in so delicate a conjuncture, they had recourse to the decree of the Roman senate, that prohibited their paying any regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the senate was annexed to them, which Appius had not sent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was sent to Appius, it was necessary to inform the consul of his demand, and to wait for his decision upon it. By that means, Polybius saved the Achæans an ex-

pense, which would have amounted to more than 120,000 crowns.

In the mean time arrived at Rome ambassadors from Prusias,² king of Bithynia, and also from the Rhodians, in favour of Perseus. The former expressed themselves very modestly, declaring that Prusias had constantly adhered to the Roman party, and should continue to do so during the war; but that having promised Perseus to employ his good offices in his behalf with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he desired, if it were possible, that they would grant him that favour, and make use of his mediation as they should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having set forth, in a lofty style, the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share in the victories they had obtained, and especially in that over Antiochus, they added, that whilst the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negotiated a treaty of alliance with Perseus; that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint against the king, because it had pleased the Romans to engage them on their side; that during the three years which this war had continued, they had suffered many inconveniences from it; that their trade by sea being interrupted, the island found itself in great straits, from the reduction of its revenues and other advantages arising from commerce; that being no longer able to support such considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia, to king Perseus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans, and that they were also sent to Rome to make the same declaration; that if either of the parties refused to accede to so reasonable a proposal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do.

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a discourse was received. Some historians tell us, that all the answer that was given to it was, to order a decree of the senate whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their presence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part; for they pretended to an authority over both those nations. Others say, the senate answered in few words; that the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intrigues with Perseus, had been long known at Rome; that when the Roman people should have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective merits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usual presents.

The consul Q. Marcus's letter was then read; in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wise precaution of the prætor, he had sufficient provisions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots 20,000 measures of wheat and 10,000 of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors, then at Rome: that it was also necessary to send him clothes for the soldiers: that he wanted 200 horses, especially from Numidia, because there was none of that kind in the country where he was. All these articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Onesimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to maintain peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had ceased his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he had admonished him to do as much, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he had begun to withdraw himself from his councils, under different pretexts, that he might not be witness to the resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, seeing himself become suspected, and tacitly considered as a

¹ Quod, nisi dii mentem regi adenisissent, ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat.—*Liv.*

² Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

³ Liv. l. xliv. n. 14, 15.

traitor, he had taken refuge among the Romans, and had been of great service to the consul. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his subsistence.

SECTION IV.—PAULUS ÆMILIUS CHOSEN CONSUL. HE SETS OUT FOR MACEDONIA WITH THE PRÆTOR CN. OCTAVIUS, WHO COMMANDED THE FLEET. PERSEUS SOLICITS AID ON ALL SIDES. HIS AVARICE IS THE CAUSE OF HIS LOSING CONSIDERABLE ALLIES. THE PRÆTOR ANICIUS'S VICTORIES IN ILLYRIA. PAULUS ÆMILIUS'S CELEBRATED VICTORY OVER PERSEUS NEAR THE CITY OF PYDNA. PERSEUS TAKEN WITH ALL HIS CHILDREN. THE COMMAND OF PAULUS ÆMILIUS IN MACEDONIA PROLONGED. DECREE OF THE SENATE GRANTING LIBERTY TO THE MACEDONIANS AND ILLYRIANS. PAULUS ÆMILIUS, DURING THE WINTER QUARTERS, VISITS THE MOST CELEBRATED CITIES OF GREECE. UPON HIS RETURN TO AMPHIPOLIS HE GIVES A GREAT FEAST. HE MARCHES FOR ROME. ON HIS WAY HE SUFFERS HIS ARMY TO PLUNDER ALL THE CITIES OF EPIRUS. HE ENTERS ROME IN TRIUMPH. DEATH OF PERSEUS. CN. OCTAVIUS AND L. ANICIUS HAVE ALSO THE HONOUR OF A TRIUMPH DECREED THEM.

The time for the comitia,¹ or assembly for the election of consuls A. M. 3836. at Rome, approaching, all the world Ant. J. C. 163. were anxious to know upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the consuls who had been employed for three years against Perseus, and they had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories formerly obtained over his father Philip, who had been obliged to sue for peace; over Antiochus, who was driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what was still more considerable, over Hannibal, the greatest general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy after a war of more than sixteen years' continuance, and conquered in his own country almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations made by Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly discerned that it was no time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was necessary to choose a general for his wisdom, valour and experience; in a word, one capable of conducting so important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when distinguished merit unites the voices of the public; and nothing is more grateful than such a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's past services, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the state's pressing occasion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near sixty years old: but age, without impairing his faculties in the least, had rather improved them with maturity of wisdom and judgment: more necessary in a general than even valour and bravery. He had been consul thirteen years before, and had acquired general esteem during his administration. But the people repaid his services with ingratitude, having refused to raise him again to the same dignity, though he had solicited it with sufficient ardour. For several years he had led a private and retired life, solely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever succeeded better, nor was more gloriously rewarded for his care. All his relations, all his friends, urged him to comply with the people's wishes in taking upon him the consulship: but believing himself no longer capable of commanding, he avoided appearing in public, kept himself at home, and shunned honours with as much solicitude as others generally pursue them. However, when he saw the people assemble every morning in crowds

before his door, that they summoned him to the Forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal to serve his country, he acceded at last to their remonstrances; and appearing amongst those who aspired to that dignity, he seemed less to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the assurance of an approaching and complete victory. The consulship was conferred upon him unanimously; and, according to Plutarch, the command of the army in Macedonia was assigned to him in preference to his colleague, though Livy says it fell to him by lot.

It is said, that on the very day that he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all the people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, crying bitterly. He embraced her, and asked her the cause of her tears. Tertia, hugging him with her little arms, "Do you not know, then, father," said she, "that our Perseus is dead?" She spoke of a little dog she had brought up, called Perseus. "And at a very good time, my dear child," said Paulus Æmilius, struck with the word; "I accept this omen with joy." The ancients carried their superstition with respect to this kind of fortuitous occurrences very high.

The manner in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with,² gave room to judge of the success to be expected from it. He demanded, first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and fleet, and to make their report, after an exact inquiry, of the number of troops which was necessary to be added both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as near as possible, of the number of the king's forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were encamped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty, which of them were dubious and wavering, and whom they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them either by land or water; what had passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to enter fully into this detail; convinced that the plan of the campaign upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of all these particulars. The senate highly approved these wise measures, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius, who set out two days after.

During their absence, audience was given the ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust enterprises of Antiochus king of Syria, which have been before related.

The commissioners made extraordinary despatch. Upon their return, they reported that Marcus had forced the passes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: that the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual possession of it: that the two camps were very near each other, being separated only by the river Enipeus: that the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines: that, in addition to the other inconveniences, a very severe winter had happened, from which they suffered exceedingly in their mountainous country, and were entirely prevented from acting; and that they had only provisions for six days: that the army of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to 30,000 men; that if Appian Claudius had been sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus, in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect against king Gentius; but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger, unless a considerable reinforcement were immediately sent him, or he be ordered directly to quit the post he then occupied: that after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet; that they

¹ Liv. l. xlv. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 259, 260. Vol. II.—23

² Liv. l. xlv. n. 18—22. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260.

had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases; that the rest of the allies, especially those of Sicily, were returned home; and that the fleet was entirely in want of seamen and soldiers; that those who remained had not received their pay, and had no clothes; that Eumenes and his fleet, after having just shown themselves, disappeared immediately without any cause that could be assigned; and that it seemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on; but that as for his brother Attalus, his good will was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commissioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the senate decreed that he should set forward without loss of time for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to succeed Ap. Claudius in his post near Lynchnidus, in Illyria. The number of troops which each of them was to command was regulated in the following manner:—

The troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius consisted, amounted to 25,800 men; that is, two Roman legions, each composed of 6000 foot and 300 horse; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horse. He had, besides, 600 horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The whole, in all probability, did not amount to more than 30,000 men. The prætor Anicius was to have also two legions; but they consisted of only 5000 foot and 300 horse each; which, with 10,000 of the Italian allies and 800 horse, composed the army under him of 21,200 men. The troops that served on board the fleet were 5000 men. These three bodies together made 56,200 men.

As the war which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia seemed of the utmost consequence, every precaution was taken that might conduce to the success of it. The consuls and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve in it, and each commanded in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed that none should be elected into this employment but such as had already served, and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to choose out of all the tribunes such as he approved for his army: he had twelve for the two legions.

It must be allowed that the Romans acted with great wisdom upon this occasion. They had, as we have seen, unanimously chosen as consul and general, the person amongst them who was indisputably the greatest captain of his time. They had resolved that no officers should be raised to the post of tribune, but such as were distinguished by their merit, experience, and capacity, instanced in real service; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or seniority, to which indeed the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more: by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to choose such of the tribunes as he thought fit; well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who serve under him, in order to ensure the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the soul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the best understanding between them, founded in a love for the public good, with which neither interest, jealousy, nor ambition, is capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the consul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assembly of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner. "You seem to me, Romans, to have expressed more joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, than when I was elected consul, or entered upon that office; and to me your joy seemed to be occasioned by the hopes you conceived that I should put an end, in a manner worthy of the grandeur and reputation of the Roman people, to a war, which, in your opinion, has already been of too long continuance. I have reason to believe, that the same gods, who have oc-

casioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will also assist me with their protection in conducting and terminating this war successfully: but of this I may venture to assure you, that I shall do my utmost not to fall short of your expectations. The senate has wisely regulated every thing necessary for the expedition with which I am charged; and as I am ordered to set out immediately, in which I shall make no delay, I am convinced that my colleague, C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for the public service, will raise and march off the troops appointed for me, with as much ardour and expedition as if they were for himself. I shall take care to remit to you, as well as to the senate, an exact account of all that passes; and you may rely upon the certainty and truth of my letters; but I beg of you as a great favour, that you will not give credit to, or attribute consequence by your credulity to, the vague and unauthenticated reports which are frequently spread abroad. I perceive well, in this war, more than any other, that with whatever resolution people may determine to disregard these rumours, they will not fail to make an impression, and inspire some degree of discouragement. There are those, who in company, and even at tables, command armies, regulate the disposition of the forces, and prescribe all the operations of the campaign. They know better than we where we should encamp, and what posts it is necessary for us to seize; at what time, and by what defile, we ought to enter Macedonia; where it is proper to establish our magazines; from whence, either by sea or land, we are to bring provisions; when we are to fight the enemy, and when lie still. They not only prescribe what is best to be done, but for deviating ever so little from their plans they make it a crime in their consul, and cite him before their tribunal. But know, Romans, this is a great impediment with your generals. All have not the resolution and constancy of Fabius, to despise impertinent reports. He could choose rather to suffer the people upon such rumours to invade his authority, than to ruin the business of the state in order to secure to himself their good opinion and an empty name. I am far from believing that generals stand in no need of advice: I think, on the contrary, that whoever would conduct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and without consulting the judgment of others, shows more presumption than prudence. But some may ask, How then shall we act reasonably? By not suffering any persons to obtrude their advice upon your generals, but such as are, in the first place, versed in the art of war, and have learned from experience what it is to command: and in the second, who are upon the spot, who know the enemy, are witnesses in person to all that passes, and sharers with us in all dangers. If there be any one who conceives himself capable of assisting me with his counsels in the war you have charged me with, let him not refuse to do the republic that service, but let him go with me into Macedonia; a ship, horses, tents, provisions, shall all be supplied at my charge. But if he will not take so much trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of the city to the dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not take upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle in port. The city of itself supplies sufficient matter of discourse on other subjects; but as for these, let it be silent, and know, that we shall pay no regard to any counsels, but such as shall be given us in the camp itself."

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reason and good sense, shows that men are the same in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining, criticising, and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not observe, that by so doing they act in manifest contradiction to reason and justice: to reason; for what can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, set themselves up for censors of the most able generals, and pronounce with a magisterial air upon their actions? to justice; for the most experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the spot; the least circumstance of time, place, disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged, being capable of making an absolute change in the general rules of conduct. But

* It was a received opinion in all ages and nations, that the Divinity presides over chance.

we must not expect to see a failing reformed, that has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to despise these city reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgment as business.

Paulus Æmilius, after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilst they were employed at Rome in making preparations for the war, Perseus, on his side, had not been asleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius king of Illyria 300 talents of silver, (that is, 300,000 crowns,) and purchased his alliance at that price.

He sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, convinced that if that island, very powerful at that time by sea, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wisely in having recourse to these measures, and in endeavouring to strengthen himself by such supports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundation of his enterprise. He did not think of putting those remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almost to extremity, and his affairs were almost absolutely desperate. It was rather calling in spectators and associates of his ruin, than aids and supports. The instructions which he gave his ambassadors were very solid and forcible, as we shall soon see; but he should have made use of them three years sooner, and have waited their effect, before he embarked, almost alone, in the war against so powerful a people, and one that had so many resources in case of misfortune.

The ambassadors had the same instructions for both those kings. They represented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republics and monarchies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and, what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themselves to ruin them in succession. That they had crushed his father by the assistance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and, in some measure, by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subjected, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and Prusias against himself. That after the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the next to experience the same fate; of which they had already usurped a part, under the specious pretext of re-establishing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria's turn would soon follow. That they had already begun to prefer Prusias to Eumenes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus requested of them, either to induce the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or, if they persevered in the unjust design of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret upon the real cause of their mission. There had passed already several conferences, at different times and places, upon the same subject, which had begun to render that prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not that Eumenes desired in reality that Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealousy; neither was he more willing to declare openly against him, or to make war upon him. But, in hopes to see the two parties equally inclined to peace; Perseus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befall him; the Romans, from

being weary of a war spun out to too great a length; he desired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perseus purchase his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was 1500 talents (1,500,000 crowns.) The only difference that remained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for waiting till the service was performed, and in the mean time offered to deposit the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himself secure in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus; and therefore he insisted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed likewise in another negotiation, which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other side of the Danube, consisting of 10,000 horse and as many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horseman, five to the infantry, and 1000 to their captains. I have observed above, that these Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that in the towns and villages through which they were to pass, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, should be provided for them; he had presents for their principal officers, of horses, arms, and jackets; to these he added some money, which was to be distributed amongst a small number: he imagined he should gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their arms; and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He set off, in the best terms, the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them: after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to send their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be put off with words. Clondicus, the general and king of these strangers, came directly to the point; and asked, whether he had brought the sum agreed on. As no answer was given to that question, "Go," said he, "and let your prince know, that till he sends the hostages and sums agreed on, the Gauls will not stir from hence." The king, upon the return of his deputy, assembled his council. He foresaw what they would advise; but, as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he expatiated upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls; adding, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that 5000 horse would be sufficient for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money; but nobody dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than 5000 horse. Upon which they raised a universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who made them come so far merely to insult them. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the 5000 horse: as the deputy sought for an evasion, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, and he himself was under terrible apprehensions. However, they paid respect to his quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment of his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their route to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipeus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have pene-

* Liv. l. xlv. p. 23—29. Polyb. Legat. lxxxv.—lxxxvii. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 261.

trated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have drawn no provisions as before from Thessaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. The avarice by which he was governed, prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the 300 talents, which he had demanded for more than a year, for raising troops and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria 10 talents (10,000 crowns) in part of the sum promised him. Gentius despatched his ambassadors, and with them persons in whom he could confide, to receive the money. He directed them also, when all should be concluded, to join Perseus's ambassadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to induce that republic to form an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head against the three powers united. Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After the interchange of hostages, and the taking of oaths on both sides, it only remained to deliver the 300 talents. The ambassadors and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella, where the money was told down to them, and put into chests, under the seal of the ambassadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perseus had covertly given orders to the persons charged with this convoy, to march slowly, and by short journeys, and when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia to stop for his farther orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyria, pressed the king with great earnestness to declare against the Romans by some act of hostility. In the mean while arrived ambassadors from the Romans, to negotiate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received ten talents by way of earnest, and was informed that the whole sum was upon the road. Upon the repeated solicitations of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imprisoned, under the pretence that they were spies. As soon as Perseus had received this news, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably engaged against the Romans by so glaring an act, he recalled those who carried the 300 talents; congratulating himself in secret upon the good success of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in saving his money. But he did not see that he only kept it in reserve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his son Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, who used to say, "That victory should be purchased with money, and not money saved at the expense of victory."

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republic had resolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare against that which should refuse to accept proposals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring; the consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Oreum with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The success of the latter was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war against Gentius, and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the capital of the country, which had surrendered to him, with great moderation, the other cities soon followed his example. Gentius himself was reduced to come and throw himself at Anicius's feet to implore his mercy; confessing with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His first care was to take the two ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them,

named Perpeanna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory, and some days after caused Gentius to be conducted thither, with his mother, wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The sight of such illustrious prisoners very much augmented the people's joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, and the temples were crowded with a vast concourse of persons of all sexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perseus encamped near the sea, at the foot of mount Olympus, in places which seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipeus in front, whose banks were very high; and on the side where he lay, he had thrown up strong entrenchments with towers at proper distances, on which were placed balistæ, and other machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perseus had fortified himself in such a manner, as made him believe himself entirely secure, and gave him hopes of weakening, and at last repulsing, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find in subsisting his troops and maintaining his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts solely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprize with success. He began by establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the licentiousness in which it had been suffered to live. He reformed several things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops, as the duty of sentinels. It had been a custom amongst the soldiers to criticise their general, to examine all his actions amongst themselves, to prescribe his duties, and to point out what he ought, or ought not, to do. He spoke to them with resolution and dignity. He gave them to understand that such discourses did not become a soldier; that he ought to make only three things his business: the care of his body, in order to render it robust and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean and in good condition; and that of his provisions, that he might be always in readiness to march upon the first notice; that for the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general. That for himself, he should omit nothing that might be necessary to give them occasion to evince their valour; and that they had only to take care to do their duty well when the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this discourse. The old soldiers declared that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A surprising change was immediately observed in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses, and shields; practising an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords; in short, forming and inuring themselves to all military exercises: so that it was easy to foresee that, upon the first opportunity they should have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

The camp was situated very commodiously, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose thoughts extended to every thing, seeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged, from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the same time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the sand. The surface² was scarce broken up, when springs of water were seen to run, muddy at first, and in small quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event, though natural, was looked upon by the

¹ The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provisions for ten or twelve days.

² *Lix deducta summa arena erat, cum scaturigines turbidæ primò et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multanque fundere aq̃am, velut deùm dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res duci famæ et auctoritatis a pud milites adjecit.—Liv.*

soldiers as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection; and made him more beloved and respected by them than before.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp,—the ardour of the soldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exercises by which they prepared themselves for combat,—he began to be truly disquieted, and perceived plainly that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius, an Hostilius, or a Marcus; and that the Roman army was entirely changed, together with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his side, animated his soldiers, employed himself in forming them by different exercises, added new fortifications to the old, and used all means to secure his camp from danger or insult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This caused incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited amongst the soldiers an inexpressible ardour to signalize themselves also on their side. For it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perseus endeavoured at first to suppress this news, but his care to stifle it only served to make it more public and certain. The alarm was general amongst his troops, and made them apprehensive of the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to peace, that at Rome had so highly offended the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height of their anger, were for having them dismissed with insult. The consul thought the best way to express his contempt for them, was to reply coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days. To show how little he valued the pacific mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable that the Roman army, which the year before penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Thessaly; perhaps upon account of provisions; for at present they consulted upon measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, and those the oldest officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's intrenchments upon the bank of the Enipeus. They observed that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion that Octavius, with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica, and ravage the sea-coasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipeus for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the passage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to choose what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw that the Enipeus, as well from its natural situation as from the fortifications which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of such impenetrable lines as those were, had been to expose his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a good general spares the blood of his soldiers, because he looks upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty to preserve them as his children. He kept quiet, therefore, for some days, without making the least movement. Plutarch says, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies so numerous, that lay so long in the presence of each other, in such profound peace and so perfect a tranquillity. At any other time the soldiers would have murmured through ardour and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent inquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrhæbian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhæbia, which led to Pythium, a town situated upon the

brow of mount Olympus: that this way was not of difficult access, but was well guarded. Persens had sent thither a detachment of 5000 men. He conceived that in causing an attack to be made in the night and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beaten from this post, and he take possession of it. It was necessary therefore to amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real design. He sent for the prætor Octavius; and having imparted his plan to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten days' provisions with him for 1000 men; in order to make Persens believe that he was going to ravage the sea-coast. At the same time he made his son Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out: he gave them a detachment of 5000 chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the sea-side towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been proposed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the consul's orders. As soon as it was night, quitting their route by the coast, they advanced without halting towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhæbian guides. It had been concluded that they should arrive there the third day before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next day in the morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a slight engagement in the very channel of the river, which was then very low. The banks on each side, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of 300 paces, and the stream was 1000 paces broad. The action passed in the sight of the king and consul, who were each with his troops in the front of their camps. The consul caused the retreat to be sounded towards noon. The loss was almost equal on both sides. The next day the battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at the same hour; but it was warmer and continued longer. The Romans had not only those upon their hands with whom they fought; but the enemy, from the tops of the towers placed along the banks, poured volleys of darts and stones upon them. The consul lost many more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay still, and seemed to design to attempt a passage near the sea. Persens did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened him.

Scipio had arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reason he made them rest themselves the remainder of the night. Persens in the mean time was very quiet. But on a sudden a Cretan deserter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him from his security, by letting him know the compass the Romans had taken to surprise him. The king, terrified with the news, detached immediately 10,000 foreign soldiers, with 2000 Macedonians, under the command of Mllo, and ordered them with all possible diligence to take possession of an eminence, which the Romans had still to pass before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very severe engagement ensued upon this eminence, and the victory was for some time in suspense. But the king's detachment at length gave way on all sides, and were put to the rout. Scipio pursued them vigorously, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When those who fled came to the camp of Persens, they occasioned so great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, overwhelmed with terror and almost in despair. He held a great council in order to deliberate upon the measures he was to pursue. The question was, whether it was best to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops among his towns, supply them well with provisions,

¹ The perpendicular height of mount Olympus, where Pythium was situated, was upwards of ten stadia, or a mile and a quarter.

and expect the enemy there, who could not long subsist in a country, which he would take care to lay waste, and which could furnish neither forage for the horse, nor provisions for the men. The latter resolution was attended with great inconveniences, and betokened a prince reduced to the last extremity, and destitute of either hope or resource; not to mention the hatred he would draw upon himself by ruining the country, which was to be not only commanded but executed in person by the king himself. Whilst Perseus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt, the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. These reasons reanimated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, assigned every one his post, and gave all his orders with great presence of mind; resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there was a ridge of little hills, which joining together, gave the light-armed foot and the archers a secure retreat, and also afforded them the means of concealing their march to surround the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two small rivers, which had not much water at that time, in consequence of the season (for it was then about the end of summer,) but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy; keeping always on the sea-coast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted, to deliberate upon what he had to do.

The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him to entreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the urgency of his request. He represented to him that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays. That he was afraid Perseus would fly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compasses through defiles and forests, as had happened in the preceding years. He advised him, therefore, whilst the enemy were in the open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let slip so fair occasion of conquering him.

"Formerly," replied the consul to young Scipio, "I thought as you do now, and one day you will think as I do. I shall give you the reasons of my conduct another time; at present, rely upon the discretion of an old general." The young officer was silent, well convinced that the consul had good reasons for acting as he did.

After having spoken thus, he commanded the troops who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in order of battle, and to present a front, as if they intended to engage. They were disposed, according to the custom of the Romans,¹ in three lines: at the same time the pioneers, covered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp. As there were a great number, the work was soon com-

pleted. The consul then made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was nearest the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the intrenchments, without confusion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king, on his side, seeing the Romans declined fighting, retired also into his camp.

It was an inviolable law amongst the Romans,² though they were to stay only one day or night in a place, to enclose themselves in a well-fortified camp: by that means they placed themselves out of the reach of insult, and avoided all surprise. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the intrenchments served instead of walls, and the tents, of houses. In case of a battle, if the army was overcome, the camp served for their retreat and refuge; and, if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and security.

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreshment; whilst they had no other thoughts than of going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark; and the light failed by little and little, it changed its colour several times, and was at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having assembled the soldiers the day before, with the consul's permission, had apprized them of the eclipse, and pointed out to them the exact moment when it would begin, and how long it would continue. The Roman soldiers therefore were not astonished at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were seized with horror and dread; and it was whispered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the sacrifices, or rather very superstitious, employed himself in offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed twenty, one after another, without finding any favourable sign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the one-and-twentieth, he imagined he saw such as promised him the victory, if he only defended himself, without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a sacrifice to the same god of 100 oxen, with public games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he assembled his council. He had heard complaints of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He was anxious therefore to give this assembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promised it. The reasons for his not having given battle the day before, were, first, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably by the great detachment requisite to guard the baggage. In the second place, would it have been consistent with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh, with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, with which they had been almost broiled, and by thirst, which gave them almost insupportable pain? In the last place, he insisted strongly on the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well intrenched camp behind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

We see here,³ that there is a wide difference between the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers, and that of a general; the former have only to desire to engage, and behave well in battle; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and compare

¹ *Majores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus ducantur esse. Patria altera est militaris hæc sedes, vallumque pro manibus, et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt—Castris super victori receptaculum, victo periculum.—Livy. l. xlii. n. 29.*

² *Divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia militibus capiendum pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consulando, cunctatione sæpius quam temeritate procedere.—Tacit. Hist. l. iii. c. 20.*

³ *Hastatii. Principes. Triarii.*

every thing, in order to choose his measures with mature deliberation; and frequently by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.

Though the resolution for fighting had been taken on both sides, it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle, than the order of the generals, who were not in great haste on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to assist those foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance, to support the Thracians; and the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius, and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle; this puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Plutarch says being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge, the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers in such a manner, that the latter, in spite of all their efforts, were unable to reach them with their swords; and he saw, at the same time, that the whole front line of the enemy joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of brass and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the impression that dreadful sight made upon him, so strong as to make him doubt the success of the battle. But not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety; and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than sixty years of age, was seen exposing himself to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost endeavours, one of their officers took the standard of his company, and tossed it into the midst of the enemy. The rest threw themselves, in consequence, like desperate men, upon that battalion. Astonishing actions of valour ensued on both sides, with a most dreadful slaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, or to push them back with their bucklers; striving sometimes to pull them out of their hands, or to turn them aside in order to open themselves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping close order, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and gave such violent strokes to those that rushed upon them, that, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the boldest of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to throw themselves headlong, like wild beasts, upon the spears of their enemies, and to rush upon a death they saw before their eyes.

The whole front line being thus put into disorder, the second was discouraged, and began to fall back. They did not indeed fly; but, instead of advancing, they retreated toward mount Oloris.¹ When Paulus Æmilius saw that, he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme sorrow to see, upon the first troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered thick with pikes, and close as an impenetrable intrenchment; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broken nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed that the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one side, whilst it advanced on the other;

as must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troops, not always acting with the same vigour, fight also with different success.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void spaces of the enemy's line, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the same time. This order, so critically given, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broken in an instant; and all its force, which consisted solely in its union and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords struck upon the Roman shields, which were very strong and solid, and covered them almost from head to foot; and on the contrary, they opposed only small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigour, that they scarce discharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and armour fly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, and being taken on their weak side, stood their ground with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off full speed in the beginning of the battle, and returned into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a sacrifice to Hercules; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules were a god that would receive the sacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjust vows; for it is not just, that he should be victorious, who durst not face his enemy: whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid while he fought valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest resistance. It was there also, that the son of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's son-in-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily lost his sword, which slipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite distracted and inconsolable, he ran through the ranks, and assembling a body of brave and resolute young soldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody slaughter, they made the latter give way; and remaining masters of the ground, they proceeded to search for the sword, which they found at last with great difficulty under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon such of the enemy as yet stood firm; so that at length the 3000 Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to fight to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest fled; and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead; and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they found the waters still stained with blood. It is said that upwards of 25,000 men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only 100, and made 11 or 12,000 prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in this battle, seeing the foot put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, whose fury was principally directed against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The rest of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was carried very far; so that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants in the army went out to meet their masters with great shouts of joy,

¹ That mountain was probably part of Olympus.

and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of ivy and crowns of laurel.¹

But in the midst of this great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years old, and whom he loved with most tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of himself, did not appear. The camp was in a universal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful silence. They searched for him with torches amongst the dead, but to no purpose. At length, when the night was very far advanced, and they despaired of ever seeing him more, he returned from the pursuit, attended by only two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other tears, and losses no less to be deplored. The young Roman, of whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantius, from having destroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the son of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The consul immediately despatched three couriers of distinction (of whom his son Fabius was one) to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time, Perseus, continuing his flight, had passed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with all his cavalry, which had escaped from the battle without striking a blow. The foot soldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and carrying their resentment farther, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who dreaded the consequence of that tumult, quitted the high road, and that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and, in order to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted and led his horse in his hand. Several of those who attended him took different routes from his, under various pretexts; less to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than to shun the fury of their prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and inflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers, three only remained with him, and those all foreigners. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-timed freedom to give him their advice upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely lost him the affection of every one. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The consul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The king's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the 300 talents he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to

Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence into that island.

He was encamped at Siræ,² in the country of the Odromantes,³ when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear shedding tears when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Persens was a sensible example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, "Perseus the king, to the consul Paulus Æmilius, greeting;" the stupid ignorance of his condition in which that prince seemed to be, extinguished in him all sense of compassion; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and suppliant style, and little consistent with the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies without an answer. How haughty were these proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perseus perceived what name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded, that commissioners should be sent to treat with him, which was granted. This negotiation had no effect, because, on the one side, Perseus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, insisted, that he should submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force out of that asylum, through respect to the gods who presided in it; but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman, (named Acilius,) either of his own accord, or in concert with the prætor, took another course to draw the king out of his sanctuary. Having entered the assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them: "Is it a truth, or is it without any foundation, that your island is held a sacred and inviolable asylum throughout all its extent?" Upon being answered, by all present, that it was undoubtedly so; "How then, (continued he) do you suffer its sanctity to be violated by a homicide, contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes? And as all religious ceremonies begin by the exclusion of those whose hands are impure, how can you suffer your temple to be profaned and defiled by the presence of an infamous murderer?" This accusation was directed against Perseus; but the Samothracians chose rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew to have been the agent in the intended assassination of Eumenes. They sent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accused of assassination, and that he must appear, according to the custom of his sanctuary, to justify himself before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he should take measures for his safety, and quit the temple. The king, having sent for Evander, advised him in the strongest terms not to submit to that trial. He had his reasons for giving this advice, apprehending he would declare, that the assassination had been undertaken by his order. He therefore gave him to understand, that the only method he could take was to kill himself. Evander seemed at first to consent to it, and professing that he had rather die by poison than the sword, he intended to make his escape by flight. The king was aware of that design, and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their resentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the punishment he deserved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the sanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magistrate with presents of money, who declared in the assembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himself.

The prætor not being able to persuade Persens to quit his asylum, could do no more than deprive him of all means to embark and make his escape. How-

¹ This was a custom among the Romans. Cæsar writes in the third book of the civil war, that he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus, and some others, covered with ivy. *L. etiam Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula prolecta hedera.*

² Liv. l. xlv. n. 3—9. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 269, 270.

³ An obscure unknown city, upon the eastern frontier of Macedonia.

ever, notwithstanding his precautions, Perseus gained secretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant ship, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board with all his treasures: they amounted to 2000 talents, that is, about 300,000*l*. But, from his extreme suspicion, he did not dispossess himself of the whole; he sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest of it to be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped all the gold and silver that had been sent him in the evening, and let Perseus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and such of his people as were absolutely necessary to attend his person.

The appointed time approaching, Perseus, with infinite difficulty, crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden, and got out through a ruinous house, with his wife and son. The remainder of his treasures followed him. His grief and despair were inexpressible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under sail. He was therefore compelled to return to his asylum with his wife and Philip his eldest son. He had intrusted his other children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and who betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power of those who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly surrendered himself and Philip his son to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the consul; having first apprized him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius sent his son-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perseus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his son. The consul, who waited for him with a sufficiently numerous train, seeing him approach, rose from his seat, and advancing some few steps, offered him his hand. Perseus threw himself at his feet; but he raised him immediately, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him sit down, facing those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him, "What cause of discontent had induced him to enter with so much animosity into a war with the Roman people, that exposed himself and his kingdom to the greatest dangers?" As, instead of the answer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and shedding tears, kept silence, Paulus Æmilius continued to this effect: "Had you ascended the throne a youth, I should be less surprised at your being ignorant of what it was to have the Roman people for your friends or enemies. But having been present in the war made by your father against us, and certainly remembering the peace, which we have punctually observed on our side, how could you prefer war, rather than peace, with a people, whose force in the former, and fidelity in the latter, you had so well experienced?" Perseus making no more answer to this reproach than he had done to the first question: "In whatsoever manner, notwithstanding, (resumed the consul,) these affairs have happened, whether they are the effects of error, to which all mankind are liable, or of chance, or of that fatal destiny which superintends all things, take courage. The clemency with which the Roman people have behaved towards many other kings and nations, ought to inspire you, I do not say with some hope only, but with almost entire confidence, that you will meet with the same treatment." He spoke this in Greek to Perseus: then turning towards the Romans, "You see (said he in his own language) a great example of the inconstancy of human affairs. It is to you principally, young Romans, I address this discourse. The uncertainty of what may happen to us every day, ought to teach

us never to treat any one with insolence and cruelty in our prosperity, nor rely too much upon our present advantages. The proof of real merit and true valour is neither to be too elate in good, nor too dejected in bad fortune." Paulus Æmilius having dismissed the assembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present condition would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. Perseus had reigned eleven years.² He was reckoned the fortieth king from Caranus,³ who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend, however, beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia; and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, subjected all the provinces, of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean to Arabia on one side, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest in the world, divided, or rather torn into different kingdoms after the death of Alexander, by his successors, who each took part to himself, subsisted during something more than 150 years: from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so-much-boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more justly, the example of the most vain and most frantic ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in the Circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands and cries of victory throughout the whole Circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict inquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour without either author or foundation, that false and short-lived joy ceased, and left only a secret hope, that it was perhaps the presage of a victory, which either was already or would soon be obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial narrative of the battle, first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Public prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, of every age and sex, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for the signal protection which they had vouchsafed to the republic.

After the nomination of new consuls at Rome,⁴ the command of the A. M. 3937. army in Macedonia was continued to Ant. J. C. 167. Paulus Æmilius, and of that in Illyria to L. Anicius; ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their commission in part. It was decreed in particu-

* Exemplum insigne cernitis, inquit, mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbiæ ac violentæ consulere decet, nec præsentem credere fortunæ, cum quid vesper ferat, incertum sit. Is denum vir erit, cuius animus nec prospera statu suo efficeret, nec adversa infringeret. —Liv.

² Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

³ Livy, such as we have him, says the *twentieth*. Justin the *thirtieth*. It is thought there is an error in the cipher, and that it should be corrected, the *fortieth*, as in Eusebius.

⁴ Liv. l. xlv. n. 17, 18.

lar, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free, in order that all nations might know, that the end of the Roman arms was not to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved; so that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other, who were under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and justice by them through consideration for the Romans, or that, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans and liberty for them. The senate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and landed estates, because those duties could not be collected but by the intervention of farmers of the taxes, commonly called publicans; and that wherever such sort of farmers are suffered,¹ the laws are of no force, and the people are always oppressed. They established a general council for the nation, lest the populace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate to degenerate into a destructive licentiousness. Macedonia was divided into four regions, each of which was to have a distinct council, and to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part the orders with which the commissioners of Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had almost the same instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the propretor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an assembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anicius having ascended his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrison should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as soon as possible. As to some nations, who either before or during the war had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; and all the rest were exonerated from one half of the imposts formerly paid to the king. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their public council and magistrates.

Before the deputies for Macedonia arrived there,² Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited, during the autumn, the most celebrated cities of Greece, to see those things with his own eyes which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Athenæus, king Eumenes's brother.

He passed through Thessaly in his way to Delphi, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vases, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprised him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, "That the vanquished ought to give place to the victors."

He saw at Lebadeia the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern, into which those who consulted the oracle descended.³ He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddess Hecyryna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the sea, which is very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon formerly set sail for Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddess.

After having passed through Oropus in Attica, where the soothsayer Amphilocus was honoured as a

god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated for its ancient renown, where abundance of objects presented themselves to his view, well capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity; the citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know whether the materials or art were most worthy of admiration. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the city.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded of the Athenians an excellent philosopher to finish the education of his children, and a skilful painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting; a very singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience, and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time seventeen years old. He thought it necessary, however, to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the study of the sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important and yet the most neglected. If we are anxious to know the effects of such an education, we have only to call to mind the demeanour of the youngest of the two sons of this consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius, his natural father: who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who distinguished himself as much by his acquaintance with polite learning and the sciences, as by his military valour; who reckoned it an honour to have Polybius the historian, Panætius the philosopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions: who, in a word to use the terms of a very judicious writer,⁴ never said, did, or thought, any thing unworthy of a Roman. Paulus Æmilius having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable sight to him: the first, which was situated upon the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus, which separated by a very narrow neck of land two neighbouring seas, the one on the east, and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way; and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where at that time were to be seen an infinite multitude of rich presents, the offerings of sick persons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined they had received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, customs, and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he saw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, Phidias's masterpiece, he was as much struck, says Livy, as if he had seen the god himself, and cried out, that "This Jupiter of Phidias was the exact Jupiter of Homer."⁵ Imagining himself in the Capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than he had done any where else.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perseus, that he might avoid giving the allies any cause of discontent, he returned

¹ Et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse.—*Liv.*

² Liv. l. xlv. n. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

³ For an account of this oracle, see Book x. Chap. iii. Sect. ii.

⁴ P. Scipio Æmillianis, vir avitis P. Africanis paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus similimus; omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenique ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vitâ nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, aut sensit.—*Paterc.* l. i. c. 12.

⁵ To have so well expressed the idea of Homer, is highly to the praise of Phidias; but the having so well conceived all the majesty of the god, is much more to that of Homer.

to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprised to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpicius, to whose care he had confided that important prisoner. He put him, with Philip his son, into the hands of Posthumius, with others to guard him better. As for his daughter and younger son, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered such care to be taken of them as their birth and condition required.

The commissioners being come hither, as had been agreed on by them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where a great number of Macedonians were present, he took his seat on his tribunal, and after having caused silence to be proclaimed by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in Latin the regulations made by the senate and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, That Macedonia was declared free: that it should pay the Romans one half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of 100 talents or 100,000 crowns; that it should have a public council composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all affairs should be discussed and adjudged: that it should be divided for the future into four regions or districts, that should each have their council, in which their particular affairs should be examined: and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands or houses, out of their own district. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The prætor Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that of the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleasure, who little expected them; but they looked upon the division of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their usual intercourse with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by separating its members, which have no life, nor subsist, but in their mutual support of each other.

The consul afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians.² I shall relate elsewhere the subject of it.

After those foreign affairs were settled,³ Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first on the subject of the senators who were to compose the public council, wherein the national affairs were to be transacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A list was then read of the principal persons of the country, who were to be sent into Italy with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved upon only for the better security of the people's liberty. For this list included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command others with insolence. These were all rich persons who lived at a great expense, had magnificent equipages, and would not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was every reason to be satisfied; and the execution of them, from which the nature of

laws is best known, proved that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.

To these serious affairs succeeded a celebration of games for which preparations had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts, the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying such great expenses; but for the good order and fine taste observable in them, he was indebted solely to himself. For although he had so many thousands to receive, he displayed so nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated, according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who had not reason to praise his politeness and affability. The Greeks could not sufficiently express their admiration, that even in games, till then unknown to the Romans, he should evince so accurate a judgment and attention; and that a man, employed in the greatest, should not neglect the least propriety in small affairs.

He had caused all the spoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap: bows, quivers, arrows, javelins; in a word, arms of all sorts; and caused them to be arranged in the form of trophies. With a torch in his hand, he set fire to them first himself, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for the occasion, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich furniture, statues, and paintings by the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the time of its greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and that which was most grateful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and curious sights, nothing was thought so wonderful, or so worthy of attention and admiration, as himself. And as people were surprised at the fine order of his table, he said, with an air of pleasantry, that the same genius which was necessary in disposing a battle, would serve also in regulating a feast; in the first, it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to guests.

His disinterestedness and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness; for he never so much as saw the gold and silver found amongst the king's treasures, which amounted to very great sums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treasurers, in order to be applied to the use of the public. He only permitted his sons, who were fond of study, to keep the books of Perseus's library for their own use. The young noblemen of those times, and such as were designed one day for the command of armies, did not profess a contempt for learning, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unnecessary to the profession of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks,⁴ and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to make a bad use of the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preserve it by good government and union, he set out for Epirus with a decree of the senate, which enjoined him to abandon all the cities that had revolted to the king's party to be plundered by his troops. He had sent also Scipio Nasica, and Fabius his son, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

The Roman general being arrived at Epirus, thought it proper to proceed with caution in the execution of his commission, in order that his design should not be foreseen. He therefore sent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons, in order that the Epirotes should enjoy

² Liv. l. xlv. n. 23, 30. ³ Ibid. n. 31. ⁴ Ibid. n. 32.

⁴ Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. l. xlv. n. 32.
⁵ Liv. l. xlv. n. 33, 34.

the same liberty as the Macedonians. So disgraceful a stratagem was called prudence. He then signified to ten of the principal persons of each city, that they were to bring all the gold and silver in their houses and temples, upon a certain day, into the market-place to be laid up in the public treasury, and distributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into the public square, and at ten of the clock, in all the cities, the soldiers fell furiously upon the houses, which were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. A hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demolished, the number of which amounted nearly to seventy. The whole booty was sold, and of the sum raised by it, each of the horse had for his share about 10*l*. sterling, (400 denarii,) and each of the foot about 5*l*. (200 denarii.)

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural disposition, which was gentle and humane, had caused this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the sea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius, having assembled the remainder of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons among them, whose cause had been reserved for the judgment of the senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at the mouth of the Tiber,¹ went up that river in king Perseus's galley, which had sixteen benches of oars, and wherein were displayed, not only the arms which had been taken, but all the richest stuffs and finest carpets of purple found among the booty. All the Romans, who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds along the banks of the river, and seemed to give the proconsul by anticipation the honours of that triumph which he had so well deserved. But the soldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them which they had promised themselves, retained a warm resentment upon that account, and were very ill satisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a triumph by their suffrages. The soldiers called that general's exactitude, in causing discipline to be observed, rigour; and their discontent, occasioned by avarice, threw a veil over the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom, however, they were obliged to do justice in their hearts, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every respect.

After some debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been so magnificent. It continued three days successively. I do not enter here into a particular account of it; as that seems foreign to the Grecian history. The money in specie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and silver vessels, amounted to more than 1,250,000*l*. sterling. One single cup of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had caused to be made, and weighed ten talents,² was valued, for the gold only, at 100,000 crowns. It was adorned with jewels, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

After these rich spoils and treasures, which were carried in procession, was seen the chariot of Perseus with his arms, and upon his arms, his royal diadem. At some distance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors, and all the officers of their household, who, shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour, by their supplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. They were two sons and a daughter, who from the tenderness of their years were little sensible of the greatness of their calamity; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilst their father was scarce regarded, and in the midst of the public joy, the people could not refrain from tears at so mournful a sight.

King Perseus walked after his children and all their train, wrapped in a morning cloak. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who hanging down their heads, and weeping with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were sensible solely to those of their king.

It is said, that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the Romans, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, "The favour he asks of me is in his own power; he can procure it for himself." He reproached him, in those few words, with his cowardice and excessive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful to make an attempt upon one's own life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

Paulus Æmilius, seated in a superb car, and magnificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two sons on each side of him.

Whatever compassion he had for the misfortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him, was to have him removed from the public prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried by the order of the senate, to Alba, where he was guarded, and supplied with money, furniture, and people to serve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own death by abstaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour of a triumph; the first for his naval victories, and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been confined in prison, after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus, and offered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate, without receiving his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his former services than his late fault, they would send back his son, but without accepting any ransom: that the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they chose rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of those they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

ARTICLE II.

This second article includes the space of something more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perseus, to the taking and destruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

SECTION I.—ATTALUS COMES TO ROME TO CONGRATULATE THE ROMANS UPON THEIR SUCCESS IN MACEDONIA. THE DEPUTIES OF THE RHODIANS PRESENT THEMSELVES BEFORE THE SENATE, AND ENDEAVOUR TO APPEASE THEIR WRATH. AFTER LONG AND WARM SOLICITATIONS, THEY SUCCEED IN BEING ADMITTED INTO THE ALLIANCE OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE. SEVERITY EXERCISED AGAINST THE ETOLIANS. ALL OF THEM, IN GENERAL, WHO HAD FAVOURED PERSEUS, ARE CITED TO ROME, TO ANSWER FOR THEIR CONDUCT. A THOUSAND ACHEANS CARRIED THITHER; POLYBIUS ONE OF THE NUMBER. THE SENATE BANISHES THEM INTO SEVERAL TOWNS OF ITALY. AFTER SEVENTEEN YEARS OF BANISHMENT, THEY ARE SENT BACK INTO THEIR OWN COUNTRY; WHEN ONLY THREE HUNDRED OF THEM REMAINED.

AMONG the different embassies from kings and states, which came A. M. 3837 to Rome after the victory over Ant. J. C. 167. Perseus, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him more than all others the eyes and attention of the Romans.³ The ravages com-

¹ Liv. l. xiv. n. 35–40. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 271.

² The talent weighed sixty pounds.

³ Polyb. Legat. xciii. Liv. l. xiv. n. 19, 20.

mitted by the Asiatic Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the aid of the republic against those barbarians. Another still more specious reason had obliged him to make the voyage. It was necessary to congratulate the Romans upon their late victory, and to receive the applauses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity that a prince could expect who had proved, in the army in Macedonia, a constant and determinate attachment for the Romans. He had a most favourable reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if they had not been suggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negotiation with Perseus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that that prince had never been heartily on their side, and that he only waited an occasion to declare against them. Full of this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversation with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business on which his brother had sent him to treat; but to speak solely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand that the senate, to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend incapable of changing. We here recognize the maxims of the Roman policy; and these detached features may serve to unveil it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal itself.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a temper to reject such pleasing hopes when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and this proposal; and the rather, because they came from some of the principal persons at Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The affair went so far, that he promised them to demand in the senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should be given to him.

Attalus had a physician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, suspecting his brother, had sent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recall him to his duty by good counsel, if he should happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very insinuating, and well adapted to persuasion. Having either discovered or learned from Attalus himself, the design that had been instilled into him, he took advantage of some favourable moments to open himself to him. He represented, that the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but very lately established, had subsisted, and been augmented, solely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it. That only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in reality. That Eumenes, having no male issue, (for the son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him, was not then in being,) he could leave his throne only to his next brother. That his right to the succession of the kingdom was therefore incontestable; and that, considering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would soon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he desire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it entirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by such a division, and exposed to the enterprises of their neighbours, might be equally deprived of their share. That if he pro-

posed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or send him, at his years, into banishment? or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to death? That he did not doubt but such thoughts must give him horror. That not to speak of the accounts related in fabulous history of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus ought to remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the sceptre from his brother, by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same sceptre at the feet of his conqueror in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order, of the gods who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured that the very persons, who, less out of friendship for him, than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached to him to the last. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamus in the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of discord in this manner between brothers! Of what value must a sincere, prudent, and disinterested friend appear at such a time! What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking freely, and without reserve to him: and of being known by them in that light! The wise remonstrances of Stratius produced their intended effect upon the mind of Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the senate, without speaking against his brother or demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himself with congratulating the senate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modestly dwelt upon the zeal and affection with which he had served in the war against Perseus. He desired, that they would send ambassadors to check the insolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former state; and concluded with requesting, that the investiture of Enus and Maronea, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretensions to part of his brother's dominions, promised before hand to send ambassadors according to his request, and made the prince the usual presents. They promised besides to put him into possession of the two cities, as he desired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the senate, offended to find that he had done nothing of what they had expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him, in any other manner, revoked the promise they had made him; and, before the prince was out of Italy, declared Enus and Maronea free and independent cities. They sent, however, an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius; but with very different instructions to those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy threw off the mask entirely at this time, and showed an aspect very unlike the frankness and probity of their ancestors.

The senate some days after gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noise. They were at first refused to be heard, as having rendered themselves unworthy of that honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, sent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the senate with great difficulty, they appeared there as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in tears. Astymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with sobs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to show at first his desire to justify it. He avowed, that it had justly

incurred the anger of the Roman people; he confessed its faults; he called to mind the indiscreet embassy, which the insolent pride of the orator who spoke had rendered still more criminal: but he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons disavowed by them, whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented that there was no republic nor city that did not include some bad members; that, after all, there were no other crimes objected to them but words; foolish indeed, rash, extravagant, (which he confessed to be the characteristics and failings of his nation,) but such as wise persons seldom lay much stress upon, or punish with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that speak with little respect of his divinity. "But," said he, "the neutrality observed by us in the late war is looked upon as a certain proof of our enmity towards you. Is there a tribunal in the world, wherein the intention, when without effect, is punished as the action itself? But allowing your severity to be carried to that excess, at most the punishment can only fall on those who have had this intention, and then the majority of us are innocent. Admitting even that this neutrality and inaction make us all criminal, ought the real services we have rendered you in the two preceding wars to be deemed as nothing, and will they not cover the omission imputed to us in the last? Let Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, bear witness now in our cause. The voices of the two first will certainly be for us, and absolve us; and, for the third, at most, and in the severest sense, the sentence must appear doubtful and uncertain. Can you then, according to this state of the question, pass sentence of death against Rhodes? for you are now upon the point of deciding, whether it shall subsist any longer, or be entirely destroyed. You may declare war against us; but not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you persist in your resentment, we demand time to go and report the result of our deputation at Rhodes, and at that moment our whole city, men, women, and free persons, will embark with all our estates and effects: we will abandon our household gods, as well public as private, and come to Rome, where, after we have thrown our gold and silver, and all we have, at your feet, we will deliver up ourselves, our wives, and our children, to your discretion. We will suffer here, before your eyes, whatever you shall think fit to inflict upon us. If Rhodes is condemned to be plundered and set on fire, at least we shall spare ourselves the sight of that calamity. You may, by your resolves, declare us to be your enemies: but there is a secret sentiment in the bottom of our hearts that declares quite the contrary, and assures us that, whatever hostilities you may exercise against us, you will never find us otherwise than friends and servants."

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themselves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the senators, with olive branches in them, to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by order of the senate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had served in Macedonia, in quality of consuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much against them. M. Porcius Cato, the celebrated censor, known by the severity of his character, which often rose to hardness of heart, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, entitled *De Originibus*, wherein he had inserted his own orations.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius² has preserved some fragments of this discourse of Cato's; by which it appears he made use of almost the same reasons with the ambassadors from Rhodes. I shall cite

some passages of it at the bottom of the page, to assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the manly and energetical style which characterized the Roman eloquence in those ancient times, when more attention was paid to the force of the sentiments than to the elegance of the words.

Cato³ begins his discourse by representing to the Romans that they ought not, in consequence of their victory over the king of Macedon, to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy. That prosperity generally excites pride and insolence. That he apprehends, in the present case, they may form resolutions which may draw some misfortune upon Rome, and cause the frivolous joy, to which they give themselves up, to vanish like a dream. "Adversity," says he, "in humbling the spirit, restores us to our reason, and teaches us what is necessary to be done. Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manner out of our way, by the joy it occasions, and makes us lose sight of the measures which a calm temper of mind would enable us to discern and execute. It is therefore, fathers, I am absolutely of opinion, that we should for a few days defer the decision of this affair, till, having recovered from the violent emotions of our joy, we are again masters of ourselves, and capable of deliberating with more maturity." He adds, "That he indeed believes the Rhodians were far from desiring that the Romans should have conquered Perseus; but that they had such sentiments in common with all other states; sentiments, which did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, but from the love of their own liberty; for which they had just cause to fear, when there should be none in a condition to dispute empire with us, and we should become absolute masters of all nations. For the rest, the Rhodians did not aid Perseus. Their whole crime, by the consent of their most violent accusers, is, that they intended to declare war against us. But how long has the will, the intention only, been a crime? Is there any one amongst us that would be willing to subject himself to this rule? For my part, I am sure I would not. The Rhodians, it is said, are proud: I should be very sorry that my children could justly make me that reproach. But pray, in what does their pride affect us? Would it become us to impute it to them as a crime that they are prouder than we are?"

The opinion of so grave and venerable a senator as Cato prevented a war against the Rhodians. The answer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but left matters still in suspense. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of punishment. They were ordered also to evacuate Cannus and Stratonice. They had bought the first for 200 talents (about 25,000*l.*) of Ptolemy's generals, and the second had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from those two cities an annual revenue of 120 talents, (or 15,000*l.*) At the same time the senate granted the island of Delos an exemption from customs, which considerably diminished the revenues of the Rhodians. For instead of 1,000,000 of drachmas, (about 25,000*l.* sterling,) to which the revenue

² Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere, superbum atque ferociam aurescere atque crescere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res tam secundè processit, ne quid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitiâ nimis luxuriosè eveniat. Adversâ res se domant, et docent quid opus sit facto: secundæ res lætitiâ transversum trudere solent à rectè consulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque, uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redieramus.

³ Qui acerrimè adversus eos dicit, ita dicit; hostes voluisse fieri. Et quis tandem esse nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinet, equum censet quempiam penas dare ob eam rem, quod arguitur malè facere voluisse? nemo opinor: nam ego, quod ad me attinet, noli.

⁴ Rhodienses superbus esse aiunt; id obiectantes quod mihi à liberis meis minime dicit velim. Sint sanè superbi, quid id ad nos attinet? Idne rascinim, siquis superior est quam nos?

¹ Neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum esse, ut, siquis vellet inimicum perire, si nihil fecerit, quod id fiat, capitis damnetur.—*Liv.*

² Lib. vii. c. 5.

from those customs amounted before, it paid afterwards only 150,000 (about 3,750*l.* sterling.)

The senate's answer having dispelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms against the republic, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to deaden the sensation of small ones. How hard soever those orders were, they submitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed at the same time a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of 10,000 pieces of gold,¹ and chose their admiral Theodotus to present it. He had orders to solicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almost 140 years they had shared in the most glorious expeditions of that republic; which was a feature of their politics. They were unwilling to hamper their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties; in order that, continuing free, and their own masters, they might either aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them upon occasion. In the present conjuncture they earnestly demanded to be admitted as allies, not to secure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehension of any besides the Romans, but to remove, by that change of conduct, all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republic. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then without long and warm solicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, on his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partisans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman republic.

I have before observed,² that the Ætolians had presented themselves before Paulus Ænilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of their complaints was, that Lyciscus and Tisippus, whom the influence of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by Bæbius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death 550 of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was their having seemed to favour Perseus; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment; and that the estates, both of the one and the other, had been abandoned to their accusers. Paulus Ænilius listened to their complaints. The investigation was confined to inquiring, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perseus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The deceased were declared to have been justly put to death, and the exiles to have been justly banished. Bæbius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution; but why condemned if it was just? or if not, why were those acquitted who had been the principal authors of it?

This sentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any favourable inclination for Perseus, and exceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. The principal persons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publicly asserting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much esteemed and beloved in their several cities; but

had no authority. All offices, embassies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon those who espoused the Roman interest, after the defeat of Perseus; and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all those who differed from themselves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commissioners, appointed by the senate to regulate affairs. They gave them to understand that, besides those who had declared publicly for Perseus, there were abundance of others secretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the pretence of defending their liberty, influenced the whole people against them; and that those cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly subject to the Romans, unless, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of those who had only the interest of the Roman commonwealth at heart was fully established. The ten commissioners perfectly relished those reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to consider and treat all as criminals who were not of the Roman party; and to reward all who should declare themselves their accusers and enemies, with the highest graces and favours? We see here to what lengths ambition and the lust of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all sense of duty and decency, and induce them to sacrifice justice, as well as every thing else, when it opposes their views. The virtue of the Pagans was but a weak and very fluctuating principle.

That appeared evidently upon this occasion. The Roman general, to whom a list had been given of all those who were suspected, ordered them to attend him, from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commissioners were sent also into Asia, in order to take informations against such as, in public or private, had favoured Perseus.

Of all the small states of Greece,³ none gave the Roman republic so much umbrage as the Achaean Ant. J. C. 167. league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and, above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was composed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, especially if they should join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, spared no pains to weaken it by introducing divisions, and gaining creatures, whom they raised by their credit to all employments, and by whose means they influenced the decisions in all the assemblies of the league. We have seen what passed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now speak of, that the Romans gave the last stroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, the ruin of the partisans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldness to accuse by name all those to the ten commissioners, whom he suspected to have had any inclination to support Perseus. They did not think it would be sufficient to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other states, commanding them to send such of their citizens to Rome, as were accused of having favoured Perseus; but they sent two deputies to declare in person that order to the league. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was, their fear that the Achæans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, should refuse obedience to mere letters that should be written them: and that Callicrates, and the other informers, would run the risk of their lives in the assembly: the second, because in the letters which had been found amongst Perseus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accused Achæans.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Enobarbus. One of them,

¹ This might amount to about 6000*l.* reckoning the piece of gold, *zevros*, at twelve shillings, or thereabouts.

² Liv. xlv. n. 23—32.

³ Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. Pausan. in Achaia. p. 416, 417.

more abandoned to injustice than the other, (Pausanias does not say which,) complained, in the assembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had assisted Perseus against the Romans, and demanded that they should be condemned as deserving death, after which he would name them. The whole assembly was shocked at this proposal, and cried out on all sides, that it was an unheard of thing to condemn persons before it was known who they were, and pressed him to make known the guilty. Being urged repeatedly to explain himself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rendered themselves guilty of that crime. Xenon, upon that, who was a person of great credit, and very much respected by the league, spoke to this effect: "I have commanded the armies, and have had the honour to be the chief magistrate of the league; I protest that I have never acted in any thing contrary to the interests of the Romans, which I am ready to prove either in the assembly of the Achæans, or at Rome before the senate." The Roman took hold of this expression as favourable to his designs, and decreed, that all those who had been charged by Callicrates should be sent to Rome in order to justify themselves there. The whole assembly was in the highest affliction upon this sentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip, or his son Alexander. Those princes, though irresistibly powerful, never conceived the thought of causing such as opposed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the Amphictyons, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation: but, by a conduct which may justly be called tyrannical, caused above 1000 of the most considerable citizens of the Achæan league to be seized and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him, and shunned him as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the public baths after him, till all the water had been first emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated historian, was of the number of these exiles. We have seen Lycortas, his father, distinguish himself by the fortitude and constancy with which he supported the interests of the Achæan league during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his son. In politics, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great statesman, for his master; and in war, Philopœmen, one of the most able and intrepid generals of antiquity. It was under these tutors that he imbibed those learned lessons in the art of government and war which he practised himself, and has transmitted to posterity in his writings.

As soon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greatest men of the republic cultivate his friendship. He was particularly intimate with the two sons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldest of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into that of the Scipios. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged sufficiently, in the conclusion of the history of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendship of Polybius with this second son of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of such a friend, and knew how to apply his lessons and advice to the best advantage. It is very probable that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or at least collected his materials for it, at Rome.

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the senate, without hearing or examining their cause, supposing, without any foundation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had been tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achæans, banished them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

The Achæans,¹ surprised and afflicted with the

fate of their countrymen, sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the senate would vouchsafe to take cognizance of their cause. They were answered that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themselves. Upon that reply, the Achæans sent back the same deputies to Rome (with Euræus at their head) to protest again before the senate, that the Achæans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræus, in consequence, entered the senate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders he had received, praying that they would take cognizance of the accusation, and not suffer the accused to perish without passing sentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wished the senate would examine the affair themselves, and make known the guilty; but, in case their other great affairs should not afford them leisure for such inquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them justice in such a manner as should evince the greatness of their aversion for the guilty. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the senate was very much at a loss how to answer it.

On the one side, they did not think it proper to try the cause, for the accusation was groundless; on the other, to dismiss the exiles without passing judgment upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The senate, in order to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more submissive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other states to the partisans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them that the return of the exiles was consistent with their interest, or with that of their country. This answer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece, into a consternation. A universal mourning succeeded it. They were convinced that there was nothing farther to hope for the accused Achæans, and that their banishment was perpetual.

However, they sent new deputies,² with instructions to demand the return of the exiles: but as suppliants, and as a favour; lest in taking upon them their defence, they should seem in the slightest degree to oppose the will of the senate. There did not escape any thing in their harangue that was not very well weighed, and sufficiently reserved. Notwithstanding which, the senate continued inflexible, and declared that they would persist in the regulations already made.

The Achæans,³ without being disheartened, appointed several deputations at different times, but with Ant. J. C. 160. no better success; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to persevere thus in their applications to the senate in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated solicitations had no other effect than to place the injustice of the Romans in full light, they could not be considered as unnecessary. Many of the senators were moved with them, and were of opinion that it was proper to send home the exiles.

The Achæans,⁴ having received advice of their favourable disposition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a last deputation. The exiles had been already banished seventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon the subject in the senate; some being for their return into their own country, and restored to the possession of their estates; and others opposing it.

Scipio, at the request of Polybius, had solicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave senator, rising up to speak in his turn; "to see us," said he, "dispute a whole day, whether some poor old men of Greece shall be interred by our grave-diggers, or those of their own country, would not one believe that we had nothing at all to do?" That pleasant-ry was all that was wanting to make the senate ashamed of their obstinate perseverance, and to in-

¹ Polyb. Legat. cv.

² Polyb. Legat. cxvii.

³ Ibid. cxviii, cxxx.

⁴ Plut. in Cato, Cens. p. 341.

duce them to send back the exiles into Peloponnesus. Polybius was anxious that they might be reinstated in all the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to sound Cato upon it, who told him, smiling, "Polybius, you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are for returning into the cave of the Cyclops for some miserable tatters you have left there."

A. M. 3854. The exiles accordingly returned into Ant. J. C. 150. their country; but of the thousand that left it, only about three hundred remained. Polybius made no use of this permission; or if he did, he soon rejoined Scipio, since, three years after, he was with him at the siege of Carthage.

SECTION II.—MEAN FLATTERY OF PRUSIAS, KING OF BITHYNIA, IN THE SENATE. EUMENES, BECOMING SUSPECTED BY THE ROMANS, IS NOT SUFFERED TO ENTER ROME. ARIARATHES, KING OF CAPPADOCIA, DIES, AND IS SUCCEEDED BY A SON OF THE SAME NAME. DEATH OF EUMENES. ATTALUS, HIS BROTHER, SUCCEEDS HIM AS GUARDIAN TO HIS SON, THEN VERY YOUNG. WAR BETWEEN ATTALUS AND PRUSIAS. THE LATTER, HAVING FORMED THE DESIGN OF PUTTING HIS SON NICOMEDES TO DEATH, IS KILLED BY HIM. EMBASSY OF THREE CELEBRATED ATHENIAN PHILOSOPHERS TO ROME. ANOTHER FROM THE PEOPLE OF MARSEILLES. DIGRESSION UPON THE CITY OF MARSEILLES.

AFTER the defeat of Persus, new embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, or to justify or excuse themselves for the attachment they had seemed to have to that prince; and some came to lay complaints before the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this section I shall collect what concerns Eumenes king of Pergamus, Prusias king of Bithynia, and some other particular affairs.

Prusias being come to Rome,¹ to A. M. 3833. pay to the senate and Roman people Ant. J. C. 166. his compliments of congratulation upon the good success of the war against Persus, dishonoured the royal dignity by his abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his head shaved, and with the cap, habit, and shoes and stockings of a slave made free; and, saluting the deputies, "You see," said he, "one of your freed-men, ready to fulfil whatsoever you shall please to command, and to conform entirely to all your customs." When he entered the senate, he stood at the door facing the senators, who were seated, and prostrating himself, kissed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly, "I salute you, ye gods, preservers," cried he; and went on with a discourse suitable to that preamble. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had possessed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his son Nicomedes to them. All he asked was granted him; only commissioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in question. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias; of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing; he contents himself with mentioning, in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before; and not without good reason. For that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much who suffered, as the prince who acted it.

Prusias had scarce left Rome,² when advice came that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the senate great perplexity. Eumenes, in the war against Persus, had behaved in such a manner that they could neither consider him as a friend

nor an enemy. There was ground for violent suspicions, but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty was to lay them under the necessity of a war with him, and to proclaim to all the world that they had been deficient in prudence, by loading a prince with favours and honours, with whose character they were little acquainted. To avoid these inconveniences, the senate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great an expense to the republic, they forbade all kings in general to enter that city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned, therefore, into his own dominions.

This affront encouraged his enemies and cooled the affection of his allies.³ Prusias sent ambassadors to A. M. 3839. Rome, to complain against him for Ant. J. C. 165. the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held secret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo-Græcians, his neighbours, in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf. That people had also sent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterwards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves, with covertly aiding and supporting the Gallo-Græcians to the utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, sent his brothers, Attalus and Athenæus, thither, to answer the accusations with which he was charged. The apology they made seemed fully to confute all the complaints that had been alleged against the king, and the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they sent them back into Asia laden with honours and presents. They did not, however, entirely efface the prejudices conceived against their brother. The senate despatched Sulpicius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themselves secretly whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting some design against the Romans.

Sulpicius⁴ acted in this commission with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused all the cities to be informed, that such as had any complaints to make, in regard to that prince, might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes; a liberty that set all malecontents at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies.

Tiberius Cracchus, whom the senate sent the following year into A. M. 3840. Asia upon the same account, was re- Ant. J. C. 164. ceived by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him to make his report to the senate accordingly. He gave an equally favourable account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, whose sister Eumenes had married. That prince died some time after. His son Ariarathes, surnamed Philopator,⁵ succeeded him. He had him A. M. 3842. by Antiochis, the daughter of Anti- Ant. J. C. 162. ochus the Great, and intended, when he came of age, to resign his kingdom to him, to which his son would never consent; from whence he was called Philopator, that is, the lover of his father: an action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

As soon as the young king ascended the throne, he sent deputies to Rome,⁶ to demand that the treaty, which his father had made with the Romans, should be renewed, which was granted him with praises.

¹ Polyb. in Legat. xcvi. Liv. l. xlv. n. 44.

² Polyb. Legat. xcvi.

VOL. II.—30

³ Polyb. Legat. xcvi. cii. civ. cv. cvi. cxix. cxxi.

⁴ Ibid. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

⁵ Diod. Eclog. p. 885.

⁶ Polyb. Legat. cxxi.

Some time after,¹ notwithstanding A. M. 3345. Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of Syria, and one of his elder brothers set in his place, who was a supposititious child, named Holofernes. Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The usurper and Demetrius sent their ambassadors also.

A. M. 3347. The senate decreed, that Ant. J. C. 157. the two brothers should reign jointly. It was a policy sufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and sow the seeds of an eternal division between them. Attalus, in the first year of his reign, re-established him in the sole possession of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

Eumenes was always suspected by A. M. 3345. the Romans, and almost continually Ant. J. C. 155. at war with Prusias, or the Gallogrecians. He died at length, after having reigned thirty-eight years.² He left for his successor in the kingdom his son Attalus,³ surnamed Philometor, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, sister to Ariarathes, and appointed as guardian of his son, and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom one-and-twenty years.

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. The body of that prince, says he, was weak and delicate, but his soul great, and abounding with the most noble sentiments. He was inferior to none of the kings⁴ who were his cotemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleness of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, consisted only of a very small number of cities, which scarce deserved that name. He rendered it so powerful, that it might have disputed pre-eminence with almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune;—I still use the words of Polybius. Every thing was the result of his prudence, assiduity, and activity. From his fondness for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private persons, than any prince of his time. To finish his character, he possessed so fully the art of engaging the respect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that though they were all of age and capacity to act for themselves, and shared with him in the functions of the sovereignty, they never failed in point of submission, but continued always in perfect union, and, with equal zeal for his service, assisted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find such an example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not, in this place, to omit one thing, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or at least considerably augmented it.

The division which had almost perpetually subsisted between Prusias and Ant. J. C. 156. Eumenes,⁵ continued under Attalus, who succeeded the latter. Prusias, having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and violently enraged and afflicted that he had failed of seizing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge upon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroying all before him in his march. Attalus sent his brother Athenæus to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who sent several embassies at different times to forbid Prusias to continue the war against Attalus; but he eluded those orders either by delays, or even by treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to seize the Roman ambassador and

Attalus. His design was discovered, and the execution of it prevented: but his crime was not the less upon that account. Rome at other times would have punished it with the destruction of his kingdom. She was at present contented with sending ten commissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, had assembled numerous forces both by sea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions prescribed him; but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and resuming immediately their route to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them returned to Rome, to inform the senate of the rebellion of Prusias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and sign a treaty of peace which they presented him. This treaty imported, that Prusias should give immediately twenty decked ships to Attalus; that he should pay 500 talents (500,000 crowns) within twenty years; and that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their own dominions, as they stood before the war; that Prusias, in reparation of the damage he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them 100 talents, (100,000 crowns.) When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by sea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

Attalus the younger,⁶ the son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome, in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuance of their amity, and, without doubt, to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the senate all the marks of favour he could expect, and all the honours suitable to his years; after which he set out for his own dominions.

Prusias also sent afterwards his son A. M. 3355. Nicomedes to Rome;⁷ and knowing that he was highly respected there, Ant. J. C. 149. he gave him instructions to demand that the senate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to despatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a second wife. The favour demanded by Prusias was refused, Attalus's ambassadors demonstrating that the whole sum was far from being equal to the losses his master had sustained.

Menas, instead of executing the horrid commission he was charged A. M. 3356. with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes. The young prince having Ant. J. C. 148. quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the assistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people to his side; for Prusias was universally hated for his oppressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was slain by soldiers sent by Nicomedes, or, according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each side! Prusias was called the hunter, and had reigned at least six-and-thirty years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.

¹ Polyb. Legat. cxxxvi.

² Strabo says he reigned forty-three years; but that is presumed to be an error.

³ Strabo, l. xlii. p. 634.

⁴ Polyb. in Exempt. Viri. et Vit. p. 166.

⁵ Polyb. Legat. cxxviii. cxxix. cxxxiii. cxxxv. cxxxvi.

⁶ Polyb. Legat. cxli.

⁷ Appian. in Mithridat. p. 175. Justin. l. lxxxiv. c. 4.

The king of Bithynia's person had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in size but half a man,¹ and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous, but delicate, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a king, and least of all amongst the Bithynians. Polite learning, philosophy, and all other liberal sciences connected with them, were entirely foreign to him. In short, he had no manner of idea of moral rectitude or beauty. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus. So that his subjects, upon the first dawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in measures against him, and to punish him in the same manner in which he had governed them.

I have deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived at Rome very near the same time.

The one came from the Athenians, A. M. 3849. who having been condemned by a sentence passed on them by the Sicyonians,² but under the authority of the Roman senate, in a fine of 500 talents, for having laid waste the lands of the city of Oropus, sent to demand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors were three celebrated philosophers; Carneades, of the sect of the Academics; Diogenes, of the Stoics; and Critolaus, of the Peripatetics. The taste for eloquence and philosophy had not yet made its way so far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are speaking that it began to spread there, and the reputation of these three philosophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any taste for the sciences, made it an honour and amusement to visit them, and were struck with admiration in hearing them, especially Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in which solidity and elegance were conjoined, transported and enchanted them. It was the general topic of conversation, that a Greek of extraordinary merit was arrived, who, from his great knowledge, was more than man, and who, in calming and softening the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleasures and employments, to devote themselves wholly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most considerable persons of Rome. His discourses, translated into Latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All Rome saw, with great joy, their children apply themselves to the Grecian learning, and attach themselves to those wonderful men. Cato alone seemed sorry for it: apprehending that this taste for polite learning would extinguish that for military knowledge; and that they would prefer the glory of speaking to that of acting well. The example of the second Scipio Africanus, educated at the same time under the care of Polybius, in a taste for the sciences, demonstrates how ill-founded that prejudice of Cato's was. Be this as it may, he warmly reproached the senators for keeping the ambassadors so long in the city; and having caused the affair that brought them thither to be despatched, he hastened their departure. By a decree of the senate, the fine, in which the Athenians had been condemned, was mitigated, and the 500 talents reduced to 100.

The other embassy was sent by the people of Marseilles.³ They had already been often harassed by the Ligurians: but at the time of which we now speak, they were reduced to the last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome to implore aid of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to sentiments of peace and equity by mild measures and negotiation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their insolence so far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their persons. The senate being informed of this unhappy affair, made the consul Quintus Opimius march immediately against them with an

army. He laid siege to the city⁴ where the insult had been offered to the Roman ambassadors, took it by storm, made slaves of the inhabitants, and sent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be punished there according to their deserts. The Ligurians were beaten in several battles, and cut to pieces. The victor distributed all the conquered lands amongst the people of Marseilles. He ordered the Ligurians to send hostages to Marseilles, which were to be exchanged for others, from time to time; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from molesting the people of Marseilles, as they had done till then.

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles in extreme consideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had constantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They came originally from Phocæa,⁵ a city of Ionia. When Cyrus sent Harpagus to besiege it, the inhabitants, rather than submit to the yoke of the Barbarians, as so many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects; and after various adventures, having cast a mass of red-hot iron into the sea, they all engaged themselves by oath never to return to Phocæa, till that iron should swim upon the water. Afterwards, having landed upon the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they settled there by the consent of the king of the country, and built a city, since called Marseilles. Some authors suppose that this city was already in existence, and had been founded by an ancient colony of those same Phocæans in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second year of the 45th Olympiad, and 600 years before the birth of Jesus Christ; and that those who fled from Harpagus, and came to settle here, were called the founders, because they greatly increased the extent and power of this city. This second foundation took place in the 60th Olympiad, about 540 years before the birth of Jesus Christ, when Servius Tullius reigned at Rome.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great kindness, being dead, his son⁶ did not show them equal favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to understand, that those strangers, whom he had received into his country as guests and suppliants, might one day make themselves masters of it by right of conquest. The fable of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion, that asked her companion to lend her her kennel only for eight days, till she had brought forth her whelps; then, by urgent entreaties, obtained a second term, that she might have time to bring them up; and at last, when they were grown large and strong, made herself absolute mistress and proprietor of the place, from whence she could never afterwards be expelled. The Marseillaise had, in consequence, at first a severe war upon their hands; but having been victorious, they continued in quiet possession of the lands that had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In process of time they settled several colonies,⁷ and built several cities, Agde, Nice, Antibes, Olbia; which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arsenals, and fleets, which rendered them formidable to their enemies.

So many new settlements contributed to the spreading of the Greeks in Gaul,⁸ and occasioned a wonderful change in that country. The Gauls, quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wise government. They learned to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives. Hence so surprising an alteration ensued,⁹ as well in the provinces as in the people who inhabited them, that it might have

¹ Egitna. ⁵ Herod. l. i. c. 164. Justin. l. xliii. c. 3.

⁶ Justin. l. xliii. c. 4.

⁷ Strab. p. 180.

⁸ Justin. l. xliii. c. 4.

⁹ Adde magnus et hominibus et rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Græciam translata videretur.—Justin.

¹ Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.

² Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 155. Aul. Gel. l. vii. c. 14.

³ Polyb. Legat. cxxxi. and cxxxiv.

been said, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been transferred into Greece.

The inhabitants¹ of the new city made very wise laws for its polity and government, which was aristocratical; that is to say, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of 600 senators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number fifteen were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preside in the assemblies, in quality of principal magistrates.

The right of hospitality was in singular estimation among the Marseilles,² and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum which they gave to strangers, no person was suffered to enter the city with arms. Certain persons were placed at the gates, whose business it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to such as might be inclined to introduce sloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to banish all double-dealing, falsehood, and fraud.

They piqued themselves especially upon sobriety, modesty, and frugality.³ The most considerable portion amongst them did not exceed 100 pieces of gold; that is to say, very near 100 pistoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus,⁴ who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. "That city," says he, "steadfastly retaining the ancient severity of manners,⁵ excludes from their theatre those comedians whose pieces generally turn upon the subject of unlawful love." The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself: "Lest," adds the author, "a familiarity with such sort of shows should make the people the more apt to imitate them."

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies those indecent tears and lamentations with which they are generally attended, and ordered the obsequies to be terminated the same day by a domestic sacrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceased. "For is it consistent to abandon ourselves to immoderate affliction,⁶ or to be offended at the Divinity for not having thought fit to share his immortality with us?"

Tacitus makes mention of the city of Marseilles highly to its praise; the passage occurs in his *Life of Julius Agricola*, his father-in-law. After having spoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of Julia Procilla,⁷ his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him pass the early years of his youth in the study of those arts and sciences that suited his birth and age; he adds—"What had preserved him from the dangers and disorders to which youth is generally exposed, was, besides his own excellent disposition, the good fortune of having from his infancy the city of Marseilles for his school, in the manners of whose inhabitants, the politeness of the Greeks, and the simplicity and reserve of the provinces, were happily united."—*Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistratuum studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Græca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compositum.*

From what I have said, it may be seen, that Marseilles was become a celebrated school for politeness, wisdom, and virtue, and at the same time for all arts and sciences. Eloquence, philosophy, physic, mathe-

matics, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature, were publicly professed there. This city produced the most ancient of the learned men of the West,⁸ I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and astronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.

They persevered constantly in cultivating the arts and sciences with equal ardour and success. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of Augustus) the young nobility of Rome went to Marseilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itself; which is saying a great deal. We have already seen that it still retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the historian.

The Marseilles distinguished themselves no less by the wisdom of their government, than by their capacity and taste for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, praises highly their manner of governing their republic.⁹ "I am assured," says he, "that not only in Greece, but almost in all other nations, there is nothing comparable to the wise polity established at Marseilles. That city, so remote from the country, manners, and language, of all other Greeks, situate in Gaul, in the midst of barbarous nations which surround it on all sides, is so prudently directed by the counsels of its elders, that it is more easy to praise than imitate the wisdom of its government."

They laid it down as a fundamental rule of their politics,¹⁰ from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the barbarians around them. Besides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, to whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interests; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

Justin relates a fact,¹¹ which would be very much to the honour of the Marseilles, if it were well authenticated. Having received advice that the Gauls had taken and burned Rome, they deplored that disaster which had befallen their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and silver, either belonging to the public or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome. The Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of sitting amongst the senators at the public shows. It is certain that,¹² during the war with Hannibal, Marseilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; without permitting the ill successes which they experienced in the first years of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, to shake their fidelity in the least.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. Cæsar,¹³ against whom they had shut their gates, caused the fifteen senators who were in supreme authority to come to his camp, and represented to them that he was sorry the war should begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man; and he added all the motives most capable of persuading them. After having made their report to the senate, they returned into the camp, and gave Cæsar this an-

¹ Strab. l. iv. p. 197.

² Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6.

³ Strab. l. iv. p. 181.

⁴ Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6.

⁵ Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est: nullum aditum in scenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte stupororum continent aures, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam suavit.

⁶ Etenim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri soluerit?

⁷ Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis. In hujusmodi indulgentiæ quæ educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum, pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit.—*Tacitus in Agricoli. c. iv.*

⁸ Voss. in *Histor. Græc.*

⁹ Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem, non solum Græciæ, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam; quæ cum procul à Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis, linguæque divisa, cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctibus alluatur, sic optumatum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta laudare facilius possint quam æmulari.—*Orat. pro Flacco. n. lxiii.*

¹⁰ Strab. l. iv. p. 180.

¹¹ Justin. l. xliii. c. 5.

¹² Liv. l. xxi. n. 20, 25, 26. Liv. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.

¹³ Cæsar. in *Bell. Civ. l. i.*

swer: 1 That they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: that it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their side: that the two heads of those parties were equally the protectors of their city; and at the same time its friends and benefactors. That for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to assist nor receive the one into their city or ports to the prejudice of the other. They suffered a long siege, 2 in which they showed all possible valour; but at length, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not refuse to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

1 I should have considered myself as in some measure detracting from the glory of the French nation, and from that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of those favourable reports which antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which, besides, comes within my plan, and forms part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

SECTION III.—ANDRISCUS, WHO GAVE HIMSELF OUT FOR THE SON OF PERSEUS, MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF MACEDONIA, AND CAUSES HIMSELF TO BE PROCLAIMED KING. THE PRÆTOR JUVENTUS ATTACKS HIM, AND IS KILLED IN BATTLE, WITH PART OF HIS ARMY. METELLUS, WHO SUCCEEDS HIM, RETRIEVES THAT LOSS. THE USURPER IS OVERTHROWN, TAKEN, AND SENT TO ROME. A SECOND AND THIRD USURPER ARE ALSO DEFEATED.

FIFTEEN or sixteen years after the A. M. 3852. defeat and death of Perseus, 3 Ant. J. C. 152. Andiscus of Adramyttium, a city of Troas, in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramyttium, that, in case of ill fortune in the war against the Romans, some shoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perseus, he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramyttium, till he was twelve years of age, and that the person who passed for his father, finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the secret to his wife, and intrusted her with a writing, signed by Perseus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said; which writing she was to deliver to him (Philip) as soon as he should attain to years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keeping the secret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time; pressing him to quit the country before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, lest he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he saw that every thing there con-

tinued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a strict guard upon him, or to confine him close. He took advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome.

Having found means to raise a considerable army amongst the Thracians, who entered into his views for the sake of delivering themselves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this first conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to seem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Nasica to go thither and appease this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commission. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by persuasion; and if he should find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wisdom, and executing it with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thessaly, he gave the senate advice of them; and, without loss of time, visited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raising of troops for the defence of Thessaly. The Achæans, who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, forgetting past subjects of discontent. He presently took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

However, it was plainly seen at Rome, from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for a speedy support. The prætor, P. Juventus Thalna, had orders to repair thither as soon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But looking upon Andiscus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army; the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. The victor, elate with this success, and believing his authority sufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations without any moderation or reserve; as if the truly being a king consisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent, and cruel. Nothing was seen every where but violence, confiscation of estates, and murders. Taking advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, promising him speedy supplies, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had succeeded Juventus. A. M. 3856. Andiscus had resolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper

to remove far from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor soon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and skirmished every day. Andiscus gained an advantage of some consequence in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andiscus believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a great detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigilance nothing escaped, did not fail to take advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beaten, and Andiscus obliged to fly. He retired

1 Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas: neque sui iudicii, neque suarum virium decernere, utra pars iustiorum habeat causam: principes vero eorum esse partium Cn. Pompeium et C. Cæsarem patronos civitatis.—Paribus eorum beneficiis parum se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, et neutrum eorum, contra alterum iuvare, aut urbe aut portibus recipere.

* Cæs. in Bell. Civ. l. i.

* Epitom. Liv. l. xlviii.—1. Zonar. ex Dione. Pat. l. i. c. 11. Florus, l. ii. c. 14

amongst the Thracians, from whom he returned soon after with another army. He was so rash as to hazard another battle, which was still less successful than the former. He had above 25,000 men killed in these two battles; and nothing was wanted to the Roman glory, but to seize Andrisus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose fidelity he had abandoned himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that conducive to their interest. That prince delivered up his guest and suppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himself the wrath and arms of the Romans: Andrisus was sent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the son of Persus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the same fate with the first, except being seized by Metellus; he retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at this time that Macedonia was entirely subjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again upon the stage, and set himself up as the son of Persus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of short duration. He was overcome and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterwards surnamed Scrofa, from having said that he would disperse the enemy, *ut Scrofa porcos*.

SECTION IV.—TROUBLES IN ACHAIA, WHICH DECLARES WAR AGAINST THE LACEDÆMONIANS. METELLUS SENDS DEPUTIES TO CORINTH TO APPEASE THOSE TROUBLES; THEY ARE ILL USED AND INSULTED. THEBES AND CHALCIS JOIN THE ACHÆANS. METELLUS, AFTER HAVING INEFFECTUALLY EXHORTED THEM TO PEACE, GIVES THEM BATTLE, AND DEFEATS THEM. THE CONSUL MUMMIUS SUCCEEDS HIM, AND AFTER HAVING GAINED A BATTLE, TAKES CORINTH, SETS IT ON FIRE, AND ENTIRELY DEMOLISHES IT. GREECE IS REDUCED INTO A ROMAN PROVINCE. VARIOUS ACTIONS AND DEATH OF POLYMIUS. TRIUMPHS OF METELLUS AND MUMMIUS.

A. M. 3857. Macedonia,¹ continued there some time. Great commotions had arisen among the Achæan league, occasioned by the temerity and avarice of those who held the first offices in it. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence, and equity, but by the interest and passions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithstanding, who was the supreme magistrate of the Achæans, had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had sent to desire that hostilities might be suspended till the arrival of the commissioners from Rome, who had been appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diæus, who succeeded him, paid any regard to that request. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.

The commissioners being arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth; (Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commission.) The senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and, for that end, to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the senate; whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea near mount Æta, and Orchomenus of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under pretence that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia; but instructed them to complain in moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counsels, lest by their imprudence they should incur disgrace with the Romans, a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achæans. The commissioners met on their way a deputy sent by the seditions to Rome: they carried him back with them to Egium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spoke in it with great moderation and mildness. They did not let slip a single word in their discourse concerning the ill treatment of the commissioners, or else made a better excuse for it than the Achæans themselves would have done; neither did they make any mention of the cities they had been desirous of separating from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting the assembly not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any farther; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assembly. But Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the flames of discord; insinuating that the leality of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted in several engagements, and from the fear they were in lest the Achæan league should declare against them.

The commissioners, however, were treated with sufficient deference. They were told that Thearidas should be sent to Rome; that they had only to repair to Tegæa, to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to an accommodation with the Achæans, and to suspend all hostilities till new commissioners should arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their measures in such a manner, that nobody, except that magistrate, went to the congress, and he did not arrive there till he was almost no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not accede to any measures. He said that he was not empowered to decide any thing without the consent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be summoned in less than six months. That mean artifice, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having dismissed the Lacedæmonians, he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and summoned assemblies, under colour of communicating what had been said to the Lacedæmonians, in the conferences held at Tegæa, but in fact to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had said, in order to inspire the same spirit of animosity and aversion which he himself had against them: and he succeeded but too well. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting and imprisoning any Achæan for debt, till the conclusion of the affair between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means, whatever he said had all the effect he desired, and disposed the multitude to receive such orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming a right judgment of future consequences, they suffered themselves to be caught with the bait of the first advantage he proposed to them.

Metellus having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of distinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was assembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themselves, by imprudent

¹ Pausan. in Achaia. p. 471—473. Polyb. Legat. cxliii. cxliv. id. in Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit. p. 131—133. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

² A city on the banks of the Eurotas.

rashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously turned out of the assembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers gathered about them, and insulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantic than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achaean league.

Critolaus seeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded to his wishes, harangued the multitude, incited them against the magistrates, who did not enter into his views; inveighed against the ambassadors themselves, animated them against the Romans; and gave them to understand, that it was not without having previously well concerted his measures that he had undertaken to make head against the Romans; that he had kings in his party, and that republics were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he prevailed to have war declared against the Lacedæmonians, and, in consequence, indirectly against the Romans. The ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon, to observe the motions of the enemy; another set out for Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magistrate of the Bœotians, whose name was Pytheas, equally rash and violent with Critolaus, entered into his measures, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with those of the Achæans: they were discontented with a sentence Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support all the weight of the Roman power; so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the consuls, and Ant. J. C. 146. charged him with the Achaean war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new ambassadors to the Achæans, and commissioned them to promise that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent that certain cities, which had been nominated before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarpæa in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than 1000 prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was supposed, that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Dicus took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to 14,000 foot and 600 horse. He gave orders, besides, for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves; others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they never thought of adopting the only expedient that could prevent them. They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and nevertheless came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before-mentioned, fell in with 1000 Arcadians in Bœotia, near Cheronæa, who were endeavouring to return into their own country: these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houses should be spared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miseries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Megara, the garrison of which had retired upon his approach, he made

his troops march to Corinth, where Dicus had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently desired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their side, were equally desirous of seeing a period of their misfortunes; but that was not in their power, the faction of Dicus disposing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death, if Dicus had not seen the multitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had inflicted upon Sociætes, who talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were therefore dismissed.

Things were in this condition when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival; and, lest another should have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus resigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard being negligent upon their post, the besieged made a sally, attacked them vigorously, killed many, and pursued the rest almost to the entrance of their camp. This small advantage very much encouraged the Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Dicus offered the consul battle. The latter, to augment his rashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achæans rose to an inexpressible height. They advanced furiously with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be spectators of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them, for the purpose of loading them with the booty they should take from the enemy; so fully did they reckon upon the victory.

Never was confidence more rash or ill-founded. The faction had removed from the service and councils all such as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting public business, and had substituted others in their room, without either talents or ability; in order that they might be more absolute masters of the government, and rule without opposition. The chiefs, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantic rage. They had already committed an excess of folly in unnecessarily hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, instead of thinking of a long and brave defence in so strong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle was fought near Leucopatra,¹ and the defile of the isthmus. The consul had posted part of his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, surprised by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more resistance; but, as it was neither covered nor sustained by the horse, it was soon broken and put to flight. If Dicus had retired into the place, he might have held out there for some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis, his native country; and having entered his house, set fire to it, killed his wife to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and thus ended his life in a manner worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants lost all hopes of defending themselves. As they found they were without counsel, leaders, courage, or fixed views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wreck of the army, in order to make any farther resistance, and oblige the victor to grant them some tolerable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to save themselves where they could. The consul, having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers. All the men who were

¹ This place is not known.

left in it were put to the sword, and the women and children sold; and after the statues, paintings, and richest furniture were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for several days. It is pretended, though on no good ground, that the gold, silver, and brass, which were melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished, and razed to their very foundations. All this was executed by order of the senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the same year that Carthage was taken and destroyed by the Romans, 952 years after its foundation by Alletes the son of Hipotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate upon the measures it was necessary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans, by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought, from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth: so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed and universally dismayed the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans, were also punished by the demolishing of their walls, and being disarmed. The ten commissioners sent by the senate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the consul, abolished the popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the public funds. In other respects, they were left in possession of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all the general assemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians, Phœaciæns, and other people of Greece; but they were re-established soon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia, because at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the most powerful people of Greece: the Roman people sent a prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to show that example of severity, in order to strike terror into other nations, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, rash, and presuming, from the hope they had of obtaining from the Roman people pardon for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situation of that city, where such as revolted might lodge themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. Cicero,¹ who did not disapprove of Carthage and Numantia being used in that manner, could have wished that Corinth had been spared.

The booty taken at Corinth was sold, and considerable sums raised from it. Among the paintings, there was a piece drawn by the most celebrated hand² in Greece, representing Bacchus,³ the beauty of which was not known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon observe, had the mortification to see that painting serve the soldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the sale made of the booty, for 600,000 sesterces, that is, about 362½ sterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the same painter's, which the same Attalus purchased for 100 talents, or 100,000 crowns. That prince's riches were immense, and were become a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus*. Nevertheless, those sums seem repugnant to probability.

Be this as it may, the consul, surprised that the price of the painting in question should rise so high, interposed his authority, and retained it, contrary to public faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. He did not act in that manner for his private interest, nor with the view of appropriating it to himself, since he sent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, says Cicero, he adorned and embellished his house much more essentially than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richest and most opulent city of Greece, did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble disinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and seemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take the advantage of office and command for enriching a man's self, was not only shameful and infamous, but a criminal abuse. The painting we speak of was set up in the temple of Ceres, whither judges went to see it through curiosity, as a masterpiece of art; and it remained there till it was burnt with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and a worthy man, but had neither learning, knowledge of the arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture, the merit of which he did not discern; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or statue and statue, nor that the name of the great masters in those arts gave them their value. This he fully exemplified upon the present occasion. He had ordered persons to take the care of transporting many of the paintings and statues of the most excellent masters to Rome.⁵ Never would loss have been so irreparable, as that of such a deposit, consisting of the masterpieces of those rare artists, who contributed almost as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to posterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to those to whom he confided them, threatened them very seriously, that if the statues, paintings, and other things, with which he intrusted them, should be either lost or spoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost and charges.

Were it not to be wished, says an historian, who has preserved to us this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted; and would not such grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard to the public good, to the extreme delicacy of taste of the present age for such sort of rarities? He spoke at a time when that taste for excellent paintings gave the magistrates an occasion for committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have said that Polybius, in returning into Peloponnesus, had the affliction to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mournful a conjuncture,⁶ it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopœmen, his master in the science of war. I have already observed, that a Roman having taken it into his head to have the statues erected to that hero taken down, had the impudence to prosecute him criminally, as if he had been still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. The accusation was extravagant, but had some colour in

¹ Numquid Lucius Mummius copiosior cùm copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset? Italiam ornare, quàm domum suam, maluit. Quamquam Italià ornata, domus ipsa mihi videtur ornari. Lans abstinentiæ non hominis est solùm, sed etiam temporum.—Habere quietis temp. non modò turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam nefarium.—*Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 76, 77.*

² Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut captâ Corintho, cùm maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus si eas perdidisset, novas eas redditorus. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quid magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quàm in tantum ea intelligi; et quid hæc prudentiâ illa imprudentiâ decori publico fuerit convenientior.—*Vell. Pat. l. i. n. 13.*

⁶ Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190—192.

¹ Majores nostri—Carthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Nollem Corinthum. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maxime, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari.—*Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 35.*

² This painter was called Aristides. The picture mentioned here was in such estimation, that it was commonly said, All paintings are nothing in comparison to the Bacchus.

³ Strab. l. viii. p. 331. Plin. l. vii. c. 33, and l. xxxv. c. 4, and 14.

it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopemen as the greatest captain Greece had produced in the latter times: that he might, perhaps, have occasionally carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far, but that he had rendered the Roman people considerable services upon several occasions; as in their wars against Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commissioners, before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and still more with his gratitude for his master, decreed, that the statues of Philopemen should continue as they were in every city where they had been erected. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummus' good disposition, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The Achæans were so charmed with the zeal which Polybius had expressed upon this occasion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a statue of marble to himself.

He gave at the same time a proof of his disinterestedness, which did him as much honour among his citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopemen. After the destruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to punish the authors of the insult offered to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and effects were sold by auction. When those of Diæus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commissioners ordered the questioner who sold them to let Polybius select whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refused the offer, advantageous as it appeared, and would have thought himself in some measure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his effects; besides which, he believed it infamous to enrich himself out of the spoils of his fellow-citizen. He would not only accept nothing himself, but exhorted his friends not to desire any thing that had appertained to Diæus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

This action made the commissioners conceive so high an esteem for Polybius, that upon their leaving Greece, they desired him to go through all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much mildness, justice, and prudence, that no farther contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of private persons. In gratitude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places; upon the base of one of which was this inscription: "That Greece would have been guilty of no errors, if she had hearkened from the first to the counsels of Polybius; but, that after she had committed these errors, he alone had been her deliverer."

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there the esteem, gratitude, and affection, of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two years, of a hurt he received by a fall from his horse.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and surnamed Macedonicus. The false king, Andronicus, was led before his chariot. Among the spoils, he caused what was called the troop of Alexander the Great to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost five-and-twenty of his friends, ordered Lisippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make, in honour of each of them, an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. These statues were set up in Di-

um, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummus obtained also the honour of a triumph; and, in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was surnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in this triumph, which were afterwards the ornaments of the public buildings at Rome, and of several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

SECTION V.—REFLECTIONS UPON THE CAUSES OF THE GRANDEUR, DECLENSION, AND RUIN OF GREECE.

AFTER having seen the final ruin of Greece, which has supplied us through a series of so many ages with such fine examples of heroic virtues and memorable events, we may be permitted to retrace our steps, and to consider succinctly, and at one view, its rise, progress, and declension. The whole time of its duration may be divided into four ages.

The first and second ages of Greece.

I shall not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war; which makes the first age, and constitute, if I may so say, the infancy of Greece.

The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth, in which it formed, fortified, and prepared itself for those great things which it was afterwards to perform; and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monsieur Bossuet observes,¹ whose mental faculties were naturally vigorous, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who, settling in several parts of the country, spread, wherever they came, the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learned the exercises of the body; wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, by means of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympic games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to suffer themselves to be guided by laws for the good of the public. They were not private persons, who regard nothing but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamities of the state, but as they suffer themselves, or as the repose of their own family is involved in them: the Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the state. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, disciplined thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves: and most of the cities formed themselves into republics, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle: but that liberty was wise, reasonable, and subservient to the laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from transacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of attaining to its honours and dignities. Besides this, the condition of private persons, to which all returned when they quitted their office, prevented them from abusing an authority, of which they might soon be deprived; whereas, power often becomes haughty, unjust, and oppressive, when under no restraints, and when it is to have a long or continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and passions which generally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious and busy life, intent upon the cultivation of their lands, and of the arts, and not excluding the husbandman nor the artificer from the first dignities of the state; preserving between all the citizens and members of the state a great equality, void

¹ Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c.

² Lucian. in Macrob. p. 142.

of pomp, luxury, or ostentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not ashamed of the most common functions in the armies either by land or sea.

The reigning characteristic in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, a mediocrity of fortune, simplicity in buildings, furniture, dress, equipage, domestics, and table. It is surprising to consider the small recompense with which they were satisfied for their application in public employments, and for the services which they had rendered the state.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in these principles, and imbued from their earliest infancy with maxims so proper to exalt the soul, and to inspire it with great and noble sentiments? The effects exceeded every idea and every hope that could possibly have been conceived of them.

The third age of Greece.

We now come to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, shut up within the compass of their cities, had hitherto but faintly dawned, and shone with but a feeble ray. To produce and place them in their full light, some great and important occasion was necessary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and exposed to extreme dangers, was compelled in some measure to quit her home, and to show herself abroad in her true character in open day. And this was supplied by the Persians in their invasions of Greece, first under Darius and afterwards under Xerxes. All Asia, armed with the whole force of the East, overflowed on a sudden, like an impetuous torrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops, both by sea and land, against a little spot of Greece, which seemed under the necessity of being entirely swallowed up and overwhelmed at the first shock. Two small cities, however, Sparta and Athens, not only resist those formidable armies, but attack, defeat, pursue, and destroy, the greatest part of them. Let the reader call to mind (for the recollection of them is all I have here in view) the prodigies of valour and fortitude which shone forth at that time, and continued to do so long after on like occasions.

To what were the Greeks indebted for such astonishing successes, so much above all probability, unless to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice; and were become by long habit a second nature in them?

Those principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, attachment to the public good, desire of glory, love of their country; but above all, such a zeal for liberty, as no danger was capable of intimidating; and such an irreconcilable abhorrence for every one who in the slightest degree attempted to encroach upon it, as united their counsels, and put an end to all dissension and discord in a moment.

There was some difference between the republics as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that side they were perfectly equal. The states of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occasions so many wars in monarchies; and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themselves or making conquests, at the expense of each other. They confined themselves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence, of their own territories, but did not endeavour to usurp any thing from their neighbours. The weaker cities in the peaceable possession of their domain, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned such a multitude of cities, republics, and states of Greece, which subsisted to the latest times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, and usages, derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their assemblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions

they take, we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of their government; and we are tempted to ask ourselves, from whence could arise this greatness of soul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens; whence these noble sentiments, this consummate wisdom in politics, this profound and universal knowledge in the art of war; whether as relating to the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or to the drawing up of an army in battle, and disposing of all its movements; and lastly, that supreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the sea, and obliged the Persians to renounce it for ever by a solemn treaty?

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conquests, suffered themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had submitted to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdued by their victorious arms, conquered in turn its conquerors by its riches and voluptuousness; and that change of manners was very sudden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was destroyed. It was not so with the Greeks. Nothing was more brilliant than the victories they had gained over the Persians; nothing more soothing than the glory they had acquired by their great and illustrious exploits. After that so glorious era, the Greeks still persevered for a long time in the same love of simplicity, frugality, and poverty: the same aversion to pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty, and the preservation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the islands and provinces of Asia Minor, over which the Greeks so often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleasures and luxury; they, however, never suffered themselves to be affected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of the conquered people. It is true, they did not make those countries provinces; but mere intercourse and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and silver into Sparta, from whence they had till that time been banished under severe penalties, did not happen till about fourscore years after the battle of Salamis, and the ancient simplicity of manners subsisted very long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece; which did not grow weak and degenerate, but slowly and by degrees. This is what remains for us to show.

The fourth age of Greece.

The principal cause of the weakening and declension of the Greeks was the disunion which rose up amongst themselves. The Persians, who had found them invincible on the side of arms, as long as their union subsisted, applied their whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of discord amongst them. For that purpose they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, covertly attacked in this manner by bribes, secretly conveyed into the hands of those who had the greatest share in their government, were divided by domestic jealousies, and turned against themselves those victorious arms which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from these causes enabled Philip and Alexander to subject them. Those princes, to accustom them to servitude by gentle degrees, assumed as a pretext the design of avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks fell blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by the hands which had conquered the universe could never be removed; those little states were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time, animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, roused from its lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate itself in its ancient condition; but those were the efforts of expiring liberty, ill concerted, and ill sustained, and tended only to augment its slavery, because the protectors, whom it called in to its

and, soon made themselves its masters. So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province, they perceived that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself, and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient ideas. After having, with great address, made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy the Macedonian power, they subjected all those states, one after another, under various pretexis. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it under the name of Achaia.

It did not lose with its power that ardent passion for liberty which was its peculiar characteristic.¹ The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reserved to the people almost all their privileges; and Sylla,² who punished them so cruelly sixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty who escaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were seen to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey,³ who fought for the republic. Julius Caesar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of consideration for their ancestors. But, after Caesar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till solicited by Antony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they still retained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which themselves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, the school of polite arts, and the centre and standard of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Caesarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared that glory with Athens, and after her example opened schools which became very famous. Rome, haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire. She sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were instructed there in all the parts of sound philosophy, the knowledge of mathematics, the science of natural philosophy, the rules of moral duties, the art of reasoning with justice and method: all the treasures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of treating the greatest subjects with propriety, force, elegance, and perspicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted something, and did not blush to become the disciple of the great masters whom Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midst of his glorious conquests, did not think it a dishonour to him, in passing through Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philosophers who taught there with great reputation, and to make himself in some measure their disciple.

Nothing shows better the respect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece, than a letter of Pliny the younger.⁴ He writes in this manner to Maximus, who was appointed governor of that province by Trajan; "call to mind, my dear Maximus, that you are going into Achaia, the true Greece; the same Greece where learning and the polite arts had their birth; where even agriculture was invented, according to the common opinion. Remember that you are sent to govern free cities and freemen, if ever any such there were; who by their virtues, actions, alli-

ances, treaties, and religion, have known how to preserve the liberty they received from nature. Revere the gods, their founders: respect their heroes, the ancient glory of their nation, and the sacred antiquity of their cities; the dignity, great exploits, and even fables and vanity, of that people. Remember, it is from those sources that we have derived our code of equity: that we did not impose our laws upon them, after we had conquered them, but that they gave us theirs at our request before they were acquainted with the power of our arms. In a word, it is to Athens you are going; it is at Lacedaemon you are to command. It would be inhuman and barbarous to deprive them of that faint image, that shadow which they retain of their ancient liberty."

Whilst the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius of the mind always supported itself, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was resorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those great lights of the church, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. John Chrysostom, went to Athens, to imbibe, as at their source, all the profane sciences. The emperors themselves, who could not go to Greece,⁵ brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the most celebrated philosophers into their palaces, in order to intrust them with the education of their children, and to improve themselves by their instructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilst he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take lessons from them as a common disciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before, Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole East, from whence she had expelled barbarism, and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conquest, all those nations to receive her language and adopt her customs: a testimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority than that which is not founded on merit, but solely upon the force of arms. Plutarch observes somewhere, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek was in no great estimation.

ARTICLE III.

It might be expected, that after the subjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our history, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria, should become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am, however, obliged to own, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in which several kings not only succeed one another in a short space, but sometimes reign jointly, and at the same time to the number of three or four, which occasions a confusion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myself. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, succession, and duration, of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This short chronological abridgment may contribute to cast some light upon facts which are exceedingly complex, and serve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the most clear-sighted will have occasion for assistance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be passed over, or be referred to only when it is necessary to be set right: I insert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the space of 100 years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne; that is, from the year of the world 3845 to the year 3946.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article contains also almost the space of 100 years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is, from the year of the world 3840 to the year 3939.

¹ Strab. l. ix.

² Dio. l. xliiii. p. 191, et l. xlvii. p. 339.

³ Plut. in Sylla.

⁴ Lib. viii. ep. 24.

⁵ Titus, Antoninus, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

A CHRONOLOGICAL ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY IN THE THIRD ARTICLE.

A.M.	KINGS OF EGYPT.	KINGS OF SYRIA.
3824	PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. He reigned something more than thirty-four years. This article contains only the fourteen latter years of his reign.	ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, aged nine years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years.
3840		DEMETRIUS SOTER, son of Seleucus Philopator, having escaped from Rome, ascends the throne.
3842	Differences between Philometor and his younger brother Euergetes, or Physcon.	Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving himself out for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seizes the throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans.
3851		Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned twelve years.
3854		ALEXANDER BALA. He reigns almost five years. Ptolemy Philometor declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter.
3856		
3859	PTOLEMY EUERGETES, otherwise called Physcon, brother of Philometor, ascends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometor's wife.	DEMETRIUS NICATOR.
3860		ANTIOCHUS THEOS, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, seizes part of the kingdom.
3861		DIODOTUS TRYPHON, after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, ascends the throne.
3863		Demetrius marches against the Parthians, who take him prisoner, and confine him. He had reigned seven years.
3864		
3873		ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleopatra, Demetrius' wife, marries him.
3874	Physcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her daughter, named also Cleopatra. He is compelled to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra, his first wife.	Antiochus Sidetes marches against the Parthians.
3877	Physcon re-ascends the throne.	The Parthians send back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is slain.
3880		Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.
3881		Demetrius is killed by Zebina. Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.
3882	Physcon gives his daughter Tryphena to Grypus.	ALEXANDER ZEBINA, supported by Physcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed soon after.
3884		SELEUCUS V. eldest son of Demetrius, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra.
3887	Death of Physcon. He had reigned twenty-nine years.	ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.
3890	PTOLEMY LATHYRUS, or SOTER, succeeds Physcon.	Zebina is overcome by Grypus, and dies soon after.
3891	Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra his eldest sister, and marry Selene his youngest sister.	
3890		Cleopatra designs to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.
3891	Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son.	ANTIOCHUS THE CYZICENIAN, son of Cleopatra and ANTIOCHUS Sidetes, takes arms against Grypus.
		Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, marries the Cyzicenean. She is killed by the order of Tryphena, wife of Grypus.

A.M.	KINGS OF EGYPT.	KINGS OF SYRIA.
3892		The Cyzicenean gains a victory over Grypus, and drives him out of Syria.
3893		The two brothers are reconciled, and divide the empire of Syria.
3897	Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt: he had reigned ten years. She sets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.	
3903	She gives her daughter Selene, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.	Cleopatra gives her daughter Selene to Antiochus Grypus.
3907		Death of Grypus. He had reigned twenty-seven years. SELEUCUS, his son, succeeds him.
3910		Antiochus the Cyzicenean is overthrown, and put to death.
3911		ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES, son of the Cyzicenean, causes himself to be declared king. Eusebes marries Selene, widow of Grypus.
3912		
3913		ANTIOCHUS XI. brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes.
3914		PHILIP, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.
3915	Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.	DEMETRIUS EUCHERES, fourth son of Grypus, is established upon the throne at Damascus, by the assistance of Lathyrus.
1916	Alexander is expelled himself: he had reigned nineteen years. He dies soon after. LATHYRUS is recalled.	Eusebes, overthrown by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge amongst the Parthians. He is re-established upon the throne by their means.
3918		Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS, fifth son of Grypus, is placed upon the throne at Damascus, and is killed the following year.
3921		The Syrians weary of so many divisions and revolutions, elect as king, TIGRANES KING OF ARMENIA. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years.
3923	Death of Lathyrus. ALEXANDER II. son of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is chosen king. He marries Cleopatra, otherwise called Berenice, and kills her seventeen days after. He reigned fifteen years.	Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed. Selene, his wife, retains part of Phœnicia and Cœle-syria, and gives her two sons a good education.
3935		Syria being unprovided with troops, ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS, son of Antiochus Eusebes, takes possession of some part of the country, and reigns there during four years.
3939	The Alexandrians expel Alexander. PTOLEMY AULETES, bastard son of Lathyrus, is placed upon the throne.	Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The family of the Seleucidæ is extinct with him.

SECTION II.—ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, AT THE AGE OF NINE YEARS, SUCCEEDS HIS FATHER ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES IN THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA. DEMETRIUS, WHO HAD BEEN LONG A HOSTAGE AT ROME, DEMANDS, IN VAIN, PERMISSION TO RETURN TO SYRIA. CELEBRATED VICTORIES OF JUDAS MACCABEUS AGAINST THE GENERALS OF THE KING OF SYRIA, AND THE KING HIMSELF IN PERSON. LONG DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO BROTHERS (THE PTOLEMIES, KINGS OF EGYPT) TERMINATED AT LENGTH BY A HAPPY PEACE.

WE have long lost sight of the history of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which are, for the most part, pretty closely connected with each other. I am now going to resume it, and it will not be interrupted any more.

Antiochus, surnamed Eupator, A. M. 3340. aged only nine years,² succeeded Ant. J. C. 164. his father Antiochus Epiphanes, in the kingdom of Syria. The latter, at his death, sent for Philip, his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his son's minority, and put his crown, signet, and all other marks of the royal dignity into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had already usurped the employment which the late king had confided to him. Lysias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his son Antiochus upon the throne, whose governor he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guardianship of the young prince, the reins of government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted to instate him in his right, and to expel the usurper.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy Macron, governor of Coele-syria and Palestine, from an enemy, which till then he had been to the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, as the Scripture says, with the flagrant injustice which had been committed towards them. He put a stop to the rigour of the persecution against them, and employed his whole influence to obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occasion to injure him. They prejudiced the king against him, by representing him perpetually as a traitor; because he had in reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, who had intrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his service. For how advantageous soever the treason might be, the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length they so far succeeded by their clamours and cabals, that he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lysias; no other post or pension being conferred on him, to support his dignity. He had not strength of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poisoned himself: an end he well deserved for his treason, and the share which he had taken in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

Judas Maccabeus³ in the mean time, was signaling his valour by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually waged an implacable war against him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclinations he had expressed for the Jews, would not admit him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always considered the Jews as rebels desirous of throwing off its yoke, and was greatly interested in making a nation so powerful, and so near a neighbour, submit to it, had no regard to some tran-

sient demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole view was to shake off their chains, and to support themselves in liberty of conscience with regard to religion. Such were the dispositions of Syria towards the Jews.

Demetrius, a son of Seleucus Philopator, who, since the year in which A. M. 3341. his father died, had remained a hos- Ant. J. C. 163. tage at Rome, was in his twenty-third year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the son of Epiphanes's eldest brother. He proposed to the senate his re-establishment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he represented that, having been bred up at Rome, he should always regard it as his native country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The senate had more regard for the interests of the republic than the right of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans that there should be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambassadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. Their design was to weaken the power of that kingdom by every possible method. The same ambassadors had instructions to accommodate, if possible, the differences between the two kings of Egypt.

Lysias,⁴ terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabeus, formed an army of 80,000 foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with eighty elephants: at the head of all these forces he marched into Judea, with the resolution to settle in Jerusalem, as inhabitants, foreigners that worshipped idols. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bethsura, a fortress between Idumæa and Jerusalem. Judas Maccabeus, and the whole people, besought the LORD, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with assured courage, out of Jerusalem,⁵ there appeared a horseman marching before them. He was clothed in a white habit, with armour of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That sight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed 12,600 men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded and without arms.

After this check, Lysias,⁷ weary of so unsuccessful a war, and, as the Scripture says, "believing the Jews invincible when supported by the aid of the Almighty God," made a treaty with Judas and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and cancelled, and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to leave them long in repose. Judas overcame them in many battles. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, assembled all his forces, and raised an army of 120,000 foot, without including the horse, which amounted to 2500. Judas, full of confidence in the God of armies, marched against him with troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus lost 30,000 men in this battle, and saved himself with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the side of Judas, which proved that God alone is the source of valour, intrepidity, and success in war. He show-

⁴ Polyb. Legat. cvil. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 117.

⁵ 2 Maccab. xi. 1-33. xii. 1-37. xiii. 1-24. 1 Maccab. v. 65-67. vi. 19-63. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii.

⁶ It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, the protector of the people of God.

⁷ 2 Maccab. xi. 13.

¹ The last mention made of it is towards the end of Book XVIII. Article II. Sect. ii. and iii.

² Appian. in Syr. p. 117. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29, et x. 10-13. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14.

³ 1 Maccab. v. 1-67. 2 Maccab. x. 14-33.

ed this in the most sensible manner, by the evident and singular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raised of 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, two-and-thirty elephants, and 300 chariots of war. The king in person, with Lysias the regent of the kingdom, put themselves at the head of it, and entered Judea. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of God, the creator of the universe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the last drop of their blood, marched and posted himself in the front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, VICTORY IS OF GOD, he chose the bravest men of his army, and with them, in the night, attacked the king's quarters. They killed 4000 men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confusion and dismay.

Though the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He resolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazar, a Jew, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrificed himself to preserve his people, and acquire a perpetual name. He forced his way boldly to the elephant through the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all who opposed him. Then placing himself under the beast's belly, he pierced it in such a manner, that it fell and crushed him to death underneath it.

Judas, in the mean time, and his troops, fought with extraordinary resolution. But at length exhausted by fatigue, and no longer able to support the weight of the enemy, they thought fit to retire. The king followed them, and besieged the fortress of Bethsura. That place, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and would, like them, have been obliged to surrender, if Providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding assistance there against Lysias. But the disputes which had arisen between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been said elsewhere, soon deceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the East, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence during his expedition against Judæa, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lysias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. Peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the sight of which he was so much terrified, that, contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn when ratifying the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after of his life.

The troubles occasioned by the divisions between the two Ptolemies, A. M. 3342. Ant. J. C. 162. which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon, the youngest, surnamed Euergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometor. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundisium.

From whence he went the rest of the way to Rome, on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator king of Syria, who was still a hostage at Rome, was apprized of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He found him twenty-six miles, that is, at nine or ten leagues distance from Rome. Ptolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his present, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had worn till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very small house. His design, by all these circumstances, was to express the misery to which he was reduced the better, and to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to desire he would come to them; and to excuse their not having prepared a house for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to treat princes of his rank, they assured him that it was neither for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprised them, and had been kept so secret, that they were not apprized of it till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards, having desired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain in a full meeting the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some of the senators to a house suitable to his birth; and orders was given to the questors, or treasurers, to see him served and supplied at the expense of the public, with all things necessary, during his residence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had represented his condition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-establish him; and deputed two of the senators, with the character of ambassadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They reconducted him accordingly, and succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya and the province of Cyrene, were given to Physcon; Philometor had Egypt and the isle of Cyprus; and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions assigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

But oaths and sacrifices had long been with the generality of princes no more than simple ceremonies and mere forms, by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngest of the two kings, dissatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in person to complain of it to the senate. He demanded that the treaty of partition should be annulled, and that he should be restored to the possession of the isle of Cyprus. He alleged that he had been forced by the necessity of the times to comply with the former proposals, and that, even though Cyprus should be granted him, his share would still be far from equal to his brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder Ptolemy had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Physcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also, from the goodness of his brother: that he had made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother snatched him from their resentment, by making himself mediator: that at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him; and that both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintus and Canuleius, who had negotiated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

¹ Porphy. in Cr. Eus. Scalig. p. 60 and 63. Diol. in Excerpt. Vales. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. cxlii. Epit. Liv. l. xli.

The senate, seeing that in fact the partition was not equal, artfully took advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded. For such was then the policy of the Romans. It is Polybius who makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with so much address, that whilst they acted solely for their own interest, the contending parties were, however, obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend it would become too formidable if it fell into the hands of one sovereign, who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Phyeon. Demetrius, who did not lose sight of the throne of Syria, and who, on his part, was interested that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of the island of Cyprus, had supported the demand of Phyeon with all his influence. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula set out with the latter, to put him in possession of it.

During that prince's stay at Rome,¹ he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But as she was the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya with Phyeon.

Phyeon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and by means of a negotiation to bring them to that agreement which the senate had fixed. Philometor did not explain himself openly at first. He spun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, endeavouring to gain time, and taking secret measures against his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

The Cyreneans, in the mean time,²

A. M. 3843. informed of the ill conduct of Phyeon. Ant. J. C. 161. on during the time that he was in possession of the government at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted but Philometor had covertly taken pains to excite these disturbances. Phyeon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all hope, sent two deputies with the Roman ambassadors on their return to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints against his brother before the senate, and to solicit their protection. The senate, offended at Philometor's refusal to evacuate the island of Cyprus according to their decree, declared that there was no longer any amity and alliance between him and the Romans, and ordered his ambassadors to quit Rome in five days.

Phyeon found means to re-establish himself in Cyrenaica; but made himself so generally hated by his subjects, through his ill-conduct, that some of them fell upon him, and wounded him in several places, and left him for dead upon the spot. He imputed this to his brother Philometor; and, as soon as he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints against him to the senate, showed the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. Though Philometor was the most humane of all princes, and the least to be suspected of so black and barbarous an action, the senate, who were angry at his refusal to submit to the regulation they had made in regard to the isle of Cyprus, gave ear to this false accusation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice so high against him, that they would not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in his defence. Orders were sent to them to quit Rome immediately. Besides

which, the senate appointed five commissioners to conduct Phyeon into Cyprus, and to put him in possession of that island, and wrote to all their allies near, to aid him for that purpose with all their troops.

Phyeon, by this means, with an army which seemed to him sufficient A. M. 3847. for the execution of his design, landed Ant. J. C. 157. ed in the island. Philometor, who had gone thither in person, defeated him and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitha, where he was soon invested, besieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of the brother whom he had so cruelly injured. Philometor's exceeding goodness appeared upon this occasion. After all that Phyeon had done against him, it was expected that, as he now had him in his power, he would make him sensible of his indignation and revenge. He forgave him every thing; and, not contented with pardoning his faults, he even restored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added farther some amends in lieu of the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed; and the Romans were ashamed of any longer opposing a prince of such extraordinary clemency. There is no reader who does not secretly pay the homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward sentiments, which are founded in nature, and anticipate all reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the revengeful.

SECTION III.—OCTAVIUS, AMBASSADOR OF THE ROMANS IN SYRIA, IS KILLED THERE. DEMETRIUS ESCAPES FROM ROME, AND PUTS EUPATOR TO DEATH, ASCENDS THE THRONE OF SYRIA, AND ASSUMES THE SURNAME OF SOTER. HE MAKES WAR AGAINST THE JEWS. REPEATED VICTORIES OF JUDAS MACCABEUS; DEATH OF THAT GREAT MAN. DEMETRIUS IS ACKNOWLEDGED KING BY THE ROMANS. HE ABANDONS HIMSELF TO DRUNKENNESS AND DEBAUCHERY. ALEXANDER BALA FORMS A CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM. DEMETRIUS IS KILLED IN A BATTLE. ALEXANDER ESPOUSES THE DAUGHTER OF PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. TEMPLE BUILT BY THE JEWS IN EGYPT. DEMETRIUS, SON OF THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, SETS UP HIS CLAIM TO THE THRONE OF SYRIA. ALEXANDER IS DESTROYED. PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR DIES AT THE SAME TIME.

We have seen that the principal object of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who went first into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the Great after the battle of Sipylus. They caused the ships to be burned, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in that treaty, and regulated all other matters in such a manner as they thought most to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment seemed insupportable, and exasperated the people against them. A person named Leptines was so incensed at it, that in his rage he fell upon Octavius³ whilst he was bathing, and killed him. It was suspected that Lysias, the regent of the kingdom, had secretly a hand in this assassination. Ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome to justify the king, and to protest that he had no share in the action. The senate sent them back without giving them any answer, to signify, by that silence, their indignation for the murder committed upon the person of Octavius, the examination and punishment of which they reserved to themselves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a statue to him

¹ Appian, in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat. cxiv. and cxvii. Cicero, Philipp. ix. n. 4. 5. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 3.

² This Octavius had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family who had attained that honour.—Cicero, Philipp. ix. n. 4. Octavius Caesar, who became emperor, so well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered.—Sueton,

¹ Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 824.

² Polyb. Legat. cxxvii. Ibid. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 334.

amongst those of the great men who had lost their lives in defence of their country.

Demetrius believed that the displeasure of the Romans against Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addressed himself a second time to the senate, to obtain their permission to return into Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the greatest part of his friends, who advised him to make his escape, without saying any thing. The event soon showed him how much they were in the right. As the senate had still the same motives of interest for keeping him at Rome as at first, he received the same answer, and had the mortification to experience a second denial. He had then recourse to the first advice of his friends; and Polybius the historian, who was then at Rome, was one of those who pressed him with the utmost warmth to put it in execution with secrecy and despatch. He took his advice. After concerting all his measures, he left Rome under pretence of a hunting match, went to Ostia, and embarked with a small train in a Carthaginian vessel bound for Tyre, that waited for him.¹ It was three days before it was known at Rome that he had stolen away. All that the senate could do, was some days after to send Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

Demetrius² having landed at Tripoli in Syria, a report spread that the senate had sent him to take possession of his dominions, and had resolved to support him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and every one abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lysias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius saw himself established by this means upon the throne without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was, to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heralclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that upon this occasion they gave their deliverer the title of soter, or Saviour, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high-priest of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being able to procure himself to be admitted by them in that capacity, because he had profaned the sanctity of the priesthood, by following the impious customs of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes; gathered together all the apostate Jews, who had taken refuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judea, and putting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers, venting a thousand calumnies against them. He accused them of having killed all persons of Demetrius's party who fell into their hands, and of having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and seek their security elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judea at the head of an army; and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchides, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did also those of a second, which was commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the troops of Syria, and indignant that a handful of men should make head against such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence of victory in the protection of the god of Israel, and in the promises made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a

thousand blasphemies against the Almighty and against his temple. He was soon punished for them. Judas engaged him in a bloody battle, and of his army of 35,000 men not one escaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongst the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple, threatening to destroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, sent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able to rely with good reason upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring nations, who, far from interesting themselves for the preservation of the Jewish people, in concert with the Syrians, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them. He had been informed that the Romans, equally esteemed for their justice and valour, were always ready to support weak nations against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them umbrage. He therefore thought of making an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprises of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the senate, who passed a decree by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to Demetrius, by which he was enjoined not to distress the Jews any more, and war was threatened, in case he persevered to do so. But before the ambassadors returned, Judas was dead.

As soon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchides and Alcimus, composed of the choicest of all his troops, and sent them into Judæa. Judas had only 3000 men with him when it arrived there. These were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him, except 800 men. Judas, with that small number, through an excess of valour and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle against so numerous an army. He perished, overpowered by multitudes. His loss was deplored throughout all Judæa and at Jerusalem, with all the marks of the keenest affliction, and the government was put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violence against the true Israelites, and Bacchides being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had most probably received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recall Bacchides.

Demetrius³ indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and used all his Ant. J. C. 160. endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither to enter upon the negotiation. Finding, at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success on that point, he sent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations, obtained at length, by their means, what he desired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

To cultivate their amity,⁴ he sent the same Menochares the following Ant. J. C. 159. year, in conjunction with some others upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed 10,000 pieces of gold,⁵ as a present from him to the senate, in gratitude for their kind treatment of him during the time that he was a hostage at Rome. They carried also

¹ That ship was carrying to Tyre, according to custom, the first fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.

² 1 Maccab. vii. viii. ix. and 2 Maccab. xiv. Joseph. Antiq. l. xli. xlii. Appian, in Syr. p. 117. Justin. l. lxxvii. c. 3.

Vol. II.—32

³ Polyb. Legat. cxx.

⁴ Ibid. cxxii. Appian, in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. xxv.

⁵ They were worth more than ten thousand pistoles.

with them Leptines and Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptines was the person who killed him at Laodicea. Isocrates was a Greek, by profession a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had upon all occasions taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither hear nor see two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reserving to themselves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleased, a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.

It was nearly about this time that Demetrius, as I have observed before, established Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to see how far he carried his ingratitude towards his benefactor.

Demetrius,¹ who found himself A. M. 3850. without war or occupation, began to Ant. J. C. 154. indulge in pleasure, and to lead an idle life, not a little singular and fantastic in the manner of it. He caused a castle to be built near Antioch, flanked with four strong towers, and shut himself up in it, in order to abandon himself entirely on the one side to idleness, not being willing to hear any more mention made of public business, and, on the other, to the pleasure of good cheer and excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials, which people were desirous of presenting to him, were never received; justice was not administered; the affairs of the state languished; in a word there was a general suspension of the government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was formed for deposing him. Holophernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself with obtaining the crown if the enterprise succeeded. It was discovered, and Holophernes was thrown into prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of him upon occasion against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whose crown he had some pretensions.

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was not suppressed.² The malecontents were secretly supported by Ptolemy Philometor, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart; and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who were anxious to revenge themselves for the war Demetrius had undertaken against them in favour of Holophernes. Those three princes in concert together employed Heracles in preparing some body to personate the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to set up hereditary pretensions to the crown of Syria. This Heracles had been, as I have said already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon, while Timarchus, his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's accession to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malversation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other, having made his escape, had taken up his residence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to train the man intended for the design I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man named Bala, of mean extraction, but well calculated to act the part assigned him. He modelled him, and instructed him fully in all that it was necessary to say or do.

When he was fully prepared, he A. M. 3851. began by causing him to be acknowledged by the three kings who were Ant. J. C. 153. in the secret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the imposture. By force of address and solicitations, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour,

which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him assistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly saw through the imposture, and that all that was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing that was desired of them against Demetrius, with whom they were dissatisfied, and passed that decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty in raising troops. He seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine; and there, under the name of Alexander, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, assumed the title of the king of Syria. Many of the malecontents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defence. He assembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his side. The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and sent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judea, which rendered him at that time very much superior to all his enemies.

Alexander seeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals also to him, in order to bring him over to his side. He made him high-priest, granted him the title of *Friend of the king*, sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity which he conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, still outbid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had had the true interest of the Jews at heart, and to the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-priesthood from him; and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of tabernacles, which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest.

The place had been vacant seven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-priesthood, which at that time came into the Asmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he disposed of at his pleasure.

The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither A. M. 3852. valour nor good sense, when his reason Ant. J. C. 152. son was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander soon received new troops from the three kings who had set him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having, besides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his side, he retrieved his loss, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deserted also, because they could not bear Demetrius. That prince beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to provide for their security in case of misfortune. He confided them, with a considerable sum of money, to the care of a friend whom he had in that city; in order that if any accident should happen to himself, they might remain there in safety, and wait some favourable conjuncture.

It was at that same time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, A. M. 3853. that Andronicus played the same part Ant. J. C. 151. in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour.

The two competitors for the crown of Syria having assembled all their A. M. 3854. troops, proceeded to a decisive battle. At first Demetrius's left wing broke that of the enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the pursuit, a common fault in battles, and which almost always occasions their being lost, at their return they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the king himself killed in the pursuit. As long as he had been in a condition to support the

¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

² Polyb. Legat. cxxxviii. and cxi. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1-50.

enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing of which valour and conduct were capable, that might conduce to his success. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued him killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander by this victory found himself master of the empire of Syria.

As soon as Alexander saw himself at ease, he sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him: and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of honour.

Oneas, son of Onias III.² having been disappointed of the high-priesthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to insinuate himself so well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite and most intimate confidant. He made use of his influence at that court to obtain the king's permission for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; assuring him that that favour would bring the whole nation over to his side against Antiochus Epiphanes; at the same time he obtained a grant of the high-priesthood to him and his descendants for ever. The great difficulty was, to make the Jews accede to this innovation; it being forbidden by the law to offer sacrifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. He overcame their repugnance, though not without difficulty, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretells this event in these terms: "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts; the one shall be called the city of the sun, or Heliopolis. In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt; and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation: yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it."

The event here foretold by Isaiah is one of the most singular, and at the same time the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews than to offer sacrifices to God in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; consequently, how much more, to build a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, as Egypt was, and always at enmity with the people of God! This, however, came to pass exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter into a circumstantial exposition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

Alexander Bala,⁴ finding himself in peaceable possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures which the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himself, therefore, to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauchery. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite named Ammonius. That insolent and cruel minion put to death Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and widow of Perseus king of Macedonia; Antigonus, Demetrius' son, who continued in Syria when the two others were sent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of the blood-royal whom he could find, in order to secure to his master, by that means, the possession of the crown which he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius' sons, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of forming and executing plans. When he was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the occasion favourable for repossessing himself of his right. Lasthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him some companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number of malecontents to form an army, with which he made himself master of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes, and quitted his seraglio to apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an army, formed of all the troops he could assemble; and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Cæle-syria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius' first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who persisted in his attachment to Alexander; but he was unsuccessful, and in one day he lost above 8000 men.

Ptolemy Philometor, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger in which he found himself, came at last to the assistance of his son-in-law, and entered Palestine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect. Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival a conspiracy was discovered, which had been formed by Ammonius, against the life of Philometor. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and in consequence took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in reascending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, believed it time to show their resentment. Having discovered him disguised like a woman, they sacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared against Alexander himself, and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have set him upon the throne. But that prince, assuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius, the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his ancestors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to fire and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was defeated, and fled with 500 horse to Zabdiel,⁵ an Arabian prince, with whom he had intrusted his children. Betrayed by the person in whom he had placed most confidence, his head was cut off and sent to Ptolemy, who expressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was of no long duration; for he died some few days after of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, died at the same time; the first after a reign of five years, and the second after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, assumed the surname of Nicator, that is to say, the Conqueror.—The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

SECTION IV.—PHYSCON ESPOUSES CLEOPATRA, AND ASCENDS THE THRONE OF EGYPT. DEMETRIUS IN SYRIA ABANDONS HIMSELF TO ALL MANNER OF EXCESSES. DIODOTUS, SURNAMED TRYPHON, CAUSES ANTIOCHUS, THE SON OF ALEXANDER BALA, TO BE PROCLAIMED KING OF SYRIA; THEN KILLS HIM, AND TAKES HIS PLACE. HE SEIZES JONATHAN BY TREACHERY, AND PUTS HIM TO DEATH. DEMETRIUS UNDERTAKES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PARTHIANS, WHO TAKE HIM PRISONER. CLEOPATRA HIS WIFE ESPOUSES ANTIOCHUS SIDETES,

¹ 1 Maccab. x. 51—66.

² Joseph. contra Ap. 1. ii.

³ Isaiah, xix. 18—21.

⁴ Liv. Epit. lib. 1. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. x. 67—89. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

⁵ He is called Emalcuel in the book of Maccabees.

BROTHER OF DEMETRIUS, AND PLACES HIM UPON THE THRONE OF SYRIA. PHYSCON'S EXCESSIVE FOLLIES AND ENORMITIES. ATTALUS PHILOMETOR SUCCEEDS ATTALUS HIS UNCLE, WHOM HE CAUSES TO BE REGRETTED BY HIS VICES. HE DIES HIMSELF, AFTER HAVING REIGNED FIVE YEARS, AND BY HIS WILL LEAVES THE ROMAN PEOPLE HEIRS TO HIS DOMINIONS. ARISTONICUS SEIZES THEM. HE IS OVERTHROWN, LED IN TRIUMPH, AND PUT TO DEATH.

CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to place the crown upon the head of the son she had by him.¹ As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of taking measures for her defence, caused Onias and Dositheus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador at Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. He had no sooner married the queen and taken possession of the crown, than, on the very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed that the surname of Physcon, given to this prince, was properly a nickname. That which he took himself was Euergetes, which signifies the benefactor. The Alexandrians changed it into that of Cacoergetes, that is to say, on the contrary, one who delights in doing harm; a surname to which he had the justest title.

In Syria affairs went on little better.² Demetrius, a young prince without experience, left every thing to Lasthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man, and behaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maritime places of Phenicia and Syria, to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of conciliating them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops of Syria who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of just horror for such barbarous cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he caused the strictest search to be made for all those who had taken part against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished with death all that could be found. When he believed, after all these executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and some other foreigners, in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the veteran troops who had served under his father, and who, as being well affected to him, would have maintained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greatest enemies, by depriving them of the sole means they had to subsist. He found this fully verified in the insurrections and revolutions which afterwards happened.

Jonathan in the mean time seeing every thing quiet in Judea, formed the design of delivering the nation at length from the evils it suffered from the citadel, which the idolatrous Greeks still held in Jerusalem. He invested it, and caused machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius,

in consequence of the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent presents, and appeased the king and his ministers so successfully, that he not only caused the accusation which had been formed against him to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was discharged from all duties, customs, and tributes, for the sum of 300 talents,³ which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch,⁴ and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kind of excesses, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhausted, so that the whole nation was disposed for a general revolt.

Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the government of Antioch with Hierax, seeing the people in this disposition, found the occasion favourable for attempting a bold enterprise, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by taking advantage of these disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been intrusted. He laid the state of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and of the soldiery in particular, and strongly represented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for setting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince should be put into his hands, in order that he might enforce his rights. His view was to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and assume the crown himself, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real design, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not accede to it at first. Tryphon was obliged to continue a considerable time with him to solicit and press him. At length by force of importunity or presents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and obtained what he demanded.

Jonathan carried on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem with vigour: A. M. 3860. Ant. J. C. 144. he sent deputies to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the garrison which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himself involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people had conceived an invincible aversion for his person and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would send troops to chastise the mutineers. Jonathan sent him 3000 men immediately. As soon as the king had them, believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, he resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly that they should all deliver up their arms. Upon this they rose, to the number of 120,000 men, and invested the palace, with design to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to disengage him, dispersed the multitude with fire and sword, burnt a great part of the city, and killed or destroyed very near 100,000 of the inhabitants. The rest, intimidated by so great a misfortune, demanded a peace, which was granted them: and the tumult ceased. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge for the wrongs which the people of Antioch had done to Judea and Jerusalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius still continuing his cruelty, tyranny, and oppression, put many more persons to death for the

¹ Joseph. contr. App. l. ii. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1.

² Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346. 1 Maccab. xi. 20—37. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

³ Three hundred thousand crowns.

⁴ Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74. xli. 21—34. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

last sedition, confiscated the estates of others, and banished a great number. All his subjects conceived such a hatred and animosity against him, that there wanted nothing but an opportunity for displaying it, and making him experience the most dreadful effects of their vengeance.

Notwithstanding the promises he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preserved him, he behaved no better towards him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Though the sum of 300 talents had been paid, he did not desist from demanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with the same rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilst things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon conducted Antiochus, the son of Alexander, into Syria, and caused his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manifesto. The soldiers who had been disbanded by Demetrius, and a great number of other malecontents, came in crowds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the kings of Syria, and gave him the surname of Theos, which signifies "the God."

Jonathan, disgusted at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother. A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Calesyria and Palestine. Of these troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemy.

Tryphon, seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus, and of possessing himself of the crown of Syria, found no other obstacle to his design than on the part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well even to sound him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself, at any price, of so formidable an enemy; and accordingly entered Judæa with an army in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethshan at the head of 40,000 men. Tryphon perceived that he should get nothing by force against so powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest assurances of a sincere friendship. He gave him to understand, that he was come thither only to consult him upon their common interests, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was resolved to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friendship and obliging offers, that he dismissed all his troops, except 3000 men, of which he kept only 1000 about his person. He sent the rest towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon the traitor's oath, that he should be put into possession of it. He had no sooner entered the place, than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was immediately seized, and all of his followers put to the sword. Troops were also detached directly to follow and surprise the 2000 men who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan and his troops at the city of Ptolemais; and having exhorted one another to defend themselves well, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed, and arrived all safe at Jerusalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews, however, did not lose courage. They chose Simon by universal consent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, set themselves at work with all possible speed to complete the fortifications begun by Jonathan at Jerusa-

lem. And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched against him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourse to the same artifices which had succeeded so well with Jonathan. He sent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arrest, because he owed the king 100 talents; that if he would send him that sum, and Jonathan's two sons as hostages for their father's fidelity, he would cause him to be set at liberty. Though Simon saw clearly that this proposal was no more than a feint, nevertheless, that he might not have reason to reproach himself with being the occasion of his brother's death, by refusing to comply with it, he sent him the money and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithstanding, did not release his prisoner, but returned a second time into Judæa, at the head of a greater army than before, with design to put all things to fire and sword. Simon kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he frustrated his designs, and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon, on his return into winter-quarters in the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death; and believing after this that he had nobody to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus secretly. He then caused it to be given out that he was dead of the stone, and at the same time declared himself king of Syria, in his stead, and took possession of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he sent to fetch his bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Romans.³ A. M. 3861. His usurpation was so unsteady with-
Ant. J. C. 143. out this, that he perceived plainly this was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magnificent embassy, with a golden statue of Victory of 10,000 pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be inserted in the inscription, as if it had come from him.

The ambassadors 4 sent by Simon to Rome were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors were renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amused himself with diversions at Laodicea,⁵ and abandoned himself to the most infamous debauches, without becoming more wise from adversity, and without so much as seeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews just reason to oppose him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kinds of tributes and imposts, with general amnesty for all past acts of hostility; upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.

Demetrius 6 at length recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the East, who
A. M. 3863.
Ant. J. C. 141. came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having overrun almost the whole East, and subjected all the countries of Asia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to endure that usurpation, and the haughty insolence of their new masters, were extremely urgent with Demetrius, by repeated embassies, to come and put himself at their head; assured him of a general insurrection against the Parthians; and promised to supply him with a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the East.

² A hundred thousand crowns.

³ Diod. Legat. xxxi.

⁴ 1 Maccab. xiv. 16-40.

⁵ Diod. in Excerpt. Valces. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 24-42, and xiv. 26-41. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

⁶ Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1; l. xxxviii. c. 9; l. xli. c. 5 and 6. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1-49. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9-12. Orosius, l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Valces. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

² 1 Maccab. xii. 39-54. xiii. 1-30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. iv.

Full of these hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and passed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greatest part of Syria. He conceived that, having once made himself master of the East, with that increase of power he should be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

As soon as he appeared in the East, the Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians declared in his favour; and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in several engagements, but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow the empire of the Parthians took such firm footing, that it supported itself for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, so as to be considered equal even to the Romans themselves, as to power in the field and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians was Mithridates, son of Priapatus, a valiant and wise prince. We have seen in what manner Arsaces founded this empire, and his son Arsaces II. established and confirmed it, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatus was the son of the second Arsaces, and succeeded him; he was called also Arsaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he left the crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference to his own children,¹ because he had discovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people; convinced that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the state than the advancement of his own family; and to forget, in some measure, that he is a father to remember solely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whose hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince, after having subdued the Medes, Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, extended his conquests even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's: and when he had defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia; so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the west, and the Ganges on the east.

He carried Demetrius his prisoner into all the provinces that still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by showing them the person they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that, he treated him as a king, sent him into Hircania, which was assigned him for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However, he was always regarded as a prisoner of war, though in other respects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took from each of them whatever was best in their laws and customs, and out of them composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories; by so much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almost unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon gaining improvement from the wise customs of conquered nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the empire of the Parthians upon solid foundations, gave it a firm consistency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which subsisted many ages without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valour with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

¹ Non multò post decessit, multis filiis relictis: quibus præteritis, fratri potissimum Mithridati, insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium: plus regio quam patrio deberi nominis ratus, potiusque patriæ quam liberis consulendum. *Justin.*

At this time happened a considerable change in the affairs of the Jewish nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take advantage of the favourable opportunity of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars with which that empire was continually torn, to secure both the one and the other. In a general assembly of the priests, the elders, and the whole people of Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they had most essential obligations, and they gave him the government, with the title of sovereign, as well as that of high-priest: and declared this double power, civil and sacerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death, both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

When queen Cleopatra saw her husband taken and kept prisoner by A. M. 3864. the Parthians, she shut herself up Ant. J. C. 140. with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had industriously concealed those defects under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people, in order to be successful in his ambitious designs. When he saw himself in possession of the crown, he quitted an assumed character that laid him under too much constraint, and gave himself up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconsiderable numbers to Cleopatra. These desertions did not, however, sufficiently augment her party to put her into a condition to support herself. She was also afraid, lest the people of Seleucia should choose rather to give her up to Tryphon, than support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces; and promised on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when she was informed that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged, that she no longer observed any measures, and resolved to seek support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a tottering crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their rights. As Antiochus, therefore, was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.

This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidus with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he assumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon,² wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, for which he promised to take speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater when he should ascend the throne.

And in fact, in the beginning of the following year, he made a descent A. M. 3865. into Syria with an army of foreign Ant. J. C. 139. troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined what troops she had with his own, he took the field, and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to 120,000 foot and 8000 horse.

Tryphon could not make head against him, and retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus besieged him there by sea and land with all his forces. The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea to Orthosia, another maritime city of

² 1 Maccab. xv. 1—41. xvi. 1—10. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12, 13.

Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamea, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he possessed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called *Sidetes*, or "the hunter," from the word "Zidah," which has the same signification in the Syriac language.

Simon, established in the government of Judæa by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate, in consequence, caused the consul Piso to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, Demetrius I king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands, with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and that consequently they should not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had granted Simon so advantageous an alliance solely from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interests of the state, as well as to the policy of his predecessors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring against Simon, notwithstanding all the magnificent promises he had made him, and from sending troops into Judæa, under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the sons of Simon.

Physcon had reigned seven years

A. M. 3866. in Egypt.² History relates nothing Ant. J. C. 133. of him, during all that time, but notorious vices and detestable cruelties.

Never was there a prince so abandoned to excesses, and at the same time as cruel and sanguinary. All the rest of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both said and acted in public the extravagances of an infant, by which he drew upon himself both the contempt and abhorrence of his subjects. Without Hierax, his first minister, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the same to whom, in the reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had been given in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, entered into the service of Ptolemy Physcon, and soon became his captain-general and prime minister. As he was valiant in the field and able in council, by causing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his master committed, by a wise and equitable government, and by preventing or redressing them as much as possible, he had been till then so fortunate as to support the tranquillity of the state.

But in the following years, when A. M. 3868. Hierax was dead, or the prudence and ability of that minister Ant. J. C. 136. were no longer capable of restraining the folly of this prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worse than ever. Physcon, without any reason, caused the greatest part of those to be put to death, who had expressed the most zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenæus places Hierax in this number; but without mentioning the time. He also put to death, or at least banished, most of those who had been in favour with Philometor his brother, or had only held employments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and murder at discretion, he terrified Alexandria so much, that the greatest part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almost a desert. To supply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houses, he caused proclamation to be made in all the

neighbouring countries, that whosoever should come and settle there, of whatsoever nation they were, should meet with the greatest encouragement and advantages. There were considerable numbers whom this proposal suited very well: the houses that had been abandoned were given to them, and all the rights, privileges, and immunities, granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the city was repopulated.

As amongst those who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters in the liberal sciences, it happened from thence, that the polite arts and sciences began to revive in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; in a word, in every place where these illustrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the successors of Alexander, had almost extinguished the sciences in all those countries; and they would have been entirely lost in those times of confusion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The first of those princes, by founding his museum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almost all the learned men of Greece. The second and third following the founder's steps in that respect, Alexandria became the principal city in the world where the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, whilst they were almost absolutely neglected every where else. Most of the inhabitants of that great city studied or professed some or other of those polite arts, in which they had been instructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppression of the tyrant, of whom I speak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their most general recourse for subsistence was to make it their business to teach what they knew. They opened schools for that purpose; and as they were pressed by necessity, they taught at a low price, which very much increased the number of their disciples. By this means the arts and sciences began to revive, wherever they were dispersed; that is to say throughout what we call the whole East, exactly in the same manner as they took new birth in the West, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that strangers came in crowds to repopulate Alexandria,³ P. Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummianus, and L. Metellus, arrived there as ambassadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to send frequent embassies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view, that three of the greatest persons in the state were sent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece; and to see in what condition the affairs of those countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were observed; and to remedy whatever they should find amiss. They acquitted themselves of this commission with so much equity, justice, and address; and rendered such great services to those to whom they were sent, in restoring order amongst them, and in accommodating their differences; that as soon as they returned to Rome, ambassadors came from all parts through which they had passed, to return the senate thanks for having sent amongst them persons of such extraordinary merit, and whose wisdom and goodness they could never sufficiently admire.

The first place they went to, according to their instructions, was Alexandria. The king received them with great magnificence. As to themselves, they affected state so little, that at their entry, Scipio, who was the greatest personage of Rome, had only one friend with him, which was Panætius the philosopher, and five domestics.⁴ Not his domestics, (says an historian,) but his victories, were considered: he

¹ This letter was addressed to Demetrius, though prisoner amongst the Parthians, because the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes nor Tryphon.

² Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184, and l. vi. p. 252. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1, 2.

³ Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273, and l. xii. p. 549. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. Legat. xxxii.

⁴ Cum per socios et externas gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victorie nummularum; nec quantum auris argenti, sed quantum amplitudinis ous secum ferret æstimabatur.—Val. Max.

was not esteemed for his gold or his silver, but for his personal virtues and qualities. Though during their whole residence at Alexandria, the king caused them to be served with whatever was most delicate and exquisite, they never touched any thing but the most simple and common meats; despising all the rest, as serving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp quickly assumed their place.

When the ambassadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to visit Memphis and the other parts of Egypt. They saw with their own eyes, or by statements drawn up upon the spot, the infinite number of cities, and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom; the strength of its natural situation; the fertility of its soil, and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application; for Physcon, who then reigned, was nothing less than a king. Nothing was so wretched as the idea he gave them of himself in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices, I have already made mention, and shall be obliged to give farther proofs of them in the sequel. The deformity of his body sufficiently corresponded with that of his mind: nothing more hideous was ever seen. His stature was of the smallest, and with that he had a belly of so enormous a size, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeness of his belly occasioned his being called by the nick-name of Physcon. Upon this wretched person he wore so transparent a stuff, that all his deformity might be seen through it. He never appeared in public but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of his intemperance, unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panætius, told him in his ear, smiling, "The Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing their king walk on foot."

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings of whom we now speak, dishonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itself, by the most horrid vices. It is dreadful to see, in that long list of kings whose history we have related, how few there are who deserve that name. What comparison is there between those monsters of dissoluteness and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was a prodigy of wisdom and virtue, as far as they could be found amongst the Pagans? Justin accordingly says of him, that whilst he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. *Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.*

Attalus king of Pergamus,² died A. M. 3866. about the time of which we now Ant. J. C. 138. speak. His nephew, who bore the same name, and was also called Philometor, succeeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could, and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, though he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable; most princes thinking no less, of transferring their crowns to their posterity, than of preserving them to themselves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometor governed it in the

most extravagant and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne before he stained it with the blood of his nearest relations, and the best friends of his family. He caused almost all who had served his father and uncle with extreme fidelity, to be murdered, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of disease in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she had been seized very naturally. He put others also to death upon suspicions entirely frivolous; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. He caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most savage and cruel nations, to make them the instruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury, in this manner, the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to show himself abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and ate no longer in public. He put on old clothes, let his beard grow, without taking any care of it, and did every thing which persons accused of capital offences used to do in those days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge the crimes which he had just perpetrated.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, and retired into his garden, and engaged in digging the ground himself, and then sowed all sorts of venomous, as well as wholesome, herbs; then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, he sent them in that manner as presents to his friends. He passed all the rest of his reign in cruel extravagances of the like nature, which happily for his subjects, was of no long duration, for it lasted only five years.

He had taken it into his head to practise the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass to be erected to his mother. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal, on a hot summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in seven days, and freed A. M. 3871. his subjects from an ambominable tyrant. Ant. J. C. 133.

He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal article was expressed in these terms, LET THE ROMAN PEOPLE INHERIT ALL MY EFFECTS.³ As soon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occasion; and ascending the tribunal, proposed a law to this effect: that all the ready money which should arise from the succession to this prince, should be distributed amongst the poor citizens, who should be sent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to support themselves in their new possessions, and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands, which were under that prince's government, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to the people: which extremely offended the senate. That tribune was killed some small time after.

Aristonicus, however, who reported himself of the blood royal, was A. M. 3872. actively employed in preparing to Ant. J. C. 132. take possession of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the son of Eumenes, but by a courtesan. He easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, through fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

As his party grew stronger every day, the Romans sent the consul, A. M. 3873. Licinius Crassus, against him. It Ant. J. C. 131. was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of all the dialects of the

¹ Quam cruentus civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim et vultu deformis, et staturâ brevis, et saginâ ventris, non homini sed belluæ similis. Quam feditatem nimia subtilitas perlicudæ vestis augebat, prorsus quasi astu inspicendi præberentur, quæ omni oculu occultanda pudibundo viro erant.—Justin. l. viii. c. 8.

² Athenæus says, περὶ τὴν μηδὲν τοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐκείνου.—Which the interpreter translates, *Pedibus ille nunquam ex regia prolabat, sed perpetuo Scipione subnititur*; instead of *nisi perperam*.

³ Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Plut. in Demet. p. 697. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 370.

³ Plut. in Gracch. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4, and xxxvii. c. 1. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. l. xiv. p. 645. Oros. l. v. c. 8—10. Eutrop. l. iv. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to all the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

Notwithstanding such powerful
A. M. 3874. supports, having engaged in a battle
Ant. J. C. 130. with disadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconsul, was defeated, and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the victor's hands by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The consul Perpenna, who had succeeded Crassus, soon revenged his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle; entirely routed his army, besieged him soon after in Statonice, and at length made him prisoner. All Phrygia submitted to the Romans.

He sent Aristonicus to Rome, in
A. M. 3875. the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treasures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected consul, was hastening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Aristonicus set out; and some time after, Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of a disease at Pergamus. Aquilius soon terminated this war, which had continued almost four years. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all that composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Asia.

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared against the Romans as well in this last war as in that against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders as if the fate of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the senate and people in their favour. Just as their indignation was against Phocæa, they could not refuse to pardon it, in consideration of the ardent solicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the highest consideration, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it, by the tender concern and gratitude they expressed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Euergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war. But after his death, they dispossessed his son, Mithridates the Great, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left six children. Rome, to reward in the sons the services of the father, added Lycæonia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderness of a parent, but the cruelty of a step-mother. To secure all authority to herself she poisoned five of her children; and the sixth would have shared the same fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Megæra, on whose crimes the people soon took vengeance by a violent death.

Manius Aquilius, at his return to
A. M. 3878. Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having been shown there for a sight to the people, was carried to prison, where he was strangled. Such were the consequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in a letter which he wrote afterwards to Arsaces, king of Parthia, accuses the Romans of having forged a false will of Attalus's¹ in order to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right; but it is an avowed enemy who charges him with this. It is

more surprising that Horace, in one of his odes, seems to make the Roman people the same reproach, and to insinuate that they had attained the succession by fraud.

Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.

Nor have I seiz'd, an heir unknown,
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.²

However, there remains no trace in history of any secret intrigue or solicitation to that effect on the side of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this will without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of my history.

SECTION V.—ANTIOCHUS SIDETES BESIEGES JOHN HYRCANUS IN JERUSALEM. THAT CITY SURRENDERS BY CAPITULATION. HE MAKES WAR AGAINST THE PARTHIANS, AND PERISHES IN IT. PHRAATES, KING OF THE PARTHIANS, DEFEATED IN HIS TURN BY THE SCYTHIANS. PHYSCON COMMITS HORRID CRUELITIES IN EGYPT. A GENERAL REVOLT OBLIGES HIM TO QUIT IT. CLEOPATRA, HIS FIRST WIFE, IS REPLACED UPON THE THRONE. SHE EMPLORES AID OF DEMETRIUS, AND IS SOON REDUCED TO LEAVE EGYPT. PHYSCON RETURNS THITHER, AND REASCENDS THE THRONE. BY HIS MEANS ZEBINA DETHRONES DEMETRIUS, WHO IS SOON AFTER KILLED. THE KINGDOM IS DIVIDED BETWEEN CLEOPATRA, THE WIFE OF DEMETRIUS, AND ZEBINA. THE LATTER IS DEFEATED AND KILLED. ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS ASCENDS THE THRONE OF SYRIA. THE FAMOUS MITHRIDATES BEGINS TO REIGN IN PONTUS. PHYSCON'S DEATH.

SIMON having been slain by treachery³ with two of his sons, John, A. M. 3869.
another of them, surnamed Hyrcanus, Ant. J. C. 135.
was proclaimed high-priest and prince of the Jews in his father's stead. Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all possible haste to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judea, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremity for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not unknown in the camp. Those who were about the king's person pressed him to take advantage of the present occasion for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, (recalling to past ages,) that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the same gods; that they had laws, customs, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deserved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, says, that it was from the pure effect of the generosity and clemency of Antiochus, that the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the besieged should surrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judea: and peace was concluded upon these conditions. Antiochus also demanded that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison into it; but Hyrcanus would not consent to that, upon account of the miseries which the nation had suffered

¹ Simulato impio testamento, filium (jus Eumeneis) Aristonicum, quæ patrum regnum petiverat, hostium more per triumphum duxere.—*Apud Sallust. in Pragm.*

² Hor. Od. xviii. l. ii. l. 5.

³ 1 Maccab. xvi. Joseph. Antiq. i. xiii. c. 16. 1. Dioq. Eclog. i. p. 901.

from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the sum of 500 talents,¹ which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and for those articles which could not be immediately fulfilled, hostages were given, amongst whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

Scipio Africanus the younger, having gone to command in Spain,² Ant. J. C. 134. during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes sent him rich and magnificent presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. Scipio received them in public, sitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they should be delivered to the quaestor,³ to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers who should distinguish themselves in the service. By such conduct a generous and noble soul is known.

Demetrius Nicator⁴ had been kept many years in captivity by the Ant. J. C. 131. Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice retaken in the midst of his flight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodness and clemency in the Parthians; interest had some share in it. They had views of making themselves masters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under color of going to re-establish Demetrius upon his throne, they might take possession of it for themselves.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprized of this design or not, thought proper to prevent it, and marched against Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians' late usurpation of the richest and finest provinces of the East, which his ancestors had always possessed from the time of Alexander, was a strong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulsion. His army consisted of upwards of 80,000 men, well armed and disciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, pastry-cooks, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous women, that they were almost four times as many as the soldiers, for they were reckoned to amount to about 300,000. There may be some exaggeration in this account, but, if two-thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of useless mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of those who administered to it. Gold and silver glittered in all parts,⁵ even upon the boots of the private soldiers. The instruments and utensils of the kitchen were silver, as if they had been marching to a feast, and not to a war.

Antiochus had great success at first. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the East, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had a share in all these victories, returned home laden with glory at the end of the campaign and the year.

The rest of the army passed the winter in the East. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged

them to separate, and to remove so far from each other, that they could not easily rejoin and form one body in case of an attack. The inhabitants, whom they plundered extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troublesome guests, whom nothing could satisfy, conspired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops always about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him, but was overpowered by numbers, and perished himself. All the rest of the army were either massacred in their quarters the same day, or made prisoners; so that out of so great a multitude, scarce any escaped to carry the sad news of this slaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince estimable for many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch⁶ relates a saying of his very much to his honour. One day having lost himself a hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some poor people, who received him in the best manner they could, without knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the conversation upon the person and conduct of the king, they said, that he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great passion for hunting made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage, he was known. He repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them by way of reproach, "Since I have taken you into my service, I have not heard the truth concerning myself till yesterday."

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles as would compel Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had already passed the Euphrates before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion; whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some near relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put it into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors; and having found one of his daughters amongst the captives, he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus being dead,⁷ Hyrcanus took advantage of the troubles and divisions which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himself master of many places in Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiously for him. He laboured also at the same time to render himself absolute and independent. He succeeded so well, that from thenceforth neither himself nor any of his descendants were dependent in the least upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of subjection, and even that of homage.

Phraates,⁸ flushed with his great successes and the victory he had gained, designed to carry the war into Syria, in revenge for Antiochus's invasion of his dominions. But, whilst he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of disquieting others abroad. Finding himself vigorously pressed by Antiochus, as we have seen, he had demanded aid of that people. When they arrived,

¹ Five hundred thousand crowns. ² Epit. Liv. l. lvii.

³ The quaestor was the treasurer of the army.

⁴ Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9 and 10. l. xlix. c. 1. Oros. l. v. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l. v. p. 210, and l. x. p. 439, and l. xii. p. 540. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

⁵ Argentis aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas aure ferrent, prociarentque materiam, culus amore populi ferro dimicant. Culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuere, quasi ad epulas non ad bella pergerent.—Justin.

⁶ Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 284.

⁷ Joseph. Antiq. l. xlii. c. 17. Strab. l. xvi. p. 701. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4.

⁸ Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1, and l. xliii. c. 1, 2.

the affair was terminated; and having no farther occasion for them, he would not give them the sums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms against himself, to avenge themselves for the injustice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have disgusted so powerful a nation by a mean and sordid avarice; and he committed a second, no less considerable, in the war itself. To strengthen himself against that nation, he sought aid from a people to whom he had made himself more hateful than to the Scythians themselves; these were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the last war against him, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he should considerably reinforce them by that means. But when they saw themselves with arms in their hands, they were resolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill-treatment they had suffered during their captivity; and as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle, whilst the victory was in suspense, that Phraates was defeated, with a great slaughter of his troops. He perished himself in the pursuit, and almost his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates's uncle, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who for his glorious actions was surnamed the Great.¹

During all these revolutions in the Syrian and Parthian empires,² Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed, that on his marriage with his sister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed in her arms the son she had by his brother, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometor, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to repeople it, and supply the places of those whom his former cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign troops in the place where the exercises were performed, when the assembly there was most numerous, and put them all to the sword. The whole people ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it: but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

But first, apprehending that the Alexandrians would make his son king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as soon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falsely-alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more

against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alexandria. He believed that Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action; and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth-day of that princess, which was approaching, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and unheard-of a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view of the public, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to arms; and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster from ever reascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

Ptolemy Physcon having raised an army on his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and sent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Marsyas prisoner, and sent him loaded with chains to Physcon. It was expected that so bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most exquisite torments; but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon and set him at liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himself honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loss of her army, which was almost entirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius, king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometor, and promised him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without hesitation, accepted that proposal, marched with all his troops, and laid siege to Pelusium.

That prince was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance and employed in the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them those of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked with all her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter Cleopatra, queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra, the daughter, had been first married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the life-time of her father Philometor. But Demetrius, having been taken prisoner by the Parthians and detained amongst them, she had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius, her first husband, who being set at liberty by the Parthians, had repossessed himself of Syria: she kept her court at Ptolemais, where her mother came to her.

Physcon, as soon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and reassumed the government. For after the defeat of Marsyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was nobody in a condition to oppose him. After having employed some time in strengthening himself, to revenge the invasion of Demetrius, he set up against him an impostor called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himself out for the son of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Physcon lent him an army to put him in possession of it. He was no sooner

¹ These Thogarians were a tribe of those Scythians who had conquered the Greek kingdom of Bactria. It is not true that Artaban was succeeded, as Rollin says, by Mithridates the Great; for this latter was he who had defeated Demetrius Nicator, and taken him prisoner twelve years before. Artaban was the successor of Phraates, the son of that Mithridates, and could not therefore be succeeded by him. He was brother to that Mithridates, and was succeeded by Pacorus I.]

² Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2-7. Oros. l. v. c. 10. Epit. Liv. l. lix. ix. Diod. in Excerpt. Valcs. p. 374-376. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

in Syria, than, without examining the justice of his pretensions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They cared not who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damascus, in Coele-syria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongst the Parthians, took this occasion to be revenged, and caused the gates of the city to be shut against him. Would not one think, that in the age of which we now treat there was a kind of dispute and emulation between the princes and princesses, who should distinguish themselves most by wickedness and the blackest crimes? Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death, Cleopatra preserved for herself part of the kingdom: Zebina had all the rest; and to establish himself the better, made a strict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able statesman, took the advantage of these divisions to strengthen himself, and to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other considerable advantages, which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

He had sent the preceding year an embassy to Rome to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The senate received those ambassadors very graciously, and granted them all they demanded. And because Antiochus Sidetes had made war against the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; had taken several cities; had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places which he had ceded to them; and had made them consent by force to a disadvantageous peace, by besieging the city of Jerusalem;—upon what the ambassadors represented to the senate on these heads, they condemned all that had been done in such manner against the Jews from the time of the treaty made with Simon, and resolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the rest of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenor of that treaty, should be restored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other subjection. It was also decreed that the Syrians should make amends for all the losses that the Jews had sustained from them in contravention to the senate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon: in fine, that the kings of Syria should renounce their pretended right to march their troops into the territories of the Jews.

At the time of which we speak,²
A. M. 3379. incredible swarms of locusts laid
Ant. J. C. 125. Africa waste in an unheard-of manner. They ate up all the fruits of the earth; and afterwards being carried by the wind into the sea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the shore, where they rotted, and infected the air to such a degree, that they occasioned a pestilence, which carried off in Libya, Cyrenaica, and some other parts of Africa, more than 300,000 souls.

We have seen that Cleopatra had
A. M. 3380. possessed herself of part of the kingdom of Syria,³ at the death of Demetrius Nicator, her husband. He left two sons by that princess, the eldest of whom, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of ascending the throne of his father, and accordingly caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother was anxious to reign alone, and was very much offended at her son's intention to establish himself to her prejudice. She had also reason to fear that he might desire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known she had been the cause. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breast. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable, how a woman and a mother could be capable of committing such horrid excesses: but when some

unjust passion takes possession of the heart, it becomes the source of every kind of guilt. However gentle it may appear, it is not far from arming itself with poniards, and from having recourse to poison; because, being anxious to attain its ends, it has a natural tendency to destroy every thing which opposes that view.

Zebina had made himself master of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted against him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea, and resolved to defend that place against him. But he found means to bring them to reason. They submitted, and he pardoned them with the most uncommon clemency and greatness of soul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all who approached him in the most affable and engaging manner, so that he acquired the love of all men, and even of those who abhorred the imposture by which he had usurped the crown.

Mithridates Euergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was assassinated by his own servants. His son, who succeeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupator, who disputed so long the empire of Asia with the Romans, and supported a war of almost thirty years' duration against them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I shall make his history a separate article.

Cleopatra, after having killed her eldest son, believed it for her interest to make a titular king, under whose name she might conceal the authority which she intended to retain entirely to herself. She well knew that a warlike people, accustomed to be governed by kings, would always regard the throne as vacant whilst filled only by a princess, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that should set up for it. She therefore caused her other son, Antiochus, to return from Athens, whither she had sent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as soon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the affairs of government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he suffered her to govern for some time with patience enough. To distinguish him from other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the surname of Grypus,⁴ taken from his great nose. Josephus calls him Philometor; but that prince in his medals took the title of Epiphanes.

Zebina having well established himself, after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the possession of part of the Syrian empire, Physcon, who looked upon him as his creature, insisted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had set him up; and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he sent a considerable army to the assistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a design of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expenses of the war. Upon its being discovered, the inhabitants rose, and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last, and put to death.

After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus, believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself. The ambitious Cleopatra, who saw her power diminished, and grandeur eclipsed by that measure, could not suffer it. To render herself again absolute mistress of the government of Syria, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as she had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her sons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being

¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

² Liv. Epit. l. ix. Oros. l. v. c. 11.

³ Liv. Epit. l. ix. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1, 2. Appian. in

67r. p. 132.

⁴ Γρυπῆς in Greek signifies a man with an aquiline nose.

an infant, she was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her in it during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poisoned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from some exercise. But that prince having been apprized of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself; and upon her obstinate refusal to do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of the suspicions conceived against her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herself without evasion or resource, swallowed the draught. The poison took effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who, by her unheard-of crimes, had been so long the scourge of the state. She had been the wife of three kings of Syria,¹ and the mother of four. She had occasioned the death of two of her husbands; and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the poison which he made her drink herself. That prince afterwards applied himself with success to the affairs of the public, and reigned several years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum occasioned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt,²

A. M. 3887. after having reigned twenty-nine years from the death of his brother Philometor, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded with more crimes than his.

SECTION VI.—PTOLEMY LATHYRUS SUCCEEDS PHYSCON. WAR BETWEEN GRYPUS AND HIS BROTHER ANTIOCHUS OF CYZICUM, FOR THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA. HYRCANUS FORTIFIES HIMSELF IN JUDEA. HIS DEATH. ARISTOBULUS SUCCEEDS HIM, AND ASSUMES THE TITLE OF KING. HE IS SUCCEEDED BY ALEXANDER JANNEUS. CLEOPATRA DRIVES LATHYRUS OUT OF EGYPT, AND PLACES ALEXANDER, HIS YOUNGEST BROTHER, ON THE THRONE IN HIS STEAD. WAR BETWEEN THAT PRINCESS AND HER SONS. DEATH OF GRYPUS. PTOLEMY APION LEAVES THE KINGDOM OF CYRENAICA TO THE ROMANS. CONTINUATION OF THE WARS IN SYRIA AND EGYPT. THE SYRIANS CHOOSE TIGRANES KING. LATHYRUS IS RE-ESTABLISHED UPON THE THRONE OF EGYPT. HE DIES. ALEXANDER HIS NEPHEW SUCCEEDS HIM. NICOMEDES, KING OF BITHYNIA, MAKES THE ROMAN PEOPLE HIS HEIRS.

PHYSCON at his death left three

A. M. 3887. sons.³ The first, named Apion, was Ant. J. C. 117. a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander.

He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to whichever of his two sons she should think fit to choose. Cleopatra believing that Alexander would be the most complaisant, resolved to choose him; but the people would not suffer the eldest to lose his birth-right, and obliged the queen to recall him from Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the throne at Memphis according to custom, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleo-

patra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Seleene, his youngest sister, for whom he had no inclination. Arrangements of this kind promise no very pacific reign.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometor; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of Lathyrus.⁴ However, as that was but a kind of nickname, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judea, when a civil war broke out to employ him, which was fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's side. He was the son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilst Demetrius was prisoner amongst the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and repossessed himself of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard to his safety, had sent him to Cyzicum, a city situate upon the Propontis, in Mysia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch named Craterus, to whom she had intrusted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenean. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, wished to have him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyzicenean was compelled to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretensions to the crown of Syria.

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyzicenean. She brought him an army for her dowry,⁵ to assist him against his competitor. Their forces by that means being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenean having the misfortune to be defeated, retired to Antioch. He left his wife in that place, where he fancied she would be secure, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforcement of his army.

But Grypus immediately laid siege to the city, and took it. Tryphena, his wife, was very earnest with him to put Cleopatra his prisoner into her hands. Though her sister by father and mother, she was so excessively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and giving him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in one of the temples of Antioch; a sanctuary which was held inviolable. Grypus would not show a complaisance for his wife, which he saw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alleged to her the sanctity of the asylum where her sister had taken refuge; and represented, that her death would neither be of use to them, nor of prejudice to the Cyzicenean; that in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his ancestors had been engaged, it had never been known, that after victory any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially against so near a relation; that Cleopatra was her sister, and his near relation; that therefore he desired her to speak no more of her to him, because he could by no means consent to her being treated with any severities. Tryphena, far from acquiescing in his reasons, became more violent, through sentiments of jealousy; imagining, that it was not through compassion, but love, that her husband thus took the part of that unfortunate princess. She therefore sent soldiers into the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the

⁴ *Λαθύρας*; signifies a kind of pea, called in Latin *cicer*, from which came the surname of Cicero. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face, or the name would have been still more offensive.

⁵ We find in the latter editions of Justin the following words: *Exercitum Grypi sollicitatum, velut dolum, ad marium deducit*; which shows, that Cleopatra, having succeeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her husband. Several editions read *Cypri* instead of *Grypi*, which would imply that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

⁶ Her father Physcon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.

⁷ Sed quantum Grypus abnuat, tantum soror muliebri pertinacia accenditur, nata non misericordie hæc verba sed amoris esse.—Justin.

¹ The three kings of Syria who had been her husbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four sons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus, by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyzicenean, by Antiochus Sidetes.

² Ptolemy. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix. ³ Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. sub finem. et in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67, and l. vi. c. 50. Porphyr. Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. 4. xiii. c. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 384.

altar, than by cutting off her hands with which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and implored the god, in whose sight so barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two sisters, did not seem to be affected at all, with either the fate of the one or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was solely susceptible of ambition, was so taken up with the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of retaining an absolute authority in her own hands during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son, in order to draw from him the assistance for which she might have occasion, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the authority she was determined to keep.

The death of Cleopatra in Syria A. M. 3892. did not long remain unpunished. Ant. J. C. 112. The Cyzicenean returned at the head of a new army to give his brother battle a second time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments which her cruelty to her sister had well deserved.

Grypus was obliged to abandon A. M. 3893. Syria to the victor. He retired to Ant. J. C. 111. Aspendus in Pamphylia, which occasioned his being sometimes called in history the Aspendian, but returned a year after into Syria, and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenean had Coele-syria and Phœnicia, and took up his residence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court at Antioch. Both equally abandoned themselves to luxury, and many other excesses.

Whilst the two brothers were ex- A. M. 3894. hausting their forces against one another, Ant. J. C. 110. or indolently dozed after the peace in luxurious sloth and ease, John Hyrcanus was augmenting his wealth and power; and seeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to form the siege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenean, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle ensued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping with great difficulty.

The two brothers after this victory A. M. 3895. returned to the siege, and pressed Ant. J. C. 109. the city so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicenean, to solicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege; and the same request was made to Lathyrus, king of Egypt, who granted 6000 men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, ministers, and generals, both the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, those two ministers, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation; and out of regard for them, she would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenean joined them with his. He was afraid, however, to attack the army that formed the siege, and contented himself with ravaging the country, by flying parties and excursions, in order to form a diversion, and to induce the enemy to raise the siege, in order to defend themselves at home. But seeing that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some detachments by desertion, and other accidents, he thought it improper to expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to

Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprise, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no farther thoughts but of serving his private interest in the best manner he could in the present situation of affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus, and for a sum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable enough.

Samaria, destitute of all appearances of relief, was obliged, after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city, and the houses of the inhabitants, were entirely razed and laid level with the ground; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep ditches to be cut through the new plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod, who gave the new city, which he caused to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebaste,² in honour of Augustus.

Hyrcanus saw himself at that time master of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of his time. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he passed the rest of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs.

But towards the close of his life he did not find the same repose at A. M. 3896. home. The Pharisees, a violent and Ant. J. C. 103 rebellious sect, gave him abundance of vexation. By an affected profession of attachment to the law, and a severity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway amongst the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured, by all sorts of favours, to engage them in his interests. Besides having been educated amongst them, and having always professed their sect, he had protected and served them upon all occasions; and, to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them, highly capable of affecting reasonable minds. He represented, that it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Pharisees: that he conjured them, therefore, if they saw that he departed in any thing from the great end he proposed to himself in those two rules, that they would give him their instructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought to be attended with prudence and discernment.

The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and highly praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and seditious spirit, rose up, and spoke to him to this effect: "Since you desire that the truth should be told you with freedom, if you would prove yourself just, renounce the high-priesthood, and content yourself with the civil government." Hyrcanus was surprised, and asked him what reasons he had to give him such counsel. Eleazar replied, "that it was known from the testimony of aged persons worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, and that, as the son of a stranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office." If the fact had been true, Eleazar would have been in the right; for the law was express in that point;³ but it was a false supposition, and a mere calumny; and all who were present extremely blamed him for advancing it, and expressed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure, however, occasioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in question the purity of his birth, and, in consequence, to inval-

¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xlii.

² Σεβαστος; in Greek signifies Augustus. ³ Lev. xxi. 15.

to date his right to the high-priesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend and a zealous Sadducee, took advantage of this opportunity to incense him against the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful sects in Judæa, but directly opposite to each other in sentiments and interests, entirely divided the state; that of the Pharisees, and that of the Sadducees. The first piqued themselves upon an exact observance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they much more strictly adhered than to the law itself, though often contrary to what the latter enjoined. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and, in consequence, another life after this. They affected an outside of virtue, regularity, and austerity, which gained them great consideration with the people. But under that imposing appearance they concealed the greatest vices: sordid avarice; insupportable pride; an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a violent desire of ruling alone; an envy, that rose almost to fury, against all merit but their own; an irreconcilable hatred for all who presumed to contradict them; a spirit of revenge capable of the most horrid excesses; and what was still more their distinguishing characteristic, and outdid all the rest, a black hypocrisy, which always wore the mask of religion. The Sadducees rejected the Pharisaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body; and admitted no felicity, but that which may be enjoyed in this life. The rich, the nobility, and most of those who composed the Sanhedrim, that is to say, the Great Council of the Jews, in which the affairs of state and religion were determined, were of this latter sect.

Jonathan, therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus to his party, insinuated to him, that what had passed was not the mere suggestion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that, in order to convince himself of the truth of this assertion, he had only to consult them upon the punishment which the calumniator deserved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and consulted the chief men among the Pharisees upon the punishment due to the person who had so grossly defamed the prince and high-priest of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was, that calumny was not a capital crime; and that all the punishment he deserved was to be scourged and imprisoned. So much lenity in so heinous a case, made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had insinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole sect of the Pharisees. He prohibited, by a decree, the observation of the regulations founded upon their pretended traditions; inflicted penalties upon such as disobeyed that ordinance; and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himself into that of the Sadducees their enemies.

Hyrcanus did not long survive this storm; he died the year following, A. M. 3897. after having been high-priest and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years.

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, I shall reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I shall treat the history of the Jews separately.

We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus had sent an army into Palestine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithstanding her opposition. She carried her resentment of this and some other similar encroachments upon her authority so far, that she took his wife Selene from him, by whom he already had two sons,² and obliged him to quit Egypt. The method which she devised to effect her purpose was this. She procured some of her favourite eunuchs to be wounded, and then produced them in an assembly of the people of Alexandria. She

caused it to be reported that they had been used thus barbarously by her son Lathyrus for having endeavoured to defend her against his violence; and inflamed the people so much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he had designed to kill her, that they immediately rose universally against Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not escaped from the port into a ship, which set sail as soon as he got on board. Cleopatra sent immediately after for Alexander, her youngest son, to whom she had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, which she the other quitted.

Alexander, king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched against the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to shut themselves up within their walls, where he besieged them. They sent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in person. But the besieged changing their sentiments, from the apprehension of having him for their master, Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was apprised that the latter was negotiating secretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces in order to drive him out of Palestine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and resolved to do him all the injury in his power.

The next year he did not fail to carry his resolution into effect. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them under the command of one of his generals, to form the siege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reason to be dissatisfied; and with the other marched in person against Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza had supplied Lathyrus with a considerable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost 30,000 men, without including the prisoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

A most cruel and horrid action is related to have been committed by Lathyrus upon this occasion. The same evening that he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages, he found them full of women and children, and caused them all to be put to the sword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces and put into caldrons to be cooked, as if he intended to make his army sup upon them. His design was to have it believed that his troops ate human flesh, to spread the greater terror throughout the country. Could one believe such a barbarity possible, or that any man should ever conceive so wild a thought? Josephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the flat country. Without the succours brought by Cleopatra the following year, Alexander would have been undone; for after so considerable a loss, it was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head against his enemy.

That princess saw plainly, that if Lathyrus made himself master of Judæa and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was necessary to put a stop to his progress. For that purpose she raised an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews of whom we have spoken before. She fitted out a fleet at the same time, to transport her troops; and embarking with them herself, landed in Phœnicia.⁴ She carried with her a great sum of money, and her richest jewels. In order to secure them in case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their repository, and sent thither at the same time her grandson Alexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himself master of that island, and of the treasures laid up there,

¹ Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 4.

² Those two sons died before him.

³ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20, 21.

⁴ Appian. in Mithridat. p. 156, and de Bel. Civil. p. 414.

he took that young prince under his care, and gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by stealth from Mithridates, some time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into his protection, carried him to Rome, and at length set him upon the throne of Egypt, as we shall see in the sequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Cœle-syria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to pursue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the siege of Ptolemais herself. Chelcias, who commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, threw himself with

A. M. 3902. all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of
Ant. J. C. 102. finding it without defence in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops into Phœnicia. He was mistaken. The troops Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of those she detached to reinforce them from Phœnicia, upon receiving advice of his design. He was compelled to return into Palestine, and took up his winter-quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra, in the mean time, pushed the siege of Ptolemais with so much vigour, that she at last took it. As soon as she entered it, Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents with him to recommend himself to her favour. But what conduced most to his success, was his hatred for her son Lathyrus; which was alone sufficient to assure him of a good reception.

Some persons of Cleopatra's court pointed out to her the fair opportunity she now had of making herself mistress of Judæa, and all Alexander's dominions, by seizing his person: they even pressed her to take the advantage of it, which she would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he represented to her, how base and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner, who was engaged with her in the same cause; that it would be acting contrary to honour and good faith, which are the foundations of society; that such a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. In fine, he so effectually prevailed by his arguments and influence, which he employed to the utmost for the preservation of his countryman and relation, that she came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of how great value to princes is a wise minister, who has courage enough to oppose their unjust undertakings with vigour; Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length set another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara.

Ptolemy Lathyrus after having
A. M. 3903. wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his
Ant. J. C. 101. efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine whilst his mother supported it, abandoned that design, and returned into Cyprus. She, on her side, retired also into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.

Being informed,¹ upon her return to Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus the Cyzicentian, and that with the aid which he expected from him he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selene, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him at the same time a considerable number of troops, and great sums of money, to put him into a condition to attack his brother the Cyzicentian with vigour. The affair succeeded as she had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicentian had so much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with

herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which she persecuted his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy; and observing besides, that the greatest crimes cost her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; did not believe himself safe near her, and resolved to abandon the throne, and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant solicitation he was prevailed upon to return: for the people were absolutely determined that she should not reign alone, though they well knew that she gave her son only the name of king; that since the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the whole royal authority; and that the real cause of Lathyrus' disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

The death of Antiochus Grypus
happened this year. He was as-
sassinated by Heracleon, one of his
own vassals, after having reigned
twenty-seven years. He left five sons; Seleucus, the
eldest, succeeded him; the four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Eucherus, and Antiochus Dionysius. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown.

Ptolemy Apion,² son of Physcon,
king of Egypt, to whom his father
had given the kingdom of Cyrena-
ica, dying without issue, left his
kingdom to the Romans by will; who, instead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which soon filled the whole country with tyrants; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. Lucullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure; but there was no other means of re-establishing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.

Antiochus the Cyzicentian seized Antioch,³ after the death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess Grypus' children of the rest of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many other strong cities, maintained himself against him, and found means to support his right.

Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia, who had been kept as a
hostage by the Parthians during the
life of his father,⁴ was released at
his death, and set upon the throne, on condition that he should resign certain places to the Parthians which lay conveniently for them. This happened twenty-five years before he espoused the part of Mithridates against the Romans. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.

The Cyzicentian,⁵ who saw that Seleucus was gaining strength every
day in Syria, set out from Antioch
to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made prisoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and saw himself in possession of the whole empire of Syria; but could not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicentian, who made his escape from Antioch, when Seleucus took it, went to Aradus,⁶ where he caused himself to be crowned king.
From thence he marched with a considerable army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest to the mercy of the victor.

² Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 5.

³ Porphy. in Græc. Scal.

⁴ Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. xi. p. 532.

⁵ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 21. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphy. in Græc. Scal.

⁶ An island and city of Phœnicia

In this retirement he oppressed the inhabitants so much by the heavy subsidies which he exacted from them, that at length they mutinied, invested the house where he resided, and set it on fire. Himself, and all who were in it, perished in the flames.

Antiochus and Philip, the twin
A. M. 3912. sons of Grypus, to revenge the death
Ant. J. C. 92. of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise against Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. But on their return, Eusebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring to swim his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a considerable body of men, which soon increased to such a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selene the widow of Grypus. That politic princess, upon her husband's death, had found means to secure part of the empire in her own possession, and had provided herself with good troops. Eusebes married her, therefore, in order to augment his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself for this fresh insult, sent to Cnidus for Demetrius Eucherus, the fourth son of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other to prevent that blow. For though Eusebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip, however, still supported himself, and at last so totally defeated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge amongst the Parthians, whose king at that time was Mithridates II. surnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius. Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, repossessed himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell also upon his hands, almost at the same time; this was Antiochus Dionysius, his brother, the fifth son of Grypus. He seized the city of Damascus, established himself there as king of Cœle-syria, and supported himself in that city for three years.

Affairs were neither more quiet,
A. M. 3915. nor crimes and perfidy more rare, in
Ant. J. C. 89. Egypt than in Syria. Cleopatra, not being able to bear a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to rid herself of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was apprized of her design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither her mother, her sons, nor her daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt but the reader, as well as myself, is struck with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene as our history has for some time exhibited. It furnishes us no where with such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidants; who all in cold blood, with premeditated design, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the most odious and most inhuman means, to effect their purpose. Never was the anger of Heaven more distinctly visible, nor more dreadfully inflicted, than upon these princes and nations. We see here a sad complication of the blackest and most detestable crimes; perfidy, imposture of heirs, divorces, murders, poisoning, incest. Princes on a sudden become monsters, vieing in treachery and wickedness with each other; attaining crowns with rapidity, and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such

a situation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in confusion, all laws despised, justice abolished, all crimes secure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and seems to call for it with the loud-est exclamations.

As soon as it was known at Alexandria, that it was Alexander who had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having got some ships together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without success. He perished soon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

The Syrians, weary of the continual wars made in their country
A. M. 3921. by the princes of the house of Se-
Ant. J. C. 83. leucus for the sovereignty, and not being able to suffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calamities, to which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils which those divisions occasioned, and restore tranquillity to their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates, king of Pontus: others of Ptolemy, king of Egypt: but the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes, king of Armenia: and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with their resolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came into Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recall from that office till he had occasion for him against the Romans.

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philip, it is not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in some action defending himself against Tigranes. Selene, the wife of Eusebes, retained Ptolemæis, with part of Phenicia and Cœle-syria, and³ reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her own two sons an education worthy of their birth. The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Seleucus Cibiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel.

Some time after 4 Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a considerable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was at length taken after a siege of three years. Lathyrus used it with so much rigour, that, from being the greatest and richest city till then in all Egypt, it was almost reduced to nothing.

Lathyrus did not long survive the
ruin of Thebes. Reckoning from
A. M. 3923. the death of his father, he had reign-
Ant. J. C. 81. ed thirty-six years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the established custom of that family, all the sons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Sylla,⁵ at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, sent Alexander to take possession of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest male heir of the deceased. He was the son of that

² Justin. l. xl. c. 1 and 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24.

³ Cic. in Ver. vi. n. 61. Appian in Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

⁴ Pausan. in Attic. p. 15.

⁵ Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 414 Porphy. in Græc. Scal. p. 60.

¹ Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pausan. in Attic. p. 15. Athen. l. xii. p. 550.

Alexander who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already sent Cleopatra upon the throne, and she had been six months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the master of Rome, and, in consequence, dispenser of law to the universe, upon their hands, it was agreed that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve of her for a wife, or would have no associate in the throne, caused her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in those times, and, if I may use that expression, were grown into fashion among princes and princesses.

Some time after,¹ Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died, having first made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica did also the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty. Twenty years had since elapsed, during which time sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans, to put a stop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

SECTION VII.—SELENE, SISTER OF LATHYRUS, CONCEIVES HOPES OF THE CROWN OF EGYPT; SHE SENDS TWO OF HER SONS TO ROME FOR THAT PURPOSE. THE ELDEST, CALLED ANTIOCHUS, ON HIS RETURN PASSES THROUGH SICILY. VERRES, PRÆTOR OF THAT ISLAND, TAKES FROM HIM A GOLDEN CANDELABRUM, DESIGNED FOR THE CAPITOL. ANTIOCHUS, SURNAMED ASIATICUS, AFTER HAVING REIGNED FOUR YEARS OVER PART OF SYRIA, IS DISPOSSESSED OF HIS DOMINIONS BY POMPEY, WHO REDUCES SYRIA INTO A PROVINCE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. TROUBLES IN JUDEA AND EGYPT. THE ALEXANDRIANS EXPEL ALEXANDER THEIR KING, AND SET PTOLEMY AULETES ON THE THRONE IN HIS STEAD. ALEXANDER, AT HIS DEATH, MAKES THE ROMAN PEOPLE HIS HEIRS. IN CONSEQUENCE, SOME YEARS AFTER, THEY ORDER PTOLEMY KING OF CYPRUS, BROTHER OF AULETES, TO BE DEPOSED, CONFISCATE HIS PROPERTY, AND SEIZE THAT ISLAND. THE CELEBRATED CATO IS CHARGED WITH THIS COMMISSION.

SOME troubles which happened in Egypt,² occasioned by the disgust Ant. J. C. 73. taken against Alexander, made Selene, the sister of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She sent her two sons Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate in her behalf.³ The important affairs which then employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy from which she had hitherto always opposed the kings who were desirous of joining the forces of Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princess from obtaining what they demanded. After a residence of two years in Rome, and ineffectual solicitations, they set out upon their return to their own kingdom.

The eldest,⁴ called Antiochus, resolved to pass through Sicily. He experienced an insult there,

which is hardly credible, and shows how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of; to what an excess the avarice of the magistrates, sent into the provinces, had risen; and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres was at that time prætor in Sicily.⁵ As soon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by sending Antiochus presents considerable enough, consisting in provisions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned. The tables were set off with all his vessels of the most excellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The feast was sumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.

He invites Verres to supper in his turn;⁶ exposes all his riches, a vast quantity of silver plate, and not a few cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine, made out of one precious stone. Verres takes each of these vessels into his hand one after the other, praises and admires them, while the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is so well pleased with his entertainment.

On retiring from this entertainment,⁷ the latter had no other thoughts, as the sequel sufficiently showed, than how to rille Antiochus, and send him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would let him have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of showing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or suspicion. The prætor sent again to desire that he would lend him the beautiful vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might examine it more attentively, as he said. The king sent him that also.

But to crown all,⁸ the kings of Syria, of whom we are speaking, had carried a candelabrum with them to Rome, of singular beauty, as well from the precious stones with which it was adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this they intended to adorn the capitol, which had been burned during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding.

¹ Itaque isto (Verre) prætor venit Syracusas. Hic Verres hereditatem sibi venisse arbitraus est, quod in ejus regnum ac manus venerat is, quem iste et audierat multa secum præclara habere, et suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis larga: hæc ad usum domesticum, vini, olei, quod visum erat, etiam tritici quod satis esset. Deinde ipsum regem ad cenam invitat. Exornat amplè magnificèque triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vasa argentea—Omnibus curat rebus instructum et paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita discessit, ut et istum copiosè ornatum, et se honorificè acceptum arbitrauerat.

² Vocat ad cenam deinde ipse prætor. Exponit suas copias omnes: multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quæ, ut mos est regis et maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Etat etiam vas vinarium ex unâ gemmâ pergrandi.—Iste unumquodque vas in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori populi Romani satis jucundum et gratum illud esse convivium.

³ Postea quam inde discessum est, cogitare iste nihil aliud quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quemadmodum regem ex provincia spoliatum exilatumque dimitteret. Multo rogatum vasa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat: ait se suis cælatoribus velle ostendere. Rex, qui istum non nosset, sine ulla suspitione libentissimè dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum: velle se eam diligentius considerare. Ea quæque mittitur.

⁴ Nunc reliquum judices attendite—Candelabrum ð gemmis clarissimis, opere mirabili perfectum, reges hi, quos dico, Romam cum attulissent, ut in capitolio ponerent; quod nondum etiam perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere, neque vultò ascendere ac profero volerunt: ut et magnificè videretur, cum suo tempore in sella Jovis Opt. Max. poneretur, et clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Staturum id secum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audissent simulacrum Jovis Opt. Max. dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum ceteris rebus illud quoque extremum atque pulcherrimum donum in capitolium afferrent.

¹ Appian. in Mithridat. p. 218. De Bel. Civil. l. i. p. 420. Liv. Ep. it. l. lxx. and xciii. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

² Cæc. vi. in Ver. Orat. n. 61—67.

³ Reges Syria, regis Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romæ nuper fuisse; qui venerant, non propter Syria regnum, nam id sine controversiâ obtinebant, ut à patre et à majoribus acceptarent; sed regnum Egypti ad se et ad Selenem matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, postquam temporibus populi Romani exclusi, per senatum agere quæ volerant non poterunt, in Syriam, in regnum patrum profecti sunt.

⁴ Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.

But that edifice not being finished, they would not leave it behind them, nor suffer any body to have a sight of it; in order that when it should appear, at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the surprise might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new splendour to the present. They therefore chose to carry it back into Syria, resolving to send ambassadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongst many others, to the god, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.

Verres was informed of all this by some means or other: for the prince had taken care to keep the candelabrum concealed; not that he feared or suspected any thing, but that few people might see it before it was exposed to the public view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earnestly entreated him to send it him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let nobody else see it. The young prince, with the candour and simplicity of whose youth the noble sentiments of his birth were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the candelabrum secretly to Verres, well covered from sight; which was done accordingly. As soon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, This is a present worthy of a prince, worthy of a king of Syria; worthy of the capitol. For it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship, in which art seemed to vie with the materials; and at the same time of so large a size, that it was easy to distinguish it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple. The officers of Antiochus, having given the prætor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back; but were told by him that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the candelabrum with him. They accordingly returned without it.

The king was not alarmed at first,¹ and had no suspicion:—one day, two days, several days passed, and the candelabrum was not brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned then. At length he applied in person to him, and prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it? That very candelabrum, which he knew from the prince himself, was to be set up in the capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter and the Roman people, Verres earnestly entreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the vow he had made

to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the many nations that had witnessed the progress of the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon such an action: the prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms: but when he saw his menaces had no more effect than his entreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night; and alleged for his reason, that he had received advice from good hands that pirates from Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The king upon that withdrew to the public square,² and, with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice, in a numerous assembly of the Syracusans, calling the gods and men to witness, that Verres had taken from him a candelabrum of gold, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been placed in the capitol, to be a monument in that august temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That he cared little, and did not complain, for the other vessels of gold and the jewels which Verres had got from him; but that to see the candelabrum taken from him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront that made him inconsolable. That though by his intention, and that of his brother, that candelabrum was already consecrated to Jupiter; however, he offered, presented, dedicated, and consecrated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman citizens, who heard him, and called Jupiter to witness to the sentiments of his heart and the piety of his intentions.

Antiochus Asiaticus, being returned into Asia, soon after ascended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for the space of four years. Pompey deprived him of his kingdom during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What must foreign nations think, and how odious must the name of Roman be to them, when they heard it told, that in a Roman province a king had been so grossly injured by the prætor himself; a guest plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the highest indignity and violence! And what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almost all the magistrates sent by Rome into the provinces; a crime which the senate and people seem to approve, and of which they made themselves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance. "We have seen for several years,"³ says the same Cicero, in another of his orations against Verres, "and have suffered in silence the wealth of all nations to be transferred into the hands of a few private persons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Miletus, Chios, Samos, in short, all Asia, Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now enclosed in some of the country-houses of those rich and unjust plunderers, whilst money is universally a prodigious rarity every where else. And we have just reason to believe, that we ourselves connive at all these flagrant and terrible disorders, since those who commit, take no manner of pains to conceal them, nor to hide their thefts and depredations from the eyes and knowledge of the public."

Such was Rome at the time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty.

¹ Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat; non quò quidquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud ante perciperent oculis, quam populus Romanus. Iste petit à rege, et cum plurimi verbis rogat, ut ad se mittat: cupere se dixit inspicere, neque se aliis vendendi potestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo et puerili esset et regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est. Imperat suis, ut id in prætorium in votum quam occultissime deferrent. Quò posteaquam attulerunt, involviturque rejectis constituerunt, iste clamare cepit, dignam rem esse regno Syria, dignam regno munere, dignam capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore, qui ex clarissimis et plurimis gemmis esse debebat: eà varietate operum, ut ascerte videretur cum copia: eà magnitudine, ut intelligi posset, non ad hominum apparatus, sed ad amplissimi templi ornamentum, esse factum. Quod cum satis jam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt ut referrent. Iste ait se velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare: nequaquam se esse satiatum. Jubeat illos discedere, et candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum manes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

² Rex primo nihil metueri, nihil suspicari. Dies unus, alter, plures: non referri. Tum mittit rex ad istum, si sibi videretur, ut reddat. Jubeat iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit iterum: non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscit. Quod sciret, quodque ex ipso rege audisset, in capitolio esse ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. servari videret, id sibi ut donaret, rogare et vehementer potere cepit. Cum ille se religione Jovis Capitolini et hominum existimatione impediri diceret quod multe nationes testes essent illius operis ac muneris: iste homini minari acerrime cepit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quam precibus permoveri, repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem discedere. Ait se comperisse ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam esse venturos.

³ Rex maximo conventu Syracusis, in foro, flens, deos hominesque contestans, clamare cepit, candelabrum factum è gemmis, quod in capitolium missum esset, quod in templo clarissimo, populo Rom. monumentum suæ societatis amicitique esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstinuisse. De cæteris operibus ex auro et gemmis, quæ sua penes illum essent, se non laborare: hoc sibi eripi miserum esse et indignum. Id etsi antea jam, mente et cogitatione suâ fratrique sui, consecratum esset; tamen tum se in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare, donare, dicare, consecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. testemque ipsum Jovem suæ voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.

⁴ Partimur multos jam annos et silemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod eò magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo istorum dissimulat, nemo laborat, ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur. Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samum, totam denique Asiam, Achaia, Græciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villas inclusas esse videmus? Cic. in Ver. ult. de Suppl. n. 125, 126.

And, in my opinion, to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men's most secret retirements (if I may use that expression,) to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests: to which, however, we must return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa had always been involved in troubles and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the Pharisees, that continually opposed him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be governed by them.

His death did not put an end to these disorders.¹ Alexandra, his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-priest. The Pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That

princess, at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir; but Aristobulus, his younger brother, had the strongest party, and took his place.

Nothing but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides.² In Egypt, the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed Auletes, that is to say, the player upon the flute, because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the public games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him: Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there some time after. Before his death, he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate.³ Some were of opinion that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and of the island of Cyprus, of which the testator had been sovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the senators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes; and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been also given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all those countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces upon provinces, might alienate men's minds from them, and indicate and express too clearly a fixed design to engross in the same manner all other states. They believed, besides, that this enterprize might involve them in another war, which would embarrass them very much, whilst they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects which Alexander had at his death to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the sequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left to the Roman people by will; a very singular custom, and almost unheard-of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favour it

was established. The usual methods of extending the bounds of a state, are war, victory and conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacific and legitimate increase of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another sort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but it is no less dangerous on that account; I mean seduction: when to obtain the suffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, secret artifices, and great donations of money are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest credit and authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a distance, and do not seem to have any share. In this we now speak of, there was no visible trace of a policy so common with princes, and which, so far from making any scruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any strict union with that republic during the short time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans far from using any arts to attain the succession to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to it against their will. It does not appear that they employed any solicitations, either public or private, towards Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander, king of Egypt.

What motives then induced these princes to act in this manner? First, gratitude: the house of Attalus was indebted for all its splendour to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them against Mithridates; and next, love for their people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for them, and the idea they entertained of the wisdom, justice, and moderation of the Roman people. They died without children or lawful successors; for bastards were not looked upon as such. They had only in view the future divisions and civil wars that might arise about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria supplied them with dreadful examples. They saw with their own eyes the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed by many cities and nations under the shelter and protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the situation of which we speak, had but three things to choose; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom; to restore to his subjects their entire liberty, by instituting republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury: and the prince's love for his subjects induced him to spare them misfortunes as fatal as they would be inevitable.

The execution of the second choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whose genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republics. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependence upon mute laws, which do not make an impression on their senses. They are made for monarchy; and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a share in the present question, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince, therefore, at his death, could not do more wisely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and respected by the whole universe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjust and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil divisions, and bloody disorders, did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition? This appears from the example of Cy-

¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23, 24. and de Bell. Judaic. i. 4. &c.

² Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. xi. Trogus in Prol. xxxix. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 231.

³ Cicero. Orat. ii. in Cullum. n. 41—43.

renaica. The Romans, out of a noble disinterestedness, having refused the legacy which the king had bequeathed to them at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gives itself up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thousand factions, exasperated almost to madness against each other, and, in a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many years the most incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in some manner to force, the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened sooner or later. Was there any city or state capable of making head against the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, especially when the royal family was extinct, could support itself and its independence, long against them? There was an inevitable necessity, therefore, for its falling into the hands of that people; and for that reason it was highly consistent with prudence to soften the yoke by a voluntary subjection. For they made a great difference between those nations who submitted to them freely as to friends and protectors, and those who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being compelled, by reiterated defeats, to give way at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what severity the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated; especially during the first year of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind; and, generally speaking, of all foreign yokes none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by those who bore it. The subjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was rather a means to ensure the public tranquillity, than a servitude heavy upon private persons, and prejudicial to society. Most of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying entire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniences and misfortunes of war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republic of Greece in the times of their ancestors. So that the Greeks seemed to be great gainers in ransoming themselves from these inconveniences by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of their governors. But those were only transient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress; and which, after all, were not comparable to the disorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, against each other, were attended; and still less to the violences and ravages occasioned in many cities and states, by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of tyrants.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the plan adopted by princes, of leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to exculpate the Romans entirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently animadverted upon the interested views and political motives which influenced their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed some individual oppressors, who made the Roman people authorize the most flagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example; but there was always in that republic a considerable number of citizens, zealous for the public good, who rose up against those violences, and declared loudly for justice. This, however, was not the case in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius,¹ who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, against whom he had been sent. He caused Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be desired in his name to send him money to pay his ransom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, sent him only two talents. The pirates chose rather to release Clodius without ransom, than to take so small a one.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as soon as A. M. 3346. possible. He had found means to Ant. J. C. 53. get himself elected tribune of the people; an important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made use of it for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended that that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined, in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put so unjust an order in execution, he had sufficient influence and address to cause the justest of all the Romans to be elected, I mean Cato,² whom he removed from the republic, under the pretext of so honourable a commission, that he might not find in him an obstacle to the violent and criminal designs which he was meditating. Cato was therefore sent into the isle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deserved that disgrace, says an historian, for his many irregularities: as if a man's vices sufficiently authorized the seizure of all his property.

Cato, upon his arrival at Rhodes,³ sent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably; and promised him, if he complied, to procure him the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were sufficiently considerable to enable him to subsist honourably. Ptolemy rejected that proposal. He was not, however, in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not resolve, after having worn a crown so long, to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treasures, and put to sea. His design was to have holes bored in the bottom of his ship, that it might sink with him and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpose, though he persisted constantly in the resolution of dying himself, he had not courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treasures in his ruin; and thereby showed that he loved them better than he did himself;⁴—king of Cyprus indeed in title, but in fact, the mean slave of his money. He returned to shore, and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried those treasures, the following year, to Rome. The sum was so large, that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce ever been laid up in the public treasury. Plutarch makes it amount to almost 7000 talents (1,050,000*l.* sterling.) Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and furniture to be sold publicly; reserving to himself only a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, the sentiments of which sect he followed.

The Roman people here throw off the mask, and show themselves not such as they had been in the glorious ages of the republic, full of contempt for riches and of esteem for poverty, but such as they were become, after that gold and silver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of disgracing and reproaching the Romans than this last action. "The Roman

¹ Strab. l. xiv. p. 684.

² P. Clodius in senatu sub honorificentissimo titulo M. Catonem à rep. relevavit. Quippe legem tulit, ut is mitteretur in insulam Cyprum, ad spoliandum regno Ptolemæum, omnibus morum vitis eam contumeliam meritum. *Val. Potere.* l. ii. c. 45.

³ Plut. in Cato, p. 773.

⁴ Procul divitiis hic non possedit divitias, sed à di vitis possessus est; titulo rex insule, animo pecunie miser ab illo mancipium. *Val. Maz.*

people,"¹ says Cicero, "instead of making it their honour, and almost a duty, as formerly, to re-establish the kings their enemies whom they had conquered, upon their thrones, now see a king, their ally, or at least a constant friend of the republic, who had never done them any wrong, of whom neither the senate nor any of our generals had ever received the least complaint, who enjoyed the dominions left him by his ancestors in tranquillity, plundered on a sudden with-

¹ Ptolemæus rex, si nondum socius, at non hostis, pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atque avito, regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante, est rogatum, ut sedens cum purpura et sceptro et illis insignibus regis, præconi publico subiceretur, et imperante populo Rom. qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere consuevit, rex unicus, nullâ injuriâ commemoratâ, nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur—Cyprius miser, qui semper socius, semper amicus fuit; de quo nulla unquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum, aut ad imperatores nostros allata est; vivus (ut aiunt) est et videns, cum victu et vestitu suo, publicatus. An ceteri reges stabili esse suam fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius funesti anni perditio exemplo videant, per tributum aliquem se fortunæ spoliari (posse) et regno omni nudari? *Cic. Orat. pro Sextio.* n. 57.

out any formality, and all his effects sold by auction almost before his eyes, by order of the same Roman people. This," continues Cicero, "shows other kings, upon what they are to rely for their security: from this fatal example they learn, that amongst us, there needs only the secret intrigue of some seditious tribune, to deprive them of their thrones, and to plunder them at the same time of all their fortunes."²

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato, the justest and most upright man of those times, (but what was the most shining virtue and justice of the Pagans!) should lend his name and service in so notorious an injustice. Cicero, who had reasons for sparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, shows, however, in the same oration which I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and under the appearance of excusing him, how much he had dishonoured himself by that action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I reserve for a following book the history of that prince, which merits particular attention.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS,

CONTINUED

BOOK XXI.

The twenty-first book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments: the first, the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the Great; the second, of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third, of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

ARTICLE I.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS, FROM ARISTOBULUS, SON OF HYRCANUS, WHO FIRST ASSUMED THE TITLE OF KING, TO THE REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT, THE IDUMEAN.

As the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate those circumstances of it which were most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history to the reign of Herod the Great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the laudable curiosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed. Dean Prideaux, of whom I have here made much use, may be also consulted for the same purpose.

SECTION I.—REIGN OF ARISTOBULUS THE FIRST, WHICH LASTED TWO YEARS.

HYRCANUS,¹ high priest and A. M. 3898. prince of the Jews, had left five sons at his death. The first was

Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Absalom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and title of king, which none of those

who had governed Judea since the Babylonish captivity had done besides himself. The circumstances of the times seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestic troubles and civil wars, little secure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew that the Romans were much inclined to authorize the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison with themselves. Besides, it was natural for Aristobulus to take advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

Aristobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, when he caused her to be starved to death. With respect to his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldest of them, he gave him at first a share in the government. He confined the other three in prison, and kept them there during his life.

When Aristobulus² had fully possessed himself of the authority A. M. 3898. which his father had enjoyed, he Ant. J. C. 106. entered into a war with the Ituræans; and after having subjected the greater part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had compelled the Idumæans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country and seek a settlement elsewhere. They chose to stay, and comply with what was required of them, and thus were incorporated with the

¹ Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 3.

² Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 3.

Jews, both as to spirituals and temporal. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Asmoneans. It shows, that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion. Iturea, which was inhabited by the people in question, formed part of Coele-syria, on the north-east frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh on the other side of Jordan, and the territory of Damascus.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Iturea to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took advantage of this illness, to prejudice the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus soon returned to Jerusalem after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was imputed to him as a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself, and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving, that if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; and in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was keenly affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in anguish and despair.

SECTION II.—REIGN OF ALEXANDER JANNEUS, WHICH CONTINUED TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS.

SALOME,¹ the wife of Aristobulus, Ant. J. C. 105. immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private person, he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. No more is said of him,² than that he gave his daughter in marriage to Aristobulus the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this was passing, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra, and Alexander the youngest of her sons, reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldest, in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a strong army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated also on the other side of the Jordan. But not being sufficiently upon his guard on his return, he was beaten by the enemy, and lost 10,000 men, with all the spoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the shame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to see, that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it.

For since the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almost the whole people into their party, they had so strongly prejudiced and inflamed them against him, that all the disorders and commotions with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

This loss, great as it was, did not prevent his going to seize Raphia A. M. 3904. and Anthedon, when he saw the Ant. J. C. 100. coast of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus.

Those two posts, which were only a few miles from Gaza, kept it in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to his gaining the fatal battle of the Jordan; and he earnestly sought all occasions to avenge himself upon them.

As soon as his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to besiege their city. Apollodorus, A. M. 3906. the governor of it, defended Ant. J. C. 98. the place a whole year with a valour and

prudence that acquired him great reputation. His own brother Lysimachus could not

see his glory without envy; and that Ant. J. C. 97. base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as abandoned as himself, and surrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour and the orders which he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he let loose his soldiers with permission to kill, plunder, and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves like men in despair, and killed almost as many of his people as they were themselves. But at length he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to a heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.

Some time after the people affronted him in the most heinous A. M. 3905. manner.³ At the feast of tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple, offering the solemn sacrifice, in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of "Slave;" a reproach which sufficiently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was a consequence of what Eleazar had presumed to advance; that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed 6000 of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected towards him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of 6000 men, who attended him every where.

When Alexander saw the storm which had been raised against him A. M. 3910. a little appeased by the terror of the Ant. J. C. 94. revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. At his return to A. M. 3912. Jerusalem, the Jews, incensed at Ant. J. C. 92. this defeat, revolted against him.

They flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his late loss, that they should experience no difficulty in completing his

¹ Joseph. Antiq. xii. 20. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 3.

² Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 8.

³ Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 21.

destruction, which they had so long desired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides had a more than common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions.

Alexander, having taken a city A. M. 3918. wherein many of them had shut themselves up, carried 300 of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day. When they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years it lasted, had cost the lives of more than 50,000 men on the side of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, which brought a quartan ague upon him, of which he died at the end of three years, after having reigned twenty-seven.

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should govern the kingdom during her life, and choose which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

SECTION III. REIGN OF ALEXANDRA, THE WIFE OF ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, WHICH CONTINUED NINE YEARS. HYRCANUS HER ELDEST SON IS HIGH-PRIEST DURING THAT TIME.

ACCORDING to the advice of her husband,¹ Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so, she acted only in conformity to the last will of her husband.

By this step she so well conciliated them, that, forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they had carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into respect and veneration for his memory; and instead of the invectives and reproaches which they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour, and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence than that of any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharisees was with them a substitute for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been: which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as high-priest: he was then near thirty-three years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharisees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abolished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them; because she had tied up her own hands, by

putting herself into those of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one; and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than by giving way to the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less evil, in order to prevent a greater.

What we have said upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right notion of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who governed it.

The Pharisees still continued their persecutions against those who A. M. 3931. had opposed them under the late Ant. J. C. 73. king.² They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies under this pretext, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy those who gave them most umbrage amongst such as still survived.

The friends and partisans of the late king, seeing that there was no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was sworn, assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her second son, at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and all the difficulties in which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at present, that under her government, every thing they had done for him should be made criminal, and they should see themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, solely for their adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such sort of inquiries; or, if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to seek an asylum elsewhere: at least they begged her to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all she desired; for she had given herself masters, by engaging to take no steps without the consent of the Pharisees. How dangerous is it to invest such people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a stop to the course of justice to suspend the inquiries after the culpable; that such a proceeding was what no government ought to suffer, and that therefore they never would accede to it. On the other side, the queen believed that she ought not to give her consent, that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction, without any support, and would have no resource in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages resulting from that conduct: the first was, that their enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have arms in their hands; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she could rely upon occasion in case of any rupture.

Some years after, queen Alexandra fell sick of a very dangerous distemper, which brought her to the point of death. As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestic, and went to the places, in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received there with open arms, and in fifteen days' time twenty-two of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people as

¹ Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24, and de Bell. Jud. i. 4.

² Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 24, and de Bell. Jud. i. 4.

well as the army were entirely inclined to declare for him, being weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without control under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to every one. They came therefore in crowds from all quarters to follow the standards of Aristobulus; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his elder brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect: besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for so vigorous a design; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean capacity.

When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus's party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what was going forward, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. However, she appointed Hyrcanus her heir, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they had caused his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of Baris,¹ as hostages against himself. But seeing this did not stop him,² they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris; his partisans took refuge in the temple. A short time after they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

SECTION IV.—REIGN OF ARISTOBULUS II., WHICH CONTINUED SIX YEARS.

It was agreed by this accommodation, that Aristobulus should have the crown and high-priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortune. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and ease above all things. Thus he quitted the government after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the time of the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appeased; they were occasioned by the ambition of Antipater, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod. He was by extraction an Idumean, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumeans, from the time that Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained an ascendancy over Hyrcanus, their eldest son, with the hope of raising himself by his favour, when he should succeed to the crown. But when he saw all his measures defeated by the deposition of

A. M. 3939. Hyrcanus,³ and the coronation of Ant. J. C. 65. Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

The latter, by his secret negotiations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, for aid to reinstate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, was arrived in Syria.⁴ He there took cogni-

zance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also, to request that he would free them from the government of both the one and the other. They represented that they ought not to be ruled by kings: that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who, without any other title administered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers: that the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them, if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birthright, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And to confirm what he alleged against him, he produced almost a thousand Jews, the principal men of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly, to support by their testimony what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity: that his sloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the management of public affairs; that the people despised him; and that he (Aristobulus) had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than what his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendour and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanour, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust; but would not, however, pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart: he therefore politely dismissed the two brothers; and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass through Judea, and that he would then regulate their affair, and settle every thing.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly for Danascus, without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judea, armed his subjects, and prepared for a vigorous defence. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas till then had despised the Roman arms; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submission. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra, his capital, of which he made himself master. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard, but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Danascus.

He was not apprized till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Judea. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. This was an extremely strong place, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but at last acceded to the opinion of those about him, who, dreading a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so; and after a conversation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same visit two or three times, in hopes by that civility to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decide against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came

¹ Baris was a castle situate upon a high rock without the walls of the temple, which were upon the same rock.

² Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 1, and de Bell. Jud. i. 4.

³ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2-8, and de Bell. Jud. i. 5.

⁴ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 5.

to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places.

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been offered him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolutions to keep the crown, made him the sport of two different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complaisance to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the least reason to suspect that he would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. This was the cause of the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as we shall see in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money; but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him; and, instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation and the works which had been made; and had it not been for the dissensions that prevailed within it, was capable of making a long defence.

Aristobulus's party was for defending the place; especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain of the temple, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley which surrounded it to be broken down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three whole months, and would have done so three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterprize, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the sabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take advantage of this inaction upon the sabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, which carried along with it so great a part of the wall, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than 12,000 persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, the cries, and disorder of this slaughter, history observes, that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued it with surprising calmness, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they were offering, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty; happy and worthy of being envied, if they had been as faithful to the spirit as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the holy of holies, into which, by the law, the high-priest alone was permitted to enter once a year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what most keenly afflicted the Jews, and enraged that people so bitterly against the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, which consisted principally in sums that had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to 2000 talents in specie,¹ without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value. It was not,² says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterestedness had no other motive than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the Pagans, with respect to the only religion of the true God. They blasphemed what they knew not.

It hath been observed, that till then Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good fortune abandoned him, and that the advantage gained over the Jews was his last victory.

SECTION V.—REIGN OF HYRCANUS II. WHICH CONTINUED TWENTY-FOUR YEARS.

POMPEY having thus put an end to the war, caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

Hyrcanus finding himself too weak to take the field against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and reinstated Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood.³ He made great alterations in the civil government; for instead of monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical: but those innovations were but of short duration.

Crassus, upon his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopped at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of 10,000 talents; that is to say, about 1,500,000*l.* sterling.

Cæsar, after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had two great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for, as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judæa, to himself and his posterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinius

¹ Three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

² Cn. Pompeius, captivus Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapienter, quod in tam suspiciosa ac maledicâ civitate locum sermoni obtricatorum non reliquit. Non enim credo religionem et Judæorum et hostium impedimento præstantissimum imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse—istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis vestri, majorem intuitus abhorrebat. *Cic. pro Flac.* n. 67—69.

³ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 6.

⁴ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 15. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 8.

was abolished, and the government of Judæa re-established upon the ancient footing.

Antipater¹ caused the government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasael his eldest son, and that of Galilee to Herod his second son.

Cæsar, at Hyrcanus's request,² and

A. M. 3960. in consideration of the services he Ant. J. C. 44. had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar was killed this same year.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

Pacorus,³ son of Orodes, king of

A. M. 3964. Parthia, had entered Syria with a Ant. J. C. 40. powerful army. From thence he sent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, upon the throne, who on his side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasael, Herod's brother, upon the proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered it to seize him also.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasael in chains into his hands. Phasael, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall of his prison, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but to render him incapable of the priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off; for according to the Levitical law,⁴ it was requisite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the East, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa.⁵ He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the accession of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendour. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come; but some years afterwards he caused him to be put to death.

Herod had at first taken refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Antony was then in the high degree of power which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for Aristobulus,⁶ to whose sister Mariamne he had for some time been betrothed, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Antony caused the crown to be conferred upon him, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give the crown to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judæa. He had employed no more time than three months in his journeys by sea and land.

SECTION VI.—REIGN OF ANTIGONUS, OF ONLY TWO YEARS' DURATION.

It was not so easy for Herod to A. M. 3965. establish himself in possession of the kingdom of Judæa, as it had been to Ant. J. C. 39. obtain his title from the Romans.

Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

Herod,⁷ who during the winter had made great preparations for the A. M. 3966. following campaign, opened it at Ant. J. C. 33. length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Antony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judæa. Whilst the works necessary for the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted for years to each other: but the unforeseen troubles which had befallen him, had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus the Second, and thereby granddaughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonean family, made Herod imagine, that, by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least 60,000 men. The place, however, held out against them many months with exceeding resolution; and if the besieged had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than they, carried the place at length, after a siege of something more than six months.

The Jews being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, A. M. 3967. and made themselves masters of the Ant. J. C. 37. city. And to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the fatigue they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus, seeing all was lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius, in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Antony as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for his triumph: but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that remnant of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money.⁸ He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmoneans, after a duration of 129 years, reckoning from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

This singular, extraordinary, and, till then, unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over

¹ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de Bell. Jud. i. 8.

² Id. Antiq. xiv. 17.

³ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24, 25. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 11.

⁴ Levit. xxi. 16—24.

⁵ Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

⁶ Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter; and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus, so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

⁷ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 13.

⁸ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 465.

the Jews was given to a stranger, an Idumean, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; and had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing or being apprized of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons, assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak; "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." The sceptre, or rod, (for the Hebrew signifies both,) implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah: the fact is therefore incontestable, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes: the second, that it shall subsist, and form a body of a republic, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; those who would be more fully informed, may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published.²

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod, the Idumean, and in consequence a stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, began to be taken from it. This was an indication that the time of the Messiah's coming was not far off. The tribe of Judah has no longer the supremacy; it no longer subsists as a body, from which the magistrates are taken. It is manifest, therefore, that the Messiah is come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them? In the time of Titus and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remnant of Judah. It was therefore before those times that the Messiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accomplishment of his promises! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the course of our subject? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the sovereignty for himself, but for another. It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger, whilst there were princes of the royal family in being. It was contrary to the laws, and even contrary to the usual practice of the Romans. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth should sooner pass away, than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Antony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrived there. How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing too hard for the Almighty?

ARTICLE II.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE PARTHIANS FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THAT EMPIRE TO THE DEFEAT OF CRASSUS, WHICH IS RELATED AT LARGE.

THE Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the East. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Upper Asia, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is ge-

nerally allowed to be 474 years; of which 254 were before Jesus Christ, and 220 after him. Arsaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his successors were called Arsacidae. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammæa. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jesus Christ, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

I have observed elsewhere what gave Arsaces I³ occasion to make A. M. 3754. Parthia revolt, and to expel the Ant. J. C. 250. Macedonians, who had been in possession of it from the death of Alexander the Great; and in what manner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactriana revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed Theos.

Some time after, Selencus Callinicus,⁴ who succeeded Antiochus, A. M. 3768. endeavoured in vain to subdue the Ant. J. C. 236. Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: this happened in the reign of Tridates, called otherwise Arsaces II. brother of the first.

Antiochus, surnamed the Great, was more successful than his predecessor.⁵ He marched into the East, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He also entered Parthia, and obliged the king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horses.⁶ As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arsaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he would assist him in reconquering the other revolted provinces. Antiochus marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was also obliged to come to an accommodation.

PRAPATIUS, the son of Arsaces II. succeeded his father; and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to PHRAATES I. his eldest son. A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

Phraates left it to MITHRIDATES, whom he preferred before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary merit. In fact, he was one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner. A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.

PHRAATES II. succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, A. M. 3873. king of Syria, marched against him Ant. J. C. 131. at the head of a powerful army, under pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been kept long in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown and killed in the last, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates in his turn, at the time he had formed the design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

ARTABANUS his uncle reigned in his stead, and died soon after. A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

His successor was MITHRIDATES II. of whom Justin says,⁷ that his great actions acquired him the surname of Great.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as a hostage. The latter was afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Mithridates king of Pontus in the war against the Romans.

³ See Book xvii.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ See Book xviii.

⁶ The Abbé Longuerue, in his Latin dissertation upon the Arsacidae, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arsaces II. and Priapatus. Justin says nothing of him.

⁷ Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3.

¹ Gen. xlix. 10.

² By F. Babuty, Rue St. Jacques.

A. M. 3912. Antiochus Eusebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

A. M. 3914. It was the same Mithridates, as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobasus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given precedence to Sylla.

Ant. J. C. 92. Demetrius Eucherus,¹ who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city of Beroea, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all possible honours. He died there of a disease.

A. M. 3915. Mithridates II. died,² after having reigned forty years, generally regretted by his subjects. The domestic troubles with which his death was followed, considerably weakened the Parthian empire and made his loss still more sensibly felt. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces which he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians, elected MNASIKRES, and after him, SINATROCCE, kings, of whom scarcely any thing more is known than their names.

A. M. 3935. PHRAATES, the son of the latter, was he who caused himself to be surprised.
Ant. J. C. 69. named the God.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory which the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote to him the letter which Sallust has preserved.

A. M. 3938. Pompey having been appointed in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.
Ant. J. C. 66.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father, and breaks with Pompey.

A. M. 3948. After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldest son takes his place.
Ant. J. C. 56.

Tigranes king of Armenia dies almost at the same time. Artavasdes his son succeeds him.

Mithridates,³ expelled his kingdom either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinus, who commanded in Syria, to re-establish him upon the throne; but without effect. He takes up arms in his own defence. Besieged in Babylon, and warmly pressed, he surrenders to Orodes, who, considering him only as an enemy, and not as a brother, causes him to be put to death; by which means Orodes becomes peaceable possessor of the throne.

A. M. 3949. But he found enough to employ him abroad,⁴ that he had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created consul at Rome, for the second time, with Pompey. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account; because it favoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people whom he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Among his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he even burst out into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to be no longer the same man. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to

that of Parthia. He flattered himself with doing such things, as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like child's play in comparison with his. He had already overrun, in imagination, Bactriana and the Indies, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the East. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, war against Parthia was in no manner included; but all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forbodes no success.

His departure had besides something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going; and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out, merely through wantonness to make war against people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, in consequence of having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city through which he was to pass, and set a chaldingish full of fire before him; and as soon as Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present shudder with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundisium; and, though the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost many of his ships in his passage. When he arrived at Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, though far advanced in years, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect: "King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the twelfth hour of the day."⁵—"And you, my lord," replied Dejotarus, "are not over early in setting out to make war against the Parthians." For Crassus was at that time upwards of sixty years old, and his countenance made him look still older than he was.

He had been informed that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem,⁶ which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it well worth his while to go a little out of his way to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in the temple there was a beam of gold, enclosed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that purpose: this was known only to Eleazar, the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed 300 mine, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. Eleazar, who was apprized of the motive of Crassus's march to Jerusalem, in order to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant as to imagine any thing sacred in the eyes of avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold; and, notwithstanding, plundered the rest of the treasures, which amounted to about 1,500,000*l.* sterling. He then continued his route.

Every thing succeeded at first as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction of these treaties, nor of any other enterprise that could give a just pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invasion; and not being upon their guard, had

¹ Joseph. Antiq. xii. 22.

² Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c.

³ Justin. l. xlii. c. 4. ⁴ Plut. in Crass. p. 552-554.

⁵ The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

⁶ Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

made no preparations for their defence. Crassus, in consequence, was master of the field, and overran without opposition the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities without resistance; and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to have seized them, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But instead of pursuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left 7000 foot and 1000 horse, to secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates, and put his troops into winter quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his son, whom Cæsar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns, which were given by generals to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him 1000 chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were all very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without stopping, and to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilst he was re-assembling all his troops from their winter-quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commission in few words. They told him that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, contrary to the opinion of his country, and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their master was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity on the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, who were rather shut up than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke, no doubt, of the garrisons which Crassus had left in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, "They should have his answer in the city of Seleucia." Upon which the most ancient of the ambassadors, Vahises, made answer, laughing, and showing him the palm of his hand: "Crassus, you will sooner see hair grow in the palm of my hand, than you will see Seleucia." The ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice that he must prepare for war.

As soon as the season would permit, Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time during the winter to assemble a very great army to make head against him. Orodes their king divided his troops and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: he sent the other into Mesopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook several of the places of which Crassus had made himself master the year before.

About the same time some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of an astonishing weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were

always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to guard.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers; who had imagined that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had so easily overthrown; and flattered themselves, that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to undergo great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprise. But Crassus listened to no other advice than that of those who pressed him to begin his march, and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabazus king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of 6000 horse, which were part of his guards; adding that, besides these, he had 10,000 cuirassiers, and 30,000 foot, at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him, that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia; the reasons with which he enforced his advice, were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian cavalry, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be rendered entirely useless to them; that if they took this route he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessaries; instead of which, if they marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would fail, and he would have a powerful army in his front on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him; and, lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The advice was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable; but Crassus, blinded by Providence, who intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabazus, who was returning into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that Providence blinded Crassus, which is self-evident in a great measure. But a Pagan writer makes the same remark; this is Dion Cassius, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a military man. He says, that the Romans, under Crassus, "had no salutary view, and were either ignorant upon all occasions of what was necessary to be done, or in no condition to execute it; so that one would have thought, that, condemned and persecuted by some divinity, they could neither make use of their bodies nor minds." That Divinity was unknown to Dion. It was He whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste, therefore, to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near 4000 horse, and as many light-armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than 40,000 men; that is to say, one of the finest armies the Romans ever set on foot. When his troops were passing the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the face of the soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge and broke down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to re-animate them as well as he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia; and concluded his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a spirit of

• Plut. in Crass. p. 551.

obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the sense of those words, to re-assure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, shortly returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had found the marks of horses which seemed to have fled suddenly, as if they had been pursued.

Upon this advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes; and his soldiers began to despise the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to an engagement with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town, where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force, and what designs they had in view; or, if Crassus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates towards Selencia; because, by always keeping upon the banks of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthian cavalry to surround him; and that with the fleet which might follow him, provisions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was Crassus's quaestor, and the same who afterwards killed Caesar.

Crassus, after having considered this advice, was upon the point of complying with it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariannes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly served under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him from this circumstance, admirably qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Crassus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face; that its name alone had already spread a universal terror among their troops; and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and to carry them the shortest way. Crassus, blinded by his flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, fell into the snare, notwithstanding the pressing entreaties of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impostor's design.

Crassus would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariannes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult, from the deep sands in which the army found itself engaged, in the midst of a vast country all bare and parched, where the eye could discover neither end nor boundary where the troops might hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst and fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible: for they could perceive neither near them, nor at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook; not so much as a hill, nor a single blade of grass; nothing was to be seen all round but heaps of burning sand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of which the arrival of some couriers from Artabasu ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Crassus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army; that the war he had to maintain, prevented him from sending the aid he had promised; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order that they might unite their forces against the common enemy: that, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at least to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and such places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise counsels, inveighed against those that gave them; and without vouchsafing to write an answer to Artabasu, he only told his couriers, "I have not time at present to consider the affairs of Armenia; I shall go thither soon, and shall then punish Artabasu for his treachery."

Crassus was so infatuated with his Arab, and so blinded by his artful suggestion, that he had continued

to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him into the sandy desert we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and went to give Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a desert and enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the scouts came in full speed to inform Crassus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians was advancing with great order and boldness to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus was more affected with it than the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in battle. At first, following the advice of Cassius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to surround him; and he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and drawing up his foot in close order, he made them form a large hollow square, facing on all sides, of which each flank had twelve cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horse near it, in order that, each part being equally sustained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater security and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, the other to his son, the younger Crassus, and posted himself in the centre.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was however highly grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drought and excessive heat.

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover from the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they should attack them the next day. But Crassus, suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the cavalry under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders that all who had occasion, should take their refreshment under arms in their ranks; and scarce allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not slowly, and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themselves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of battle than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the most horrid noise. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments, covered with leather, and having bells of brass round them, which they struck violently against each other; and the noise made by these instruments was harsh and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those Barbarians had well observed, that of all the senses none disorders the soul more than the hearing: that it strikes upon, and affects it the most immediately, and is the most sudden in making it in a manner confused and distracted.

The trouble and dismay into which this noise had thrown the Romans, were quite different when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burnished steel, and glittered like sun-beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surena,

¹ The Roman cohort was a body of infantry consisting of 5 or 600 men; and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.

handsome, well made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien seemed to promise. For he was painted after the fashion of the Medes, and, like them, wore his hair curled and dressed with art; whereas the other Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and such as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At first the Barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks: but having observed the depth of the hollow square so well closed and even, in which the troops stood firm and supported each other successfully, they fell back and retired in a seeming confusion, as if their order of battle were broken. But the Romans were much astonished to see on a sudden their whole army surrounded on all sides. Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute those orders long; for they were compelled by a shower of arrows to retire, and cover themselves behind their heavy-armed foot.

Their disorder and dismay now began, when they experienced the rapidity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves on all sides to shooting at a distance, without its being possible for them to miss, even though they had endeavoured it, so close were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds, because as they drew their bows to the utmost, the strings discharged their arrows, which were of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuosity and force that nothing could resist.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all sides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally, and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no hurt, and suffered no less than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual discharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world they were the most expert in that exercise after the Scythians: an operation in reality very wisely conceived; since by flying they saved their lives, and by fighting, avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes that the Barbarians, after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or to come to blows with them hand to hand, they supported their distress with valour and resolution; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy there were camels laden with arrows, whither those who had exhausted their quivers wheeled about to replenish them, Crassus, losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to endeavour, whatever it cost him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely surrounded by them; for they were principally intent against him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore, at the head of 1300 horse, 500 archers, and eight cohorts armed with round bucklers, wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand the charge of a body of troops that came on with so good an aspect, or whether they designed to draw off young Crassus as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, "They don't stand us," pushed on full speed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horse, piqued themselves upon not staying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them. They firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to pursue, till being at a great distance from their main body, they discovered the stratagem; for those who had seemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Crassus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon seeing their small number,

would not fail to attack them, and come to close fight. But those Barbarians contented themselves with opposing him in front with their heavy-armed horse, and sent out detachments of their light-horse, that wheeling about, and surrounding them on all sides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of sand, they raised so thick a dust, that the Romans could neither see nor speak to one another; and being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a mark for every arrow shot at them, and died by a slow but cruel death. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pain they suffered, they rolled themselves upon the sands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquisite torments; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated through their veins and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger, and increased their pain.

Most of them died in this manner; and those who were still alive were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Crassus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horse, they showed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through and riveted to the ground; so that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themselves or fly. Putting himself therefore at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himself boldly amongst the squadrons, but with great disadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops with weak and short javelins struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather; whereas the Barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong spears. These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest confidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits. For those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians, and closing with them, seized them by the neck, and threw them off their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses, wild with the pain, plunged and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon them both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was the heat and thirst; for they were not accustomed to support them. They also lost the greater part of their horses, which, running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body, killed themselves upon their spears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they saw, at a small distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They fastened their horses in the centre, and made an enclosure with their bucklers, by way of entrenchment, in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending themselves against the Barbarians; but it happened quite otherwise. For in a level spot, the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation; whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground showing them over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy's shot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows which the Barbarians showered continually upon them, they were all equally struck by them, and deplored their unhappy destiny, in perishing thus miserably, without being able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country in the city of Carrae. Those two young men, touched with compassion to see him in so bad a condition, pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had espoused the party of the Romans, and was at no great distance. But he replied, "that no fear of any death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon so many brave men, who died through love for him." A noble sentiment in a young nobleman! He ordered them

1 These formed 4 or 5000 men.

to make off as fast as they could, and embracing them, dismissed them the service. For himself, not being able to make use of his hand, which was shot through with an arrow, he commanded one of his domestics to thrust his sword through him, and presented his side to him. The principal officers killed themselves, and many of those that remained were slain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about 500 prisoners; and after having cut off young Crassus's head, marched immediately against his father.

The latter, after having ordered his son to charge the Parthians, and received advice that they were put to the rout, and were pursued vigorously, had resumed some courage, and the more, because those who opposed him, seemed to abate considerably of their ardour; for the greatest part of them were gone with the rest against young Crassus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers, sent successively by his son, to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the Barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him that his son was lost if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

At that very instant the Parthians, who were returning from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived with great cries and songs of victory, which from afar apprized the wretched father of his misfortune. The Barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, asked them of what family that young Roman was, and who were his relations? "For," said they, "it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valour and bravery should be the son of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus."

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans, and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, as might have been expected, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, showed more constancy and courage on his disgrace than he had before done; and running through the ranks, he cried out, "Romans, this mournful spectacle concerns me alone. The fortune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invincible, whilst you continue firm and intrepid. If you have any compassion for a father who has now lost a son whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against the Barbarians. Deprive them of their insolent joy, punish their cruelty, and do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by my misfortune. There is a necessity for experiencing some loss, when we aspire at great achievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without its costing them some blood. It is after the greatest defeats that Rome has acquired the greatest victories. It is not by the favour of fortune she has attained to so high a degree of power, but by her patience and fortitude in supporting herself with vigour against adversity."

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to reanimate his troops; but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal and timorous; whereas, that of the enemy was bold, full, and strenuous.

The charge being given, the light-horse of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, overwhelmed them with their arrows, whilst the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to close up in one compact body; except those who, to avoid the arrows, the wounds of which occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Though they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this

advantage; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received. For the Barbarians thrust their lances through their bodies with such force and vigour, that they often pierced two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, when night came on the Barbarians retired; saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily to their king Arsaces, to being dragged before him. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his own particular distress. For they all saw plainly that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in camp, or ventured during the night to throw themselves into that immense plain of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly sensible that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But he lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloak, was to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune; to wise and considerate persons, a still greater instance of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first and the greatest of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and mean, because there were two above him, Cæsar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him: but seeing him entirely depressed with the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance, they assembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after, the sick and wounded, who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations; so that the troops who marched foremost were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up again in order of battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded, who followed them, upon the beasts of burden, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost considerable time. There were only 300 horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the sentinels upon the walls, and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge which Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards, was of great service to Crassus. For that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted

him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark. But early the next morning, they entered the camp and put all the wounded who had been left there, to the number of 4000, to the sword; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took great numbers of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteus, having separated in the night from the main body of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the Barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his soldiers killed, except twenty, who with sword in hand fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage through them. The Barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that out of admiration of it they opened and gave them a passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus had escaped with his best forces, and that those who had retired to Carræ were only a body of troops collected from all quarters, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it was or was not, desired to be better informed, in order that he might resolve, either to besiege Carræ, if Crassus was there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore despatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself, or Cassius, and to say that Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after, some Arabian soldiers came from the Barbarians, who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place, and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, that Surena was inclined to treat with them and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him: that this proposal was more advantageous for both parties, than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius acceded to this offer, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Crassus should immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him that they would go and do their utmost to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at such flagrant deceit, told Crassus that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know of this design, till the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians consequently were not long before they were fully apprized of the whole plan by means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way, sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds and places intersected with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There were some who, suspecting that it was with no good design that Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at

last to follow him, and Cassius himself returned towards Carræ. By hasty marches, he escaped into Syria with 500 horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains, called the *Sinnachian* mountains, and were in a place of safety before the break of day. The latter might be about 5000 men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, while he was still embarrassed, by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus, in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors who carried the fasces before him.

He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than twelve stadia to march in order to join the troops under Octavius. All he could do was to gain as soon as possible another summit of those mountains, less impracticable to the horse, and in consequence not so secure. This was under that of the *Sinnachian* mountains, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the danger that threatened Crassus, and descended first himself from those eminences with a small number of soldiers to his aid. But he was soon followed by all the rest, who, reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his assistance. Upon their arrival they charged the Barbarians so roughly, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they

⁴ [This is the ancient Harran in Mesopotamia from which Abraham departed, on his way to the land of Canaan. It was a city renowned as being the seat of the Zabians, who worshipped the host of heaven. It still retains the name of Harran, though now an inconsiderable city. It lies 40 miles north of Racca, or Nicephorium, on the Euphrates. The place where the battle was fought lay 20 geographical miles south of Charræ. The brook here mentioned, is a small streamlet which runs into the Balissus, or Belis, as it is now called, which runs south-east to the Euphrates, and joins it at Racca, or Nicephorium. This part of Mesopotamia was called Anthemusia by the Macedonians, who transferred this name from a district in Macedonia; and was so called from the superabundance of roses which it produced. It was afterwards named Osrhene, from a race of Arab princes who ruled it. Edessa, now called Roha, was the capital of Osrhene, and was so called from the city of that name in Macedonia, and lay 30 geographical miles north-west of Charræ, and contains at present a population of 40,000 souls. "Two hours' walk from Charræ," says the Turkish geographer, Hadji Khalifah, "are to be seen on a hill, called the hill of Abraham, the remains of a Zabian temple."]

Charræ lay 55 geographical miles south-east of Zeugma, in direct distance, where Crassus had crossed the Euphrates. Here two roads separate, one to the right through the naked level plain that lies south of Charræ, leading to the Euphrates at Nicephorium, and the other to the left and north-east towards the Tigris and Nisibis. The appellation of Mesopotamia, or the country between the rivers, was applied by the Greeks in a restricted sense to the territory that lay north-west of the Babylonian plain, or the wall of Media, that ran across it from the Euphrates at Macepracta north-east to the Tigris; for the term in its true meaning should include both Babylonia and Chaldaea, as far as Korna, where the rivers meet. The name of Mesopotamia is just a translation of Aram Naharajim, or Aram of the rivers, to distinguish it from Syria, the Hebrew name of which is Aram. It seems also to be the translation of the Hebrew Shinar, probably derived from *Shene*, two; and *Nahar*, river; by a usual change of the aspirate, signifying Bifluvialis, interamnis, Mesopotamia, the country between the two rivers. See the Hebrew Lexicon of D. Levi, p. 11, 12. Now, as the plain of Shinar, or Sennar, in the Greek, included the plain of Babel, it included more than what the Greeks denominated Mesopotamia. It is erroneous to suppose that the modern Diarbeker corresponds to the ancient Mesopotamia. It only corresponds to the Great Oval valley that lies between the ranges of mount Masius and Niphates, comprehending the source and basin of the Upper Tigris, and which formed the southern part of Armenia, though this district be now included in Mesopotamia. Diarbeker is an Arabic appellation, signifying the district of Bekr, the Emer of an Arab tribe that anciently settled here. Mesopotamia is by the Arabian geographers divided into three Diyars, or districts: Diyar Bekr, the north-west part; Diyar Rabia, the southern part; Diyar Medar, the interior part; from three Arab tribes so called, who came from Arabia and settled in this country. When Mesopotamia was divided between the Romans and Persians, Edessa became the capital of Roman Mesopotamia, as Nisibis did of the Persian division.]

declared fiercely that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body till they were all dead around him fighting in his defence.

Surena, seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went on with less vigour to the attack, and that if the night came on, and the Romans should gain the mountains, it would be impossible for him to take them, had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders, that some prisoners should be set at liberty, after having posted a number of his soldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to continuing war with the Romans; that, on the contrary, his design was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crassus with great humanity. And that their deeds might agree with their words, as soon as the prisoners were released, the Barbarians retired from the fight; and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unstrung, and arms extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He said, with a loud voice, that contrary to the king his master's will, and through the necessity of a just defence, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; but that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them peace, and giving them liberty to retire with entire security on his part. We have observed, on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these Barbarians was to promote the success of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make no scruple of breaking through their engagements upon such occasions.

The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena's, and expressed exceeding joy at it; but Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the Barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches; and went so far as to accuse him of cowardice; charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak, when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to entreaties, and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the rest of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places where they then were, they might easily escape when night came on: he even showed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching safety. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and, by striking their swords upon their shields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and, turning about, he said only these few words: "Octavius, and you, Petronius, with all the officers and captains here present, you see the necessity I am under of taking a step I would willingly avoid, and are witnesses of the indignities and violence I suffer. But I beg you, when you have retired in safety, that you will tell all the world, for the honour of Rome our common mother, that Crassus perished, deceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The first persons the Barbarians sent to him were two Greeks, who, dismounting from their horses, saluted him with profound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy them, that himself, and those with him, came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus replied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to put himself into their hands; and sent two brothers, named Roscius, to know only upon what foot they should treat, and in what number.

Surena caused those two brothers to be seized and kept prisoners; and advancing on horseback, follow-

ed by the principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceived Crassus, "What do I see?" said he: "What! the general of the Romans on foot, and ourselves on horseback! Let a horse be brought for him immediately." He imagined that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, "that there was no reason to be surprised that they came to an interview, each after the custom of his own country."—"Very good," returned Surena; "from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Romans: but we must go to prepare and sign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates. For you Romans," added he, "do not always remember your conventions." At the same time he held out his hand to him. Crassus would have sent for a horse; but Surena told him there was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers taking him round the middle set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards faster. Octavius was the first, who, offended at such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle. Petronius seconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force who pressed close on Crassus. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his sword, killed a groom of one of those Barbarians. At the same time another of them gave Octavius a great stroke with his sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirass, and leaped from his horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those who were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and others had retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery; but as for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they should suffer no ill treatment. Upon this promise some went down and put themselves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides. But of the latter very few escaped; all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them, and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received since the battle of Cannæ. They had 20,000 men killed in it, and 10,000 taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria; and out of these ruins an other army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat must, in one sense, have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ, because they had reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thought but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy from her territory. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected and dreaded by all nations: she was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa; lately victorious over one of the most formidable enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations, whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already amongst her conquests. So complete a victory showed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival in a remote people, capable of making head against, and disputing the empire of the universe with them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them tremble for their own safety. It showed that the Romans

¹ Amongst the Romans the consul always marched on foot, at the head of the infantry.

might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the country in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained over them some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shown by them as sights. The prisoners taken in that fatal day were kept there in captivity, and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standards, of Barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans. which was looked upon by Augustus and the whole empire as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace. For themselves, they never could forget it. Cesar was upon the point of setting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront which Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Antony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of the most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimus, Severus, &c. The surname of Parthicus was the title of which they were fondest, and which most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes passed the Euphrates to extend their conquest beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastations into Syria, and even into Palestine. In a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke; and that nation was like a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabazus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving by the false measures he had taken, that the Romans were infallibly lost, entered into an accommodation with Orodes; and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilst they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent to the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight; and it is said that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, in mockery of the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous; who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was of this character. He perceived,¹ as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now where a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take the place of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. At thirty years of age he possessed consummate ability, and surpassed all the men of his time in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man; and was, undoubtedly, the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always 1000 camels to carry his baggage, 200 chariots for his wives and concubines, and, for his guard, 1000 horse completely armed, besides a great number of light-armed troops and domestics, which in all did not amount to less than 10,000 men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repossess the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

The next year to the consuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity from Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates, in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orsaces, an old general, who regulated every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus, king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose an invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be at hand to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a large body of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it, so that not a single man escaped.

The news of this success, and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defence, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that, despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antiochia, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were compelled to retire. We are not to be surprised at this, as the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to engagements in the field, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprised of the route they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orsaces. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of mount Amanus, who, being situated between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with, both those provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves free

¹ Milesne Crassi conjuge barbarâ
Turpis maritus vixit ? et hostium
(Prob. Curia, inversique mores)
Consensit sacerorum in armia,
Suo rege Medo, Marsus et Appulus
Ancillorum, et nominis, et togæ
Obliuio, æternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove et urbe Roma ?

² Destrui per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, inparemque tanto merito rebat. Nam beneficia eò usque lata sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenero, gratiâ odium redditur.—*Tacit. Annal.* l. 4. c. 18.

³ Cic. ad. Famil. l. ii. Epist. 10, 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. v. 1—4. Ad. Attic. l. v. 18, 20, 21. vi. 1, 8. vii. 2.

Cilicians,¹ and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country as very much pleased all their neighbours, whom they used perpetually to harass.

It is Cicero himself who acquaints us with these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two among the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general or commander ought to give a prince, or his ministry, an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of his familiar epistles; the other is written particularly to Cato. This last is a masterpiece, wherein Cicero, who passionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us,² that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph, and that he refused it upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæsar and Pompey; not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the state was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, evinces in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, and those that followed, the Parthians declaring sometimes for one, and sometimes for the other party, made several irruptions in Syria and Palestine. But those are events which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgment of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Antony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who from the lowest condition of life, had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republic. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken when an infant, with his mother, in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the influence of C. Cæsar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and who had raised him through all the degrees of the service, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person till the time of Trajan that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and the only one who obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have said that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, completed the work, and was obtained in this manner:

That general,⁴ apprehending the A. M. 3965. Parthians, whose preparations were Ant. J. C. 39. far advanced, would get the start of him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interest of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all

the designs of the Romans which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means of drawing the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.

With that view he contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians designed to pass the Euphrates not at Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt. But if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they will have all manner of advantages against us, and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other route, lost abundance of time in consequence of the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon join him from Judæa, with the legions which were quartered on the other side of mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situated very advantageously upon an eminence, not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity: and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops from the top of the hill poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country; but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaping by flight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagene. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ fourteen years before.

Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle,⁵ and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days, he neither opened his mouth nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him; he seemed to discourse with him as if he were living, to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself. For he was the most excellent character the house of the Arsacids had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria, during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more

¹ Elenthero-Cilices. ² Plut. in Cic. p. 879.
³ Velt. Patere. l. ii. c. 65. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4.
⁴ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 156. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 403, 404. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

⁵ Orodes, repente filii morte et exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorē vertitur. Multis diebus non alioqui quenquam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post mœnem deinde dies, ubi d'lor vocem laxaverit, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur; cum ille loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum debilius dotebat.—Justin.

affection for any of their native sovereigns, than for the person of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection into which the death of his dear son Pacornus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women; each of whom solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendancy she had over a mind impaired by age and affliction. At last he determined, however, to follow the order of birth, and nominated

PHRAATES, the eldest, and also most vicious of them all. He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father, who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner, and did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, so cruel towards all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

ARTICLE III.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA, FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THAT KINGDOM TO THE TIME WHEN IT BECAME A PROVINCE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

I have spoken in several parts of this history of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their beginning or succession. I shall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country of Asia Minor. The Persians, under whose dominion it was at first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended towards mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major; the other towards Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor: they were at first united into one kingdom.

Strabo says, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It is probable that it

A. M. 3644. was about the time that Philip, father
Ant. J. C. 360. of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia. Upon this supposition the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threescore and sixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named Ariarathes; then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there had been many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their history is almost entirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

A. M. 3644. He reigned jointly
Ant. J. C. 360. with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

A. M. 3653. Having joined the Persians in the
Ant. J. C. 351. expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

A. M. 3668. ARIARATHES II. son of the former,
Ant. J. C. 336. had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed by the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented himself with some instances of submission.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his side prepared for a vigorous defence. He had 30,000 foot and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

ARIARATHES III. After the death of his father, he escaped into Armenia.

As soon as he was apprized of the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, A. M. 3689.
Ant. J. C. 315. and the employment which other wars gave Antiochus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops lent him by Ardotes king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and reascended the throne of his ancestors.

ARIAMNES, his eldest son, succeeded him. He entered into an alliance A. M. 3720.
Ant. J. C. 284. with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and married his eldest son to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this son, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

ARIARATHES IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his son of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

ARIARATHES V. He married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the A. M. 3814.
Ant. J. C. 190. Great, an artful princess, who finding herself barren, had recourse to imposture. She deceived her husband, and made him believe that she had two sons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other Holophernes.³ Her barrenness ceasing some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent the elder of the supposititious children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The legitimate son took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

Ariarathes V. supplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes sent ambassadors to Rome,⁴ to ask pardon of the senate, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans in favour of his father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, 200 talents, that is to say, 200,000 crowns. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his son-in-law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the East, sent ambassadors to negotiate a treaty between those three princes; but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However, two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions sufficiently hard.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopator; for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him proofs of it by resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The son, who had the utmost affection and respect for a father who so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but one which aimed a mortal wound at so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere

¹ Strab. l. xii. p. 533, 534.

² Plut. in Eumen. p. 543. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.

³ He is so called by Polybius, and Orophenes by Diodorus Siculus.

⁴ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 50. l. xxxviii. n. 37 and 39.

affection for a father, are the most extraordinary, and the more to be admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the history, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

ARIARATHES VI.¹ surnamed Phil-A. M. 3342. Iopator, reigned after his father's Ant. J. C. 162. death, and was an excellent prince.

As soon as he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome, to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a sister, whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. The refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended to be the brother of Ariarathes,² expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest noblemen, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been revered by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violation before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited 400 talents³ with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers.

Ariarathes found a more ready and A. M. 3845. more effectual protector in the person Ant. J. C. 159. son of Attalus, king of Pergamus, who signalled the beginning of his reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, wished to compel the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the 400 talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whomsoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy; notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him, who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had retired to Antioch,⁴ where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more advisable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes; but he was prevented by the plot contrived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

Ariarathes aided the Romans A. M. 3875. against Aristonicus,⁵ who had pos- Ant. J. C. 129. sessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus, and perished in that war.

He left six children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of those six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be of age to reign, poisoned five

of them the same year their father died. She would have treated the sixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderess of her children.

ARIARATHES VII. He married another Laodice,⁶ sister of Mithridates A. M. 3913. Eupator, and had two sons by her, Ant. J. C. 91.

ARIARATHES VIII. and ARIARATHES IX. His brother-in-law caused him to be murdered by Gordius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes, whom he had caused to be assassinated.

ARIARATHES VIII. had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recall Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him, with a dagger concealed for that purpose, in the view of the two armies. He set his own son of only eight years of age in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor.⁷ The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the oppression of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

ARIARATHES IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a disease on him, of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years of age, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice, his wife, went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify that she had three sons by **ARIARATHES VII.**, of whom this, which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that this son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! what a series is here of frauds and impostures! The Roman people saw through them; and in order not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who could prefer slavery to liberty. But there are nations to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

ARIOBARZANES I. This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace.⁸ A. M. 3915. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Ant. J. C. 89. Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and established there Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be reinstated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia, in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappa-

¹ Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865.

² Diod. in Excerpt. p. 334 and 336.

³ Four hundred thousand crowns.

⁴ Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

⁵ Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1.

⁶ Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

⁷ Id. l. xxxviii. c. 2.

⁸ Appian. in Mithrid. p. 176, &c. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3.

Plot. in Sylla.

dokia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off 300,000 men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia, and placed a considerable number of them in the city of Tigranocerta. Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion, was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

ARIOBARZANES II. Pompey had A. M. 3938. considerably enlarged the dominions Ant. J. C. 66. of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him on the throne of Cappadocia.

His son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was Ariobarzanes III. grandson of Ariobarzanes I.

ARIOBARZANES III. Cicero, upon A. M. 3953. quitting Rome, had received orders Ant. J. C. 51. to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people: a glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts, during the life of his brother; who, it seems, had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the influence his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. His endeavours were successful;¹ he saved the king's life and crown by his resolution, and a generous disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to seduce him. The greatest danger came from the high-priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia and the other in the kingdom of Pontus.² They were consecrated to Bellona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served by a vast number of persons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great influence, and so considerable, that the king alone was his superior: he was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above 6000 persons consecrated to the service of the temple of Comana. It was that which made the high-priest so powerful; and in the time of which we speak,³ might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by force of arms, as it was believed he would; for he had troops, both horse and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain that he exacted very considerable sums of money from him;⁴ for that prince

represented to him, that it would be impossible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæsar was then, in Egypt, from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed through Cappadocia, and made such regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother kept up no very good understanding with each other, and entirely subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæsar had conquered Pharnaces,⁵ he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

This mild treatment gave the murderers of Cæsar reason to believe that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party.⁷ He did not openly declare against them; but he refused to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a just distrust of him, so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death. A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42.

ARIARATHES X. By the death of Ariobarzanes the kingdom of Cappadocia fell to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana, in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the twenty-third book, and joined the Romans.⁸ He left one son, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He had obtained a very honourable dignity from Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus.

The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes who possessed it.⁹ Mark Antony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known; history only tells us, that Ariarathes re-ascended the throne. Five or six years after Mark Antony expelled him, and established Archelaus,¹⁰ the second son of Glaphyra, in his stead. A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41.

ARCHELAUS.¹¹ That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Antony by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was so fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, as to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour. A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31.

He assisted Tiberius to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia,¹² and obtained of Augustus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodorus, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power. For as the sons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother. A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 20.

His reign was very long and happy;¹³ but his latter years were unfortunate, and his misfortunes were the consequence of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who saw with pain, that Caius and Lu-

¹ Cic. Ep. 2 and 4. l. xv. ad Fam. and Ep. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

² Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat. Έν παροῦσιν, consilio et auctoritate, et quod proditoribus ejus ἀπεργασθέντες, non modò ἀνταρρόδοῦντες, præbuit, regem regnumque servavit. Cic. Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

³ Strab. l. xii. p. 535 and 557.

⁴ Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adolescens et equitatu et pediatu et pecunia paratus, et toto, his qui novari aliquid volebant, perfecti ut a regno ille discederet; rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulae communitati regum cum dignitate obtineret. Cic. Ep. 4. lib. xv. ad Fam.

⁵ Cæsar. de Bell. Civ. l. iii. Hirt. de Bell. Alex.

⁶ Dio. l. xlii. p. 183.

⁷ Dio. l. xlvii. p. 345.

⁸ Strab. l. xii. p. 558. Dio. l. xxxix. p. 116.

⁹ Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675.

¹⁰ Dio. l. xlix. p. 411.

¹¹ Plut. in Anton. 944.

¹² Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Dio. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. viii. Dio. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671. and l. xii. p. 556.

¹³ Dio. in Excerpt. p. 652. Sueton. in Tib. c. x. Vell. Patern. l. ii. c. 99.

cious, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him;¹ to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæsars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their aggrandizement, demanded and obtained permission to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had need of repose for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was considered as a real banishment, and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe to appear his friends. During his stay at Rhodes,² king Archelaus, who was not at a great distance from thence, residing generally at Eleusis,³ paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. On the contrary, when

A. M. 4002. young Caius Cæsar, appointed governor Ant. J. C. 2. nor of the East, was sent into Armenia by Augustus, to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It would have been more consistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus to have observed such a conduct as would have been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius Atticus,⁴ who during all the divisions, with which the republic was torn at different times, always knew how to render himself agreeable to the heads of both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him, as it argued an ungrate-

A. M. 4020. ful disposition in Archelaus. He Ant. J. C. 16. made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to Rome as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not to act as if he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself shortly after proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the madman, because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him; but age, the gout, and, more than those, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer, soon occasioned his death. He reigned two-and-fifty years. After his death, Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus

died, that Tiberius thought himself able, from his new acquisition, to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca,⁶ a city situate at the foot of the mountain Ar-

⁶ Strab. l. xii. p. 537, 538.

* This city was afterwards called Casarea Mazaca, in honour of Tiberius Cæsar, and is now called Kaisariah by the Turks. It was also sometimes called Ad Arzæum, to distinguish it from other cities of the same name. This city continued to increase in wealth and splendour after its annexation to the empire. It struck a number of medals, consecrated temples to the emperors, and celebrated public games in honour of Septimius Severus and his sons. It was adorned with an amphitheatre and many temples, and when pillaged by Schabour, son of Ardeshir Babegan, the Persian king, in the reign of Valerian, it contained a population of 400,000 souls. Its dimensions were contracted by Justinian, who rebuilt the walls. It was raised to the dignity of an apostolic See, and gave birth to the celebrated Basil, who was buried near the town. The city lies in the south side of a plain, fertile and of great extent, and at the foot of a stupendous mountain called Arzæum. Two branches of this mountain advance a short distance into the plain, forming a small recess, in the centre of which stands Casarea, surrounded on three sides by mountains. The area of the modern city is inconsiderable, and their houses, though built of stone and mortar, are mean in their appearance. It is still the emporium of an extensive trade, and the resort of merchants to it from all parts of Asia Minor and Syria, for the purpose of buying cotton, here cultivated in great quantities, and either sold as a raw material, or as manufactured into cloth. Kinnier states the population at 25,000; of which 1500 are Armenians, 300 Greeks, and 150 Jews.

Very considerable ruins are visible here, as the area of the ancient city was much larger than that now occupied by the modern city. The sides of the hills south of the town are strewn with mouldering rubbish in vast piles, and to the north and east other ruins are plainly discernible. The ruins on the south side are about a quarter of a mile distant from the suburbs, and are called Eski Shehr, or the old city. No vestiges of inscriptions, no columns, or sculptured marbles, are however to be seen, though many of the ruins are of great antiquity, and the arches of the old gateways are semicircular, and not in the pointed, or Saracenic fashion.

Mount Argeus is undoubtedly the highest mountain in Asia Minor, and, I believe, equal in elevation to mount Blanc, it being distinctly visible at the horizontal distance of 150 miles, say 180. It rises, like mount Elwund, from the plain of Hamadan, but with far greater elevation; and as Kinnier observed on the 21th of October, when the whole of the country round was parched with drought, it was enveloped in the snows of perpetual winter, half way from its summit. The natives say that the Romans had a castle on its summit, where Tiberius Cæsar used to sit; but they confessed that, although many had made the attempt, no one, within their knowledge, had ever passed its frozen steps.

That it was esteemed very lofty by the ancients, is plain from the notion that obtained credit among them, that from its summit both the Euxine and Mediærranean seas could be distinctly seen: and, consequently, they must have deemed it higher than mount Taurus, which lay betwixt it and the latter.

The range of the Argi Dagh is totally unconnected with any other, but rises in six peaks, like the steps of a ladder, the most lofty of which bore north-east by east from Karahissar, where Kinnier had an excellent view of the range. The peak of Arzæum, as far as he could judge from observation, lies ten miles south of Casarea. It is very surprising that Colonel Leak, who saw its lofty peaks rising considerably above the horizon, at the north-west extremity of the plain of Iconium, 150 miles distant, should have estimated its elevation at only six thousand feet, and yet he believes it to be the highest mountain in Asia Minor. No mountain, of such a diminutive height, can possibly be seen at such an elevation, and rising so high above the verge of the distant horizon. The utmost elevation of mount Taurus is conjectured by the same traveller at only 6500 feet. The fact is otherwise; and it is quite plain, that if a mountain be visible at such a distance, and be covered with snow half way down, in the latitude of 38 degrees, in the drought of autumn, that it must equal, if not exceed, mount Blanc in elevation.

Ptolemy, in his Table of Cappadocia, lib. v. p. 121, 122, places the southern boundary of mount Argeus 10 miles north of Casarea, perfectly opposite to fact; and extends the range from 39 degrees 40 minutes north latitude to 40 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. There are eighty villages dependent on Casarea.

Mr. Bruce, in his Journey from Casarea to Ooscat, mentions a river which he crossed on a stone bridge, not very far from the city, and observed many morasses occasioned by the inundations of the river. This river is undoubtedly that mentioned in the text, as running west from the elevated plain of Casarea to the Halys. Perhaps those very morasses may have been caused by the inundation of the river from the stoppage of its mouths by Ariarabes. The range

¹ Ne fulgor suus orientium juvenum obstaret initiis, disimulata causâ consilii sui, commatum ab socero atque eodem vitricio acquiescendi à continuatione laborum petit. *Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.*

² Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadociâ potebatur, inivsus Tiberio, quod, eum Rhodi egentium nullo officio colisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus: quia florente Caio Cæsare, missaque ad res Orientis, intuita Tiberii amicitia credebatur. *Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.*

³ Eleusis was but six leagues distant from Rhodes. *Strab. l. xiv. p. 65.*

⁴ Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit, is qui judicare poterit quanta sit sapientia, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulatio, sed oblectatio tanta intercedebat, quantum soli incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet. *Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. xx.*

⁵ Ille ignarus doli, vel, si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem proparat: exceptumque inivit à principe, et mox accusatus à senatu: non ob crimina, quæ fugebantur, sed argore, simul fessis senio, et quia rebus æqua, pedum infima, insolita sunt. finem vitæ epouie an fato implevit. *Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.*

gea, and which was governed by the laws of Charondas.¹ This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itself into the river Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo calls simply Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths, and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damage in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that inundation, for which they insisted upon being made amends. They demanded 300 talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses, and mules.² It was from thence the horses were brought

¹ This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.

² Boet. Phaleg. l. iiii. c. 11. Scil. Persii.

of Argæus, as represented in Kinnier's map, lies between the Karasu on the north, and the Enga-Su on the south, both of which unite about 90 British miles west of Cesarea, thus forming a peninsula. As the river is frequently subjected to inundations, also, from the melting of the snows of mount Argæus, it is very probable that this additional circumstance contributed to increase the calamity. Cesarea lies in 35 degrees 42 minutes east longitude of Greenwich, and in 38 degrees 41 minutes north latitude.]

so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbidden to have any of them. It furnished also a great number of slaves and false witnesses.³ The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witness might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury, though the latter had carried that vice to a great height,⁴ if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst them; "Lend me your evidence, and I will pay you with mine."⁵

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniuses and learned men. It has produced, however, some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the professions of orators; and it became a proverb, that a rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoise.⁶ S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to that rule.

³ Mancipii locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex. *Horat.*

⁴ Cic. pro. Flac. n. 9, 10.

⁵ Da mihi testimonium mutuum.

⁶ ὅτι ττον ἔην λευκοῦς κοράκις πτηνὰς τι χιλάνας
ἔρειν, ἢ δόκιμον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκεν.

THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

BOOK XXII.

This twenty-second book contains the conclusion of the history of Syracuse. It may be divided into three parts. The first includes the long reign of Hiero II. The second, the short reign of his grandson, Hieronymus, the troubles of Syracuse occasioned by it, with the siege and taking of that city by Marcellus. The third is a concise abridgment of the history of Syracuse, with some reflections on the government and character of the Syracusans, and on Archimedes.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.—HIERO THE SECOND CHOSEN CAPTAIN-GENERAL BY THE SYRACUSANS, AND SOON AFTER APPOINTED KING. HE MAKES AN ALLIANCE WITH THE ROMANS IN THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

A. M. 3700. Hiero II. was descended from the family of Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse.¹ As his mother was a slave, his father, Hierocles, according to the barbarous custom of those times, caused him to be exposed soon after his birth; believing that the infant dishonoured the nobility of his race. If Justin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nourished him several days with their honey. The oracle declaring, that so singular an event was a certain presage of his future greatness, Hierocles caused him to be brought back to his house, and took all possible care of his education.

The child derived from this education all the benefit that could be expected. He distinguished himself early above all those of his years, by his address in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He acquired the esteem of Pyrrhus, and received several rewards from his hands. He was of a beautiful aspect, tall stature, and robust complexion. In his conversation he was affable and polite, in business just, and moderate in command; so that he wanted nothing but the title of king, as he already possessed all the qualities that adorn that rank.

Discord having arisen between the citizens of Syracuse and their troops, A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277. the latter, who were in the neighbourhood, raised Artemidorus and Hiero to the supreme command, which comprehended all authority, civil and military. The latter was at that time very young, but displayed a prudence and maturity that gave promise of a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of some friends he entered the city; and having found means to bring over the adverse party, who were intent upon nothing but raising disorders, he behaved with so much mildness and greatness of mind, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the liberty assumed by the soldiers, of choosing their officers, were, however, unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of captain-general.

From his first measures it was easy to judge that the new magistrate aspired at something more than that

office. In fact, observing that the troops no sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of innovation, he perceived how important it was, in the absence of himself and the army, to have somebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptines seemed very fit for that purpose, as being a man of integrity, and one who had great influence with the people. Hiero attached him to himself for ever, by espousing his daughter, and by the same alliance secured the public tranquillity, during the time he should be obliged to remove from Syracuse, and march at the head of the armies.

Another much bolder, though far less just, stroke of policy, established his security and repose. He had every thing to fear from the foreign soldiers, turbulent, malignant men, void of respect for their commanders, and of affection for a state of which they made no part, solely actuated by the desire of lucre, and always ready for a revolt; who having been bold enough to assume a right in the election of magistrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the least discontent, of attempting any thing against himself. He easily comprehended, that he should never have the mastery over them, as they were too well united amongst themselves; that, if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would not fail to provoke the rest; and that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate this factious body of troops, whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious excesses. Deceived by a false zeal and blind love for the public good, and sensibly affected also with the prospect of the dangers to which he was perpetually exposed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the safety of his country and security of his person, to proceed to this cruel and sad extremity, very contrary to his natural character, but which seemed necessary to him in the present conjuncture. He therefore took the field under the pretext of marching against the Mamertines.⁴ When he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts: on the one side he posted such of the soldiers as were Syracusans; on the other, the mercenaries. He put himself at the head of the first, as if he intended an attack; and left the others exposed to the Mamertines, who cut them in pieces; after which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracusan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite disorders and sedition, he raised a sufficient number of new troops, and afterwards discharged the duties of his function in peace. The Mamertines, elate with their success, advancing into the country, he marched against them with the Syracusan troops, whom he had armed and disciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Myke. A great part of the enemies were left upon the field, and their generals made prisoners. At his return he was declared king

¹ Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

² In alioquo blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus: prorsus ut nihil ei regium desse præter regnum videretur. Justin.

³ Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9.

⁴ They were originally troops from Campania, whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards seized Messina, having first put the principal inhabitants to the sword.

by all the citizens of Syracuse, and afterwards by all the allies. This A. M. 3733. happened seven years after his being Ant. J. C. 271. raised to the supreme authority.

It would be difficult to justify the manner in which he gained that enmity. Whether he put the foreign soldiers in motion himself, which seems probable enough, or only lent himself to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country and the public authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true, the irregularity of his entrance upon office was somewhat amended by the consent which the people and allies afterwards gave to it. But can we suppose, that in such a conjuncture their consent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing of compulsion in that: if his secret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for by his wise and disinterested conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loss of the battle we have spoken of entirely disconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourse to the Carthaginians, to whom they surrendered their citadel; others resolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and sent to desire their aid. Hence arose the first Punic war, as I have explained more at large elsewhere.¹

Appius Claudius the consul put to sea, in order to aid the Mamertines.² Not being able to pass the strait of Messina, of which the Carthaginians had possessed themselves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterprise, and of returning towards Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news the enemy, who blocked up Messina on the side next the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing farther to apprehend, Appius tacked about, and passed the strait without danger.

The Mamertines,³ partly through menaces and partly through surprise, having driven out of the citadel the officer who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians soon after formed the siege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman consul thought fit to venture a battle, and attack the Syracusans first. The fight was warm. Hiero showed all possible courage, but could not resist the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way, and retire to Syracuse. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, saw himself master of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuse, and even designed to have besieged it.

When the news of Appius's good success arrived at Rome, it occasioned Ant. J. C. 265. great joy.⁴ In order to make the most of it, it was thought proper to use new efforts. The two consuls lately elected, Manius Octacilius and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival, several of the Carthaginian and Syracusan cities surrendered at discretion.

The consternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what was likely to be the event of this new war. That prince was sensible, that he might rely upon a more faithful and constant amity on the side of the Romans. He knew that the Carthaginians had not renounced the design they had anciently formed, of possessing themselves of all Sicily; and if they made themselves masters of Messina, he rightly judged his power would be very insecure in the neighbourhood of such dangerous and formidable enemies. He saw no other expedient for the preservation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans; well assured that the war would be long and obstinate between these two republics, whose strength was equal; and that as long as they should be contending, he should have no reason to apprehend being distressed either by the one or the other. He, therefore, sent ambassadors to the consuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refusing those offers. They

were too much afraid, that the Carthaginians, being masters at sea, might cut off all passage for provisions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops who had first passed the strait had suffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero secured the legions in that respect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king should restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken from them, and pay them a hundred talents in money.⁵

From thenceforth Hiero, constantly attached to the Romans, to whom he sent supplies when occasion required, reigned peaceably at Syracuse, as a king who had no view nor ambition but the esteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more successful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wisdom and prudence. For more than fifty years that he lived after being elected king, whilst all things were in flames around him, occasioned by the cruel wars which the two most potent states of the world made against each other, he was so prudent and happy as to be no more than a spectator of them, and only to hear the noise of those arms which shook all the neighbouring regions, whilst himself and his people retained a profound peace.

The Romans perceived, on more than one occasion, during the first Punic war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly supplied them with provisions, at times when the Roman army without his aid would have been exposed to excessive famine.

The interval between the end of the first Punic war and the commencement of the second, which was about five-and-twenty years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little spoken of.

Polybius 7 only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war A. M. 3763. they were obliged to support against Ant. J. C. 241. the strangers, or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themselves extremely pressed, had recourse to their allies, and especially to king Hiero, who granted them all they asked of him. That prince perceived, that to support himself in Sicily, it was necessary that the Carthaginians should overcome in this war; lest the strangers, who had already obtained many advantages over the Carthaginians, in case of entire success, should find no farther obstacles to their projects, and should form designs of bringing their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps, also, as he was an excellent politician, he thought it incumbent on him to be upon his guard against the too great power of the Romans, who would become absolute masters, if the Carthaginians should be entirely ruined in the war against the revoltors.

Hiero's sole application during this long interval of peace, was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the evils which the unjust government of Agathocles, who preceded him some years, and the intestine divisions which ensued, had occasioned; an employment worthy of a king. There was a levity and inconstancy in the character of the Syracusans, which often inclined them to excessive and violent resolutions; but at bottom they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to a just and reasonable obedience. The proof of which is, that when they were governed with wisdom and moderation, as by Timoleon, they respected the authority of the laws and magistrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no sooner entered upon office, and had the supreme authority confided to him, than he showed his detestation for the wretched policy of the tyrants; who, considering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and reposed their whole confidence in the foreign soldiers, by whom they were perpetually surrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exercises of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

¹ Vol. i. History of the Carthaginians.

² Frontin. Stratag. l. i. c. 4.

³ Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11.

⁴ Ibid. p. 15, 16.

⁵ A hundred thousand crowns.

⁶ Polyb. l. i. p. 18.

⁷ Ibid. p. 84.

SECTION II.—HIERO'S PACIFIC REIGN. HE PARTICULARLY FAVOURS AGRICULTURE. HE APPLIES THE ABILITIES OF ARCIIMEDES HIS RELATION TO THE SERVICE OF THE PUBLIC, AND CAUSES HIM TO MAKE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MACHINES FOR THE DEFENCE OF A BESIEGED PLACE. HE DIES VERY OLD, AND MUCH REGRETTED BY THE PEOPLE.

WHEN Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great aim was to convince his subjects less by his words than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from any design to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master, than as their protector and father. Before his reign, the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens and that of the soldiers; whose differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to extinguish all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds all seeds of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have succeeded wonderfully in that respect, as during a reign of more than fifty years, no sedition or revolt disturbed the tranquillity of Syracuse.

What contributed most, without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero to keep his subjects employed; to banish luxury and idleness, the parent of all vices, and the usual source of all seditions, from his dominions; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country; and to reflect honour upon agriculture, which he considered as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands, indeed, besides employing an infinite number of hands, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and turns their current into the houses of the people, by a commerce which is renewed every year, and which is the deserved fruit of their labour and industry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wise government, as one of the most essential parts of wise and salutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himself entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty to study and make himself thoroughly master of all the rules of agriculture. He even gave himself the trouble to compose books upon that subject, of which we ought much to regret the loss.¹ But he considered that object of his inquiries in a manner still more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the state, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn. He therefore believed it of the highest consequence, and what demanded his utmost care and application, to establish good order in that traffic, to render the condition of the husbandmen, of whom the greatest part of the people were composed, safe and happy; to ascertain the prince's dues, whose principal revenue rose from them; to obviate such disorders as might get ground to the prejudice of his institutions; and to prevent the unjust vexations which might possibly be attempted to be introduced in the sequel. To answer all these purposes, Hiero made regulations so wise, reasonable, equitable, and at the same time conformable to the people's and prince's interests, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had subjected the city and dominions of Syracuse, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed that all things should be disposed according to the laws of Hiero:² in order that the Syracusans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws, and see themselves in some

measure still governed by a prince whose very name was always dear to them, and rendered those laws exceedingly venerable.

I have observed, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue consisted in corn, the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his interest that the country should be well cultivated, that estimates should be made of the value of the lands; and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind, and not in money, were called *Decumani*, that is to say, farmers of the tenths. Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which is the mark of a wise prince, and good economist. He knew very well, there was reason to apprehend, that the country people, who frequently consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burdens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such just and exact precautions, that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be thrashed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to secrete any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty. Cicero acquaints us with these circumstances at much length. But he adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avidity of the collectors, to whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing from the husbandmen beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbandman's being drawn from his home upon any pretext whatsoever. In fact, says Cicero, inveighing against Verres, who gave them great trouble by frequent and painful journeys, it is very hard and afflicting to the poor husbandmen, to be brought from their country to the city, from the plough to the bar, and from the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting lawsuits. *Miserum atque iniquum, ex agro homines traduci in forum, ab aratro ad subsellia, ab usu rerum rusticarum ad insolitam litem atque judicium.*³ And besides, can they flatter themselves, let their cause be ever so just, that they shall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? *Judici ut orator decumanum persequatur?*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praise than what we have now said? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valour, gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions, and upon these accounts might pass for a hero in the opinion of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have loaded his people? How many husbandmen must he have torn from their lands? How much blood would the gaining of those victories have cost him! and of what emolument would they have been to the state? Hiero, who knew wherein true glory consists, placed his in governing his people with wisdom, and in making them happy. Instead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own in a manner by the cultivation of the lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the real force and true riches of a state consist; and which can never fail to happen when the people of a country reap a reasonable advantage from their labour.

It was in the second Punic war that Hiero gave distinguished proof A. M. 3766. of his attachment to the Romans.⁴ Ant. J. C. 218. As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who was arrived at Messina, to offer that consul his services, and to assure him that, advanced in age as he was, he would show the same zeal for the Roman people as he had formerly done in his youth in the first war

¹ Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

² Decumas lege Hieronica semper vendendas censuerunt, ut iis juncior esset numerus illius functionis, si ejus regis, qui Siculis carissimus fuit, non solum instituta, commutatio imperio, verum etiam nomen remaneret. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 15.

³ Hieronica lex omnibus custoditis subjectum aratorem decumano tradit ut neque in segetibus, neque in areis, neque in horreis, neque in amovendo, neque in asportando frumento, grano uno posset arator, sine maxima pena fraudare decumani. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 20.

⁴ Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 14.

⁵ Liv. l. xxi. n. 50, 51.

against the Carthaginians. He took upon him to supply the consul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and clothes at his own expense. Upon the news received the same instant, of the advantage gained by the Roman over the Carthaginian fleet, the consul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no use of them at that time.

Hiero's inviolable fidelity towards the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appeared still more conspicuously after their defeat near the lake of Thrasymenus. They had already lost three battles against Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia. The Syracusan ambassadors, when introduced to the senate, told them, "That Hiero their master had been as sensibly afflicted with their last disgrace, as if he had suffered it in his own person. That though he well knew, that the grandeur of the Roman people was almost more worthy of admiration in times of adversity, than after the most signal success; he had sent them all the aid that could be expected from a good and faithful ally, and earnestly desired the senate would not refuse to accept it. That they had particularly brought a Victory of gold, that weighed three hundred pounds, which the king hoped they would vouchsafe to receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of the vows which he had made for their prosperity. That they had also imported three hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and two hundred thousand of barley; and that if the Roman people desired a greater quantity, Hiero would cause as much as they pleased to be transported to whatever places they should appoint. That he knew the Roman people employed none in their armies but citizens and allies; but that he had seen light-armed strangers in their camp. That he had therefore sent them a thousand archers and slingers, who might be opposed successfully to the Balears and Moors of Hannibal's army."—They added to this aid a very salutary piece of advice, which was, that the prætor, who should be sent to command in Sicily, might despatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the Carthaginians such employment in their own country, as might put it out of their power by that diversion to send any succours to Hannibal.

The senate answered the king's ambassadors in very obliging and honourable terms, "That Hiero acted like a very generous prince, and a most faithful ally: that from the time he had contracted an alliance with the Romans, his attachment for them had been constant and unalterable; in fine, that in all times and places he had powerfully and magnificently succoured them: that the people had a due sense of such generosity: that some cities of Italy had already presented the Roman people with gold, who, after having expressed their gratitude, had not thought fit to accept it: that the Victory was too favourable an augury not to be received: that they would place her in the Capitol, that is to say, in the temple of the most high Jupiter, in order that she might establish there her fixed and lasting abode." All the corn and barley on board the ships, with the archers and slingers, were sent to the consuls.

Valerius Maximus² makes an observation here, upon the noble and prudent liberality of Hiero; first, in the generous design he forms, of presenting the Romans with three hundred and twenty pounds weight of gold; then, in the industrious precaution he uses, to prevent them from refusing to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in specie; he knew the exceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that; but under the form of a Victory, which they dared not refuse, upon account of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to see a prince, whose dominions were situate as Syracuse was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome seemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her interests, notwithstanding all the dangers to which so daring a conduct exposed him. A more prudent politician, to speak the usual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been so hasty to declare himself without necessity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more estimable for being rare and almost unparalleled.

I do not know, however, whether, even in good policy, Hiero ought not to have acted as he did. It would have been the greatest of all misfortunes for Syracuse, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage; as it was situated over-against it, and lay highly convenient for strengthening its commerce, securing to it the empire of the sea, and establishing it firmly in Sicily, by the possession of the whole island. It would therefore have been imprudent to suffer such allies to be ruined by the Carthaginians, who would not have been the better friends to the Syracusans for having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a decisive stroke, to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans; and as Syracuse would necessarily fall after Rome, it was absolutely requisite to hazard every thing, either to save Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts, which history has preserved of so long and happy a reign, are few, they do not give us the less idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of more particular information concerning his actions.

The sum of a hundred talents (a hundred thousand crowns,) which he sent to the Rhodians,³ and the presents he made them after the great earthquake, which laid waste their island, and threw down their Colossus, are illustrious instances of his liberality and munificence. The modesty with which his presents were attended infinitely enhances the value of them. He caused two statues to be erected in the public square at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians; as if, says Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people such magnificent presents, far from assuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himself their debtor upon that very account. And, indeed, the liberality and beneficence of a prince to strangers is rewarded with interest, in the pleasure they give to himself, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a pastoral of Theocritus (*Idyll.* 16.) which bears the name of the king we speak of, wherein the poet seems tacitly to reproach that prince with paying very ill for the verses made in honour of him. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verses he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice upon the poet than upon the prince, distinguished and esteemed, as we have seen, for his liberality.

It is to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that concerned the public good, that Syracuse was indebted for those amazing machines of war, of which we shall soon see it make so great a use, when besieged by the Romans.⁴ Though that prince seemed to devote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domestic affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect those of war; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the peace of his dominions, was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours, who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to profit by the advantage he possessed of having in his dominions the most learned geometrician the world had ever produced: it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illustrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but by his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the

¹ Liv. l. xxii. n. 37, 38.

² Trecenta millia modium tritici, et ducenta millia hordei, auriq;ue ducenta et quadraginta pondo urbi nostræ muneri misit. Neque ignarus verecundie majorum nostrorum, quod nollet accipere, in habitum id Victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentia suâ uti cogeret; voluntate mitendi prius, iterum providentia cavendi ne renitteretur liberalis. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 8.

³ Polyb. l. v. p. 429.

⁴ Plut. in Marcel. p. 303, 306.

study of a science, whose sublime speculations on truths purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction for the learned of the first rank, as scarce leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other objects.

Hiero had, however, sufficient influence over Archimedes, to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of those mechanics which depend on the hand, but are disposed and directed by the head. He pressed him continually, not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure more evident and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes frequently conversed with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the powers of motion, he proceeded to demonstrate, "That with a certain given power any weight whatsoever might be moved." And applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demonstration, he ventured to boast, that if there were another world besides this we inhabit, by going to that he could remove this at pleasure. The king, surprised and delighted, desired him to put his proposition in execution, by removing some great weight with a small force.

Archimedes preparing to satisfy the just and rational curiosity of his kinsman and friend, chose out one of the galleys in the port, caused it to be drawn on shore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its usual lading to be put on board, and besides that as many men as it could hold. Afterwards, placing himself at some distance, and sitting at his ease, without trouble, or exerting his strength in the least, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with numerous cords and pulleys, he drew the galley to him upon the land, with as much ease, and as steadily, as if it had swam upon the water.

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the powers of motion, was entirely astonished; and judging from that experiment of the efficacy of the art, he earnestly solicited Archimedes to make several sorts of machines and battering engines for sieges and attacks, as well for the defence as assault of places.

It has been sometimes asked, whether the sublime knowledge of which we speak, be necessary to a king; and if the study of arts and sciences ought to form part of the education of a young prince? What we read here demonstrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taste and curiosity, and employed himself solely in his pleasures, Archimedes had remained inactive in his closet, and all his extraordinary science been of no advantage to his country. What treasures of useful knowledge lie buried in obscurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, because princes set no value upon learned men, and consider them as persons useless to the state. But when, in their youth, they have imbibed some small tincture of arts and sciences, (for the study of princes ought to extend no farther in that point,) they esteem such as distinguish themselves by their learning, sometimes converse with them, and hold them in honour; and by so glorious a protection make way for valuable discoveries, of which the state soon reaps the advantage. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero; which, without doubt, was the effect of his excellent education; for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add, with respect to those admirable machines of war which were used during the siege of Syracuse, shows how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only objects are simple and abstract ideas. It is true, that all mere geometrical or algebraical speculations do not relate to useful things. But it is also as true, that most of those, which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not deviate, if I may so say, from this intellectual world; but the mixed mathematics, which descend to matter, and consider the motions of

the stars, the perfect knowledge of navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the assistance of telescopes, the increase of the powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other similar objects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiarize themselves with the vulgar. The labour of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps condemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Ought we therefore to conclude that it was useless and unprofitable? It was from that very source of knowledge, buried till then in obscurity, that shot forth those brilliant lights and wonderful discoveries, which display from their birth a sensible and manifest utility, and inspired the Romans with astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arsenals, and temples. He caused an infinite number of ships of all burdens to be built for the exportation of corn; a traffic in which almost the whole wealth of the island consisted. We are told of a galley built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the most famous structures of antiquity.¹ It was a whole year in building. Hiero passed whole days amongst the workmen, to animate them by his presence.

This ship had twenty benches of oars. The enormous pile was fastened together on all sides with huge nails of copper, which weighed each ten pounds and upwards.

The inside had in it three galleries or corridors, the lowest of which led to the hold by a flight of stairs, the second to apartments, and the first to soldiers' lodgings.

On the right and left side of the middle gallery, there were apartments to the number of thirty; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartment for the officers and seamen had fifteen beds, and three great rooms for eating; the last of which, that was at the stern, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were inlaid with small stones of different colours, representing stories taken from the *Iliad* of Homer. The ceilings, windows and all the other parts, were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermost gallery there was a gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ship. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all round to refresh them. There were also arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great vessels filled with earth. These vessels were watered in the same manner as the gardens. The arbours served to shade the walks.

After these came the apartment of Venus, with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious stones, the finest that could be found in the island. The walls and roof were of cypress wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outside, was fixed a sundial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great brazen coppers, and a bathing-vessel, made of a single stone of various colours. This vessel contained two hundred and fifty quarts. At the ship's head was a great reservoir of water, which held a hundred thousand quarts.

All round the ship, on the outside, were Atlases of six cubits, or nine feet, in height, which supported the sides of the ship; these Atlases were at equal distances from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its size; two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle, of equal dimensions. Upon these towers were parapets, from which stones might be discharged upon the ships of an enemy that should approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. The inside of them was filled with stones and arrows.

¹ Athen. l. v. p. 206—209.

Upon the side of the vessel, well strengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to discharge stones, made by Archimedes: it threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of twelve cubits (eighteen feet) the distance of a stadium, or a hundred and twenty-five paces from it.

The ship had three masts, at each of which were two machines to discharge stones. There also were the hooks and masses of lead to throw upon such as approached. The whole ship was surrounded with a rampart of iron to keep off those who should attempt to board it. All around were iron grappings (*corvi*), which being thrown by machines, grappled the vessels of the enemy, and drew them close to the ship, from whence it was easy to destroy them. On each of the sides were sixty young men completely armed, and as many about the masts, and at the machines for throwing stones.

Though the hold of this ship was extremely deep, one man sufficed for clearing it of all water, with a machine made in the nature of a screw, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram upon this superb vessel, for which he was well paid. Hiero sent him a thousand medimni of corn as a reward, and caused them to be carried to the port of Piræus. The medimnus, according to Father Montfaucon, is a measure that contains six bushels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verse was known at that time in Syracuse.

Hiero having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this vessel, except some where it could not lie at anchor without danger, resolved to make a present of it to king Ptolemy,¹ and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other transports of less burden attended this great ship. Three hundred thousand quarters of corn were put on board them, with ten thousand great earthen jars of salted fish, twenty thousand quintals (or two millions of pounds) of salt meat, twenty thousand bundles of different cloths, without including the provisions for the ships' crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description which Athenæus has left us of this great ship. I could have wished, that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimensions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a question, which, without it, must for ever remain doubtful and obscure.

Hiero's fidelity was put to a very

A. M. 3788. severe trial, after the bloody defeat Ant. J. C. 216. of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almost universal defection of their allies.

But even the laying waste of his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of shaking his resolution. He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread even to his own family.² He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and amongst others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him; and would perhaps have occasioned great trouble in Sicily, if a sudden and unexpected death had not intervened. It happened so opportunely,

A. M. 3789. that his father was suspected of hav-
Ant. J. C. 215. ing promoted it. He did not survive his son long, and died at the age of fourscore and ten years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned fifty-four years.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.—HIERONYMUS, GRANDSON OF HIERO, SUCCEEDS HIM, AND CAUSES HIM TO BE REGRETTED BY HIS VICES AND CRUELTY. HE IS KILLED IN A CONSPIRACY. BARBAROUS MURDER OF THE PRINCESSES. HIPPOCRATES AND EPICYDES POSSESS THEMSELVES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SYRACUSE, AND DECLARE FOR THE CARTHAGINIANS AS HIERONYMUS HAD DONE.

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandson, a young prince incapable of making a wise use of his independence, and far from possessing strength to resist the seducing allurements of sovereign power. Hiero's apprehensions, that the flourishing condition in which he left his kingdom would soon change under an infant king, suggested to him the thought and desire of restoring their liberty to the Syracusans. But his two daughters opposed that design with all their influence; from the hope that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they should have all the authority, in conjunction with their husbands, Andranodorus and Zoippus, who were to hold the first rank amongst his guardians.⁵ It was not easy for an old man of ninety to hold out against the caresses and arts of those two women, who besieged him day and night, to preserve the freedom of his mind in the midst of their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the public.

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council; and earnestly desired them, at his death, never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principles in which he had been educated till then.

The king dying after these arrangements, the guardians whom he had appointed for his grandson, immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations of joy. All the rest, in a consternation equal to that of a family who have lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their recent loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. His funeral was afterwards solemnized, and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects, than the care and regard of his relations for his memory.⁶

Andranodorus's first care was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time near fifteen years old. So that Andranodorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The wisest arrangements made by princes at their deaths, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

The best and most moderate prince in the world,⁷ succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects, as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained. But Hieronymus, as if he strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible how much all things

¹ There is reason to believe this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

² Liv. l. xxiii. n. 30.

³ Movissetque in Siciliâ res, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione adsperseret, armantem eum multitudinem sollicitantemque socios, adsumpsisset. Liv.

⁴ Puerum, vixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modicè laturum. Liv.

⁵ Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agentis annum, circumscisso dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, et convertere ad publicam privata curam. Liv.

⁶ Funus fit regium, magis amore civium et caritate, quam curâ suorum celebre. Liv.

⁷ Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos succedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis. Verim enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quàm disparia essent, iostendit. Liv.

were altered. While neither Hiero, nor Gelon his son, had ever distinguished themselves from the other citizens by their habits, or any outward ornaments, Hieronymus was presently seen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionysius, the Tyrant, in coming out of his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses. All the rest of his conduct was suitable to his equipage: a visible contempt for all the world; haughtiness and disdain in hearing; an affectation of saying disobliging things; so difficult of access, that not only strangers, but even his guardians, could scarce approach him; a refinement of taste in discovering new methods of excess; a cruelty so enormous as to extinguish all sense of humanity in him: this odious disposition of the young king terrified the people to such a degree, that even some of his guardians, to escape his cruelty, either put themselves to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Only three men, Andranodorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thraso, had a great freedom of access to the young king. He paid little more notice to them than to others; but as the two first openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of sentiments, and very warm disputes, which were frequently the consequence of it, drew upon them that prince's attention.

About this time a conspiracy against the life of Hieronymus happened to be discovered. One of the principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the torture, he confessed the crime as far as it regarded himself; but all the violence of the most cruel torments could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to support the pains inflicted on him, he accused the king's best friends, though innocent, amongst whom he named Thraso, as the ringleader of the whole enterprise: adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if a man of his credit had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expressed for the Roman interests rendered the evidence probable, and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companion's being tortured, either fled or concealed himself, so much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, and such was his fortitude to keep the secret inviolable.

The death of Thraso, who was the sole support of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partizans of Carthage. Hieronymus despatched ambassadors to Hannibal, who sent back a young Carthaginian officer, of illustrious birth, named also Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicyles, natives of Carthage, but descended from the Syracusans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general; the two others continued with the king by Hannibal's permission. The conditions of the treaty were, that after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully assured themselves, the river Himera, which also divides the island, should be the boundary of their respective dominions. Hieronymus, puffed up by the praises of his flatterers, even demanded, some time after, that all Sicily should be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The proposal appeared idle and rash; but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the first rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, sent ambassadors to Hieronymus to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt; asking them, with an air of raillery and insult, what had passed at the battle of Cannæ; that Hannibal's ambassadors had related incredible things respecting it; that he was happy in an opportunity of knowing the truth from their mouths, that he might thence determine upon the choice of his

allies. The Romans made answer, that they would return to him, when he had learned to treat ambassadors seriously, and with respect; and, after having cautioned rather than desired him not to change sides too rashly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himself, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Those who had formed the conspiracy mentioned before, pursued their scheme; and having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterprise, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuse into the country.

We here evidently see the difference between a king and a tyrant; and that it is not in guards or arms that the security of a prince consists, but in the affection of his subjects. Hiero, from being convinced, that those who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themselves by the laws, behaved in such a manner, that it might be said the law, and not Hiero, reigned. He believed himself rich and powerful for no other end than to do good and to render others happy. He had no occasion to take precautions for the security of his life: he had always the surest guard about him, the love of his people; and Syracuse was afraid of nothing so much as of losing him. Hence he was lamented at his death as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths but hearts were long after filled with his name, and incessantly blessed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct than violence, who regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and valued himself upon governing them not as subjects but slaves, led the most wretched life in the world, if to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror, can be called living. As he trusted nobody, nobody placed any confidence in him. Those who were nearest his person were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives, than by putting an end to his. Thus ended a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

Appius,² who foresaw the consequence of his death, gave the senate advice of all that had passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving the war in Sicily was likely to become important, sent Marcellus thither, who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second Punic war, and had distinguished himself gloriously by his successes against Hannibal.

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him, than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of liberty by which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures amongst them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, all together appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left, without interment, the body of that prince for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranodorus seized the Isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places as were most proper for his defence in it, putting good garrisons into them. Theodotus and Sosis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived soon after at the city. They made themselves masters of the quarter Achradina, where, by showing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence of their liberty, they soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confusion. The next day, at sun-rise, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran

¹ Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque convenientes sequantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbaures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modò sed tutioribus etiam; libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas. *Liv.*

to the quarter Achradina, where the senate was holden, which had neither assembled nor been consulted upon any affair since Hiero's death. Polyænus, one of the senators, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He represented, "that having experienced the indignities and miseries of slavery, they were more sensibly affected with them; but that as to the evils occasioned by civil discord, they had rather heard them spoken of by their fathers, than been acquainted with them themselves: that he commended their readiness in taking arms, and should praise them still more, if they did not proceed to use them, till the last extremity: that at present it was his advice to send deputies to Andranodorus, and to let him know he must submit to the senate, open the gates of the Isle, and withdraw his garrisons: that if he persisted in his usurpation, it would be necessary to treat him with more rigour than Hieronymus had experienced."

This deputation at first made some impression upon him; whether it were, that he still retained a respect for the senate, and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens; or whether the best fortified part of the Isle having been taken from him by treachery and surrendered to the Syracusans, that loss gave him just apprehensions. But his wife Demarata,¹ Hiero's daughter, a haughty and ambitious princess, having taken him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of Dionysius the Tyrant, "that it was never proper to quit the saddle" (i. e. the tyranny), "till pulled off the horse by the heels; that a great fortune might be renounced in a moment, but that it would cost abundance of time and pains to attain it; that it was therefore necessary to endeavour to gain time; and whilst he amused the senate by ambiguous answers, to treat privately with the soldiers at Leontium, whom it would be easy to bring over to his interest by the attraction of the king's treasures in his possession."

Andranodorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to follow it without reserve. He chose a mean between both. He promised to submit to the senate in expectation of a more favourable opportunity; and the next day having thrown open the gates of the Isle, repaired to the quarter Achradina; and there, after having excused his delay and resistance, from the fear he had entertained of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, as his uncle, he declared that he was come to put his person and interest into the hands of the senate. Then turning towards the tyrant's murderers, and addressing himself to Theodotus and Sosis, "you have done," said he, "a memorable action. But, believe me, your glory is only begun, and has not yet attained its highest pitch. If you do not take care to establish peace and union among the citizens, the state is in great danger of expiring, and of being destroyed at the very moment she begins to taste the blessings of liberty." After this discourse, he laid the keys of the Isle and of the king's treasures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the temples were thronged during the rest of the day with infinite numbers of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for so happy a change of affairs.

The next day the senate being assembled according to the ancient custom, magistrates were appointed, amongst whom Andranodorus was elected one of the first, with Theodotus and Sosis, and some others of the conspirators who were absent.

On the other side, Hippocrates and Epicydes, whom Hieronymus had sent at the head of two thousand men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities which continued to adhere to the Romans, seeing themselves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the soldiers under their command, returned to Syracuse, where they demanded to be escorted in safety to Hannibal, having no longer any business in

Sicily, after the death of him to whom they had been sent by that general. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent, factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in most affairs a decisive moment, which never returns after having been once let slip. The negligence in assigning the time for their departure, gave them an opportunity of insinuating themselves into the favour of the soldiers, who esteemed them upon account of their abilities, and of setting them against the senate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranodorus, whose wife's ambition would never let him rest, and who till then, had covered his designs with smooth dissimulation, believing it a proper time for disclosing them, conspired with Themistus, Gelon's son-in-law, to seize the sovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariston, from whom he kept nothing secret. That profession was not at all dishonourable among the Greeks, and was exercised by persons of no ignoble condition. Ariston believing it his duty, as it really was, to sacrifice his friend to his country, discovered the conspiracy. Andranodorus and Themistus were immediately killed, by order of the other magistrates, as they entered the senate. The people rose, and threatened to revenge their deaths; but were deterred from it by the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were thrown out of the senate-house. They were then informed of their pernicious designs; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were ascribed, rather than to the wickedness of Hieronymus, who, being only a youth, had acted entirely by their counsels. They insinuated that his guardians and tutors had reigned in his name; that they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at least with him; that impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and induced them to aspire to the tyranny: that not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had employed dissimulation and perfidy: that neither favours and honours had been capable of overcoming the wicked disposition of Andranodorus; nor the electing him one of the supreme magistrates amongst the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty: that as to the rest, they had been inspired with their ambition of reigning by the princesses of the blood-royal whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's, daughter.

At those words, the whole assembly cried out, that not one of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without suffering any vestige to remain. Such is the nature of the multitude.² It either absolutely abandons itself to slavery, or domineers with insolence. But with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt those extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to use it; and finds but too many flatterers always ready to enter into its passions, inflame its rage, and hurry it on to excessive violence, and the most inhuman cruelties, to which it is but too much inclined of itself; as was the case at this time. At the request of the magistrates, which was almost sooner accepted than proposed, they decreed that the royal family should be entirely destroyed.

Demarata, the daughter of Hiero, and Harmonia, Gelon's daughter, the first married to Andranodorus, and the other to Themistus, were killed first. From thence they went to the house of Heraclea, wife of Zolippus; who having been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, remained there in voluntary banishment, to avoid being witness of the miseries of his country. Having been apprized that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princess had taken refuge with her two daughters in the most retired part of her house, near her household gods. There, when the assassins arrived, with her hair loose and dishevel-

¹ Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filis Hieronis, infatata adhuc regis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet sæpe usurpatæ Dionysii tyranni vocis: quæ, pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem, dixeret debere. *Liv.*

² Hæc natura multitudinis est: aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur: libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere sciunt. Et non fœdè d'sunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorum animos ad sanguinem et cædes irritant. *Liv.*

led, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to excite compassion, she conjured them, in a faltering voice, interrupted with sighs, in the name of Hiero her father and Gelon her brother, "Not to involve an innocent princess in the guilt and misfortunes of Hieronymus. She represented to them, that her husband's banishment had been to her the sole fruit of that reign: that not having had any share in the fortunes and criminal designs of her sister Demarata, she ought to have none in her punishment. Besides, what was there to fear, either from her, in the forlorn condition and almost widowhood to which she was reduced, or from her daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or support? That if the royal family were become so odious to Syracuse, that it could not bear the sight of them, they might be banished to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father." When she saw them inflexible to her remonstrances, forgetting what concerned herself, she implored them at least to save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age which inspires the most inveterate and furious of enemies with compassion; but her discourse made no impression upon the minds of those barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her household gods, they stabbed her in the sight of her two daughters, and soon after murdered them also, already stained and covered with the blood of their mother. What was still more deplorable in their destiny was, that immediately after their death, an order from the people came for sparing their lives.

From compassion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury against those who had been so hasty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magistrates should be nominated in the room of Andronodorus and Themistus. They were a long time in suspense upon this choice. At length, somebody in the crowd of the people happening to name Epicydes, another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Those two persons were demanded with so much ardour by the multitude, which consisted of citizens and soldiers, that the senate could not prevent their being created.

The new magistrates did not immediately discover the design they had, of reinstating Syracuse in the interests of Hannibal. But they had seen with pain the measures which had been taken before they were in office. For, immediately after the re-establishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose renewing the alliance which had been broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily, with an authority superior to his own. Marcellus, in his turn, sent deputies to the magistrates of Syracuse, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there, they found the state of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at first by secret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inspired every body with great aversion for the Romans; giving out, that designs were formed for putting Syracuse into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman interest, strengthened those suspicions and accusations so much, that the people ran tumultuously to prevent the Romans from landing, in case they should have that design.

In this trouble and confusion it was thought proper to summon the assembly of the people. In this meeting the opinions differed very much; and the heat of the debate giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the present situation of affairs. He intimated "that never city was nearer its destruction or preservation than Syracuse actually was at that time; that if they all with unanimous consent should join either the Romans or Carthaginians, their condition would be happy: that if they were divided, the war would neither be more warm nor more dangerous between the Romans and Carthaginians, than between the Syracusans themselves against each other, as both parties must necessarily have, within the circumference of their own walls, their own troops, armies, and generals: that it was therefore absolutely

requisite to make agreement and union amongst themselves their sole care and application; and that to know which of the alliances was to be preferred, was not now the most important question: nevertheless, with respect to the choice of allies, the authority of Hiero, in his opinion, ought to prevail over that of Hieronymus; and that the amity of the Romans, happily experienced for fifty years together, seemed preferable to that of the Carthaginians, upon which they could not much rely for the present, and with which they had had little reason to be satisfied formerly." He added a last motive of no mean force, which was, "that in declaring against the Romans, they would have a war immediately upon their hands, which the Carthaginians were not able to carry on against them immediately."

The less passionate this discourse appeared, the more effect it had. It induced them to desire the opinion of the several bodies of the state; and the principal officers of the troops, as well natives as foreigners, were requested to confer together. The affair was long discussed with great warmth. At length, as it appeared that there was no present means for supporting the war against the Romans, a peace with them was resolved, and ambassadors sent to conclude it.

Some days after this resolution had been taken, the Leontines sent to demand aid of Syracuse, for the defence of their frontiers. This deputation seemed to come very seasonably for ridding the city of a turbulent, unruly multitude, and removing their leaders, who were no less dangerous. Four thousand men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates, of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not sorry himself for this opportunity which they gave him to embroil affairs. For he no sooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops sent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracusans, of this act of hostility, and demanded that this stranger should be banished from Sicily with his brother Epicydes; who, having repaired about the same time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuse, by exhorting them to resume their liberty as well as the Syracusans. The city of the Leontines was dependent on Syracuse, but pretended at this time to throw of the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracusans, as an entirely free city. When therefore the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand the expulsion of the two Carthaginian brothers, who were the authors of them, the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracusans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuse related to Marcellus this answer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the disposal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himself master of it at the first attack. Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword; but as soon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other soldiers were spared, and even every thing taken from them was restored, except what was lost in the first tumult of a city carried by storm.

Eight thousand troops, sent by the magistrates of Syracuse to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march, who gave them an account of what had passed at the taking of Leontium; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falsely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the sword, as well as the troops sent thither by the Syracusans.

This artful falsehood, which they took no steps to ascertain, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to these troops, appeared at the very instant of this trouble and tumult, and put themselves under their protection, not having any other resource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report soon reached the rear of the army,

where the commanders Dinomenes and Sosis were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult, they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being seized and bound. The soldiers opposed this with great menaces; and the two generals sent expresses to Syracuse, to inform the senate of what had passed.

In the mean time, the army continued its march towards Megara, and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter which seemed to be written by the magistrates of Syracuse to Marcellus. They praised him for the slaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary soldiers in the same manner, in order that Syracuse might at length be restored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, of whom this body of troops was almost entirely composed. They were for falling upon the few Syracusans amongst them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicydes; not from motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely lose their hopes of re-entering Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes, who related the storming of Leontium, conformably to the first account. Those reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out, that the gates should be shut against the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the same time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the intelligence which they had within it. They killed the magistrates, and took possession of the city. The next day the slaves were made free, the prisoners set at liberty, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the highest offices, in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse, in this manner, after a short glimpse of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

SECTION II.—THE CONSUL MARCELLUS BESIEGES SYRACUSE. THE CONSIDERABLE LOSSES OF MEN AND SHIPS OCCASIONED BY THE DREADFUL MACHINES OF ARCHIMEDES, OBLIGE MARCELLUS TO CHANGE THE SIEGE INTO A BLOCKADE. HE TAKES THE CITY AT LENGTH BY MEANS OF HIS INTELLIGENCE WITHIN IT. DEATH OF ARCHIMEDES, KILLED BY A SOLDIER WHO DID NOT KNOW HIM.

A. M. 3790. Affairs being in this state,¹ Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance towards Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus, therefore, determined to besiege the place by sea and land;² by land, on the side of the Hexapylum; and by sea, on that of the Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of sixty galleys of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scour the walls. There were a great number of other vessels, laden with all sorts of machines used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, and apprehensive that nothing could oppose so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts. And it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of one single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans: this was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon

as his machines began to play on the land side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could withstand their shock. They beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner, as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible balistæ and catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance; which put the Romans into such confusion, as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with an immense weight at the end of them, upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Besides this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain; and having caught hold of the head of a ship with his hook, by means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up and set upon its stern, and held so for some time; then by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again, with its whole weight, either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines dragging the ship towards the shore by cordage and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Gallies, frequently seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators, after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom with their crews.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expense, machines called *sambucæ*, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight gallies of five benches for that purpose, from which the oars were removed, from half on the right, and from the other half on the left side. These were joined together two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of the two gallies joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks; and upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pulleys. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the stern drew it up by the help of the pulleys, others at the head assisted in raising it with levers. The gallies afterwards being brought forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the *sambucæ* was then let down (no doubt after the manner of a draw-bridge,) upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a vast stone upon it that weighed ten quintals;³ then a second, and immediately after a third; all of which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the gallies upon which it stood such a shock, that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his gallies, and sent orders to his land forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day, before sunrise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to shelter themselves from the machines, which, for want of distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distan-

¹ Liv. l. xxiv. n. 33, 34. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305—307. Polyb. l. viii. p. 513—518.

² The description of Syracuse may be seen in vol. I.

³ The quintal, which the Greeks called *τάλαντον*, was of several kinds. The least weighed a hundred and twenty-five pounds; the largest more than twelve hundred.

ces a proportionate quantity of darts and ends of beams, which, being very short, required less time for preparing them, and in consequence were frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop-holes in the walls at little distances, where he had placed scorpions,¹ which, not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by their effect.

When the Romans had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered, they found themselves exposed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads, there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed to some distance, than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their galleys were disabled or beaten to pieces, without being able to revenge their loss in the least upon their enemies. For Archimedes had placed most of his machines in security behind the walls; so that the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality against the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear jesting upon them. "Shall we persist," said he to the workmen and engineers, "in making war with this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my galleys and sambucas so rudely? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants, with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and surprising discharges upon us." Marcellus had reason for complaining of Archimedes alone. For the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed; for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them, renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived that they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they besieged the city, there were no kind of stratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, except indeed the assault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city; his sole presence checks and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius and profound knowledge; I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss would Syracuse have sustained, if, to have saved a small expense and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity! Hiéro was careful not to act in this manner. He knew all the value of our geometrician; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince to understand that of other men. He paid it due honour; he made it useful; and did not stay till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so: it would then have been too late. By a wise fore-

sight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very arms of peace² he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest friendship. Hence were seen to rise in an instant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines, of every kind and size, the very sight of which was sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

There are amongst these machines, of some of which we can scarce conceive the effects, and the reality of which we might be tempted to call in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such for instance as Polybius, an almost contemporary author, who treated on facts entirely recent, and such as were known to all the world. But how can we refuse to give credit to the uniform consent of Greek and Roman historians, whether friends or enemies, in regard to circumstances of which whole armies were witnesses, and experienced the effects, and which had so great an influence in the events of the war? What passed in the siege of Syracuse shows how far the ancients had carried their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if indeed they have so much.

A burning-glass is spoken of, by means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seem impracticable.

After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of A. M. 3791. Syracuse,³ he left Appius before the Ant. J. C. 213. place with two-thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of re-conquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with 10,000 foot and 500 horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily; but that of the Carthaginians, seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back for Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates, in this year, which must have been the second year of the siege. And indeed Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to the first what had passed in the second. For it is highly improbable, that nothing memorable happened in it.

This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais, who has published a new edition of Livy, with remarks, and with which I am convinced the public will be well pleased. The first volume of the said work contains a long preface, which is well worth reading.

Marcellus, therefore, employed a great part of the second year of the siege, in several expeditions in Sicily. On his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an ineffectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above 8000 men. This advantage kept those in their duty, who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory, he returned against Syracuse; and having sent off Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Q. Crispinus into his place.

¹ The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross-bows, with which the ancients used to discharge darts and stones.

² *In pace, ut sapiens, aperit idonea bello.* Horat.
And wise in peace prepared the arms of war.

³ Liv. l. xxiv. n. 35, 36.

A. M. 3792. In the beginning of the third campaign,¹ Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or by famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But, before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could not make himself master of Syracuse by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which four-score of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was on the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, through resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.

This enterprise having thus miscarried, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accident supplied him with a resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negotiate with Philip, king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Troglus was agreed on for the conference concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thought to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army; a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival, that the Syracusans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, would begin to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made a thousand chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the first had got to the top without noise or tumult, others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These thousand soldiers, taking advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of the Hexapylum, they took possession of the quarter of the city called Epipolæ.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the possession of the enemy. The strongest and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day-break entered the new city² by the quarter called Tyche. Epicydes having hastily drawn up some troops, which he had in the Isle, which was adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus: but finding him stronger and better attended

than he expected, after a slight skirmish he shut himself up in Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary success. As to himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets which had formerly been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them: the many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians: the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues, and still more, by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent being harassed in his rear, he then attacked a fort called Euryelus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land side. After having carried it, and placed therein a strong garrison, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first, with the Sicilians, having placed and fortified his camp near the great harbour, and given the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded: Epicydes, at the same time, made a sally upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprises was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his intrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina.

As it was then autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the heat of the season, and the unwholesomeness of the soil: but afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the contagion; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were buried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of the living. Nothing was heard night and day but groans and lamentations. At length the being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished, with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the first breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade were of great relief to them; but, notwithstanding, he lost no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, in the mean time, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring a new supply, returned with a hundred and thirty ships, and seven hundred transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes, who was afraid that if those winds continued, this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle, as soon as the weather would permit. Marcellus, seeing that the troops of the Sicilians increased every day, and that if he stayed, and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea

¹ Liv. l. xxv. n. 23, 31. Plut. in Marcel. 308, 309.

² The new city or Neapolis, was Epipolæ, which in the latter times had been taken into the city and surrounded with walls.

and land, resolved, though not so strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar stood out to sea, in order to double the cape; but when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden, for what reason is not said, he took to flight, sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with the design of awaiting the event of the siege in that place, than of making any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the dispositions of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions on which Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings, should appertain to the Romans; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest, with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries they demanded a conference with those to whom Epicydes had intrusted the government in his absence. They told them, they had been sent by the army to Marcellus, and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and giving them assurances that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place, which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, "that for whatever miseries they had suffered till then, or should suffer from thenceforth, they ought not to accuse fortune, as it depended upon themselves alone to put an end to them: that if the Romans had undertaken the siege of Syracuse, it was out of affection, not enmity, to the Syracusans: that it was not till after they had been apprized of the oppressions they suffered from Hippocrates and Epicydes, those ambitious agents of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that they had taken arms, and begun the siege of the city, not to ruin it, but to destroy its tyrants: that as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no longer in Syracuse, his lieutenants slain, and the Carthaginians dispossessed of Sicily, both by sea and land, what reason could the Romans now have for not inclining as much to preserve Syracuse, as if Hiero, the sole example of fidelity towards them, were still alive? That neither the city nor the inhabitants had any thing to fear but for themselves, if they let slip the occasion of renewing their amity with the Romans: that they never had so favourable an opportunity as the present, when they were just delivered from the violent government of their tyrants; and that the first use they ought to make of their liberty was to return to their duty."

This discourse was perfectly well received by every body. It was however judged proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of deputies; the latter of whom were chosen out of the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed solely to use his utmost endeavours that Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself to Marcellus to this effect: "it was not the people of Syracuse who first broke the alliance, and declared war against you, but Hieronymus, less criminal still towards Rome than towards his country; and afterwards, when peace was restored by his death, it was not any Syracusan that infringed it, but the tyrant's instruments, Hippocrates and Epicydes. They were the enemies who have made war against you, after having made us slaves, either by violence or fraud and perfidy; and it cannot be said that we have had any times of liberty, that have not also been times of peace with you. At present, as soon as we are become masters of ourselves by the death of those who held Sicily in subjection, we come that very instant to deliver up to you our arms, our persons, our walls,

and our city, determined not to refuse any conditions you shall think fit to impose. For the rest," continued he, addressing himself still to Marcellus, "your interest is as much concerned as ours. The gods have granted you the glory of having taken the finest and most illustrious city possessed by the Greeks. All we have ever achieved worthy of being recorded, either by sea or land, augments and adorns your triumph. Fanie is not a sufficiently faithful chronicler to make known the greatness and strength of the city you have taken; posterity can only judge of them by its own eyes. It is necessary that we should show to all travellers, from whatever part of the universe they come, sometimes the trophies we have obtained from the Athenians and Carthaginians, and sometimes those you have acquired from us; and that Syracuse, thus placed for ever under the protection of Marcellus, may be a lasting and eternal monument of the valour and clemency of him who took and preserved it. It is unjust that the remembrance of Hieronymus should have more weight with you than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend than the former your enemy. Permit me to say, you have experienced the good effects of the amity of Hiero; but the senseless enterprises of Hieronymus have fallen solely upon his own head."

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put to the sword all they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the Isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, that it was concluded with the Romans, that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant, the deputies who had been sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in the Isle, there was a Spaniard named Mericus: means were found to corrupt him. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers, sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day-break the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack on Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the Isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to enable some vessels he had prepared to throw troops into the Isle, which would be unguarded. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the Isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates, by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus, still open, they took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was master of the Isle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not rise so high in their amount as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped, a passage being expressly left open for them, the Syracusans opened all the gates of Achradina to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him, with instructions to demand nothing farther from him than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence: "That Hiero, for fifty years, had not done the Roman people more good, than those who had been masters of Syracuse some years past had intended to do them harm: but that their ill-will had fallen upon their own heads, and they had punished themselves for their violation of treaties in a more severe manner than the Romans could have desired: that he had besieged Syracuse during three years, not that the Roman people might reduce it into slavery, but

to prevent the chiefs of the revolt from continuing to hold it under oppression: that he had undergone many fatigues and dangers in so long a siege; but that he thought he had made himself ample amends by the glory of having taken that city, and the satisfaction of having saved it from the entire ruin it seemed to deserve." After having placed a body of troops to secure the treasury, and safeguards in the houses of the Syracusans who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered. It is reported, that the riches that were pillaged in Syracuse at this time exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at a time when all things were in this confusion at Syracuse, shut up in his closet like a man of another world, who has no regard for what is passing in this, was intent upon the study of some geometrical figure, and not only his eyes, but the whole faculties of his soul, were so engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, universally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem and finished the demonstration of it. The soldier, who neither cared for his problem nor demonstration, enraged at his delay, drew his sword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to restore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected to him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION. I.—TOMB OF ARCHIMEDES DISCOVERED BY CICERO.

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, than a cylinder circumscribed by a sphere, that is to say, a globe or spherical figure; and to set down at the bottom the proportion which those two solids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with relieves, whereon the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans. But he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so-much-celebrated machines which he had invented.

Hence he chose rather to do himself honour in the eyes of posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height; which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man who had done so much honour to their city. Less than a hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgotten by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is Cicero who informs us of this circumstance.

At the time he was quæstor in Sicily,¹ his curiosity induced him to make a search after the tomb of Archimedes; a curiosity worthy a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him that this search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts, he

perceived without the gate of that city facing Agrigentum, amongst a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those who have any taste for antiquities may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out "that he had found what he had looked for."² The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, and a passage opened to the column, on which they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time. So that, says Cicero,³ in concluding this account, the greatest city of Greece, and the most flourishing of old in the study of the sciences, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country which it considered almost as barbarous, a man of Arpinum, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizen, so highly distinguished by the force and penetration of his mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account: but we cannot easily pardon him for the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where, intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the Tyrant with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue, and abounding with wisdom, he says, "I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an Archytas, persons of consummate learning and wisdom, with that of Dionysius, the most horrid, the most miserable, and the most detestable, that can be imagined. I shall have recourse to a man of his own city, A LITTLE OBFUSCURE PERSON, who lived many years after him. I shall produce him from his dust,⁴ and bring him upon the stage with his rule and compasses in his hand." I say nothing of the birth of Archimedes, his greatness was of a different class. But ought the greatest geometrical of antiquity, whose sublime discoveries have in all ages been the admiration of the learned, be treated by Cicero as a little and obscure person, as if he had been only a common artificer employed in making machines? unless it be, perhaps, that the Romans, with whom a taste for geometry and such speculative sciences never gained much ground, esteemed nothing great but what related to government and policy.

Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Virg. Æn. vi.

Let others better mould the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
And soften into flesh a marble face;
Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
And when the stars descend and when they rise,
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway,
To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way.

Dryden.

This is the Abbe Fraguier's reflection in the short dissertation he has left us upon this passage of Cicero.⁵

SECTION II.—SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy extending between the two seas, composed what was called Magna Græcia, in opposition to Greece, properly so called, which had peopled all these countries by its colonies.

Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. It was founded by Archias the Corinthian, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad. A. M. 3295.

¹ *Εὐεσσα*, adopting an expression of Archimedes.

² Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam verò etiam doctissima, sed civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset.

³ Non ergo jam cum hujus vitæ quæ tetrius, miserius, de testabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Archytæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum et planè sapientum. Ex eadem urbe *hunc* hominem et planè sapientem. Ex eadem, qui multis annis vixit fuit, Archimedes.

⁴ He means the dust used by geometers.

⁵ *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*, vol. II.

¹ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. I. v. n. 64, 66.

The first two ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore I pass over them in silence. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed into different books, I have thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connection might be the more evident, from their being shown together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

GELON. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece; Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Anilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one side, I suppose, with Diodorus Siculus,¹ that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and on the other I say, after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile, in which he had sacrificed many human victims.

Gelon upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years, solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. See vol. i.

HIERO I. Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar vied with each other in celebrating him. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. See vol. i.

THRASYBULUS. Thrasybulus his brother succeeded him. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. See vol. i.

Times of Liberty.

After his expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.

During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse: this was in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen in vol. i.

DIONYSIUS the elder. The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years; and still more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. See vol. i.

DIONYSIUS the younger. Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius, succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him; who had come to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long profit from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

Besieged by Dion, he escapes from the citadel, and retires into Italy. A. M. 3644.

Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus. A. M. 3646.

Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, expels Callippus, and establishes himself in Syracuse. A. M. 3647.

During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions. Dionysius the younger, taking advantage of those troubles, re-ascends the throne ten years after having quitted it. A. M. 3654.

At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. See vol. i. A. M. 3657.

Times of Liberty.

Timoleon restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. See vol. i. A. M. 3658.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration. AGATHOCLES. Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. See vol. i. A. M. 3685.

He commits unparalleled cruelties. He forms one of the boldest designs related in history; carries the war into Africa; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events, he perishes miserably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

Times of Liberty.

Syracuse revived again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty. A. M. 3713.

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first gave them great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus by a sudden retreat plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. See vol. i. A. M. 3726.

HIERO II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II. which was very long, and almost always pacific.

HIERONYMUS. He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period what passed in Sicily to its total reduction is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them; but those wars were unproductive of any event of consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province ever since the treaty which put an end to the first Punic war. By that treaty, Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the possession of the Romans; and the other under the government of Hiero; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

SECTION III.—REFLECTIONS UPON THE GOVERNMENT AND CHARACTER OF THE SYRACUSANS.

By the taking of Syracuse, all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire; but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victors, and punishment of the vanquished; *Quasi victoriæ præmium, ac pæna belli*. Sicily, in submitting to the Roman people,² retained all her ancient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she

¹ Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepinus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent; eâdem conditione populo R. præterent quâ suis antea paruiscent. Cic.

certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. She was the first¹ of all the foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy; and the first country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity, and affection, for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of step for their troops to pass over into Africa; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine, abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence, after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself bound to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues; in order that a people who were so highly gratified with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero, as well acquainted as he with the obligations of his function, and like him intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon the subject; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of the sentiments he is going to express, he says: "In all² the employments with which the Roman people have honoured me to this day, I have ever thought myself obliged, by the most sacred ties of religion, worthily to discharge the duties of them. When I was made *quæstor*, I looked upon that dignity, not as a gift conferred upon me, but as a deposit confided to my vigilance and fidelity. When I was afterwards sent to act in that office in Sicily, I thought all eyes were turned upon me, and that my person and administration were in a manner exhibited as a spectacle to the view of all the world: and in this thought, I not only denied myself all pleasures of an extraordinary kind, but even those which are authorized by nature and necessity. I am now intended for *Ædile*. I call the gods to witness, that how honourable soever this dignity seems to me, I have too just a sense of its weight, not to have more solicitude and disquiet, than joy and pleasure, from it; so much do I desire to make it appear, that it was not bestowed on me by chance, or the necessity of being filled up, but confided deservedly by the choice and discernment of my country."

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character: and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as Cicero some lines after reproaches

Verres,³ that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, only to exercise in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, nor even honour, were safe from their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, must have appeared like a theatre, on which many different and surprising scenes have been exhibited; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftener violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen in no other republic such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions; sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants, at others under the government of the wisest kings; sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either curb or restriction; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law, and the empire of reason, it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty, from a kind of convulsive and frantic emotions, to a wise, peaceable, and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the father and son, Agathocles and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the objects of the public hatred and detestation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, the two Hieros, ancient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes, and vicissitudes so contrary, to be attributed? Undoubtedly, the levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristic, had a great share in them; but what, I am convinced, conducted the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of an aristocracy and a democracy; that is to say, divided between the senate or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to balance those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion, at such times, of all orders of the state, made the way to sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens: to attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke of their fellow-citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity and affability; and others, by nature, less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were, besides, other reasons that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried its victories and the terror of its arms, even to the walls of Carthage; and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who

¹ *Omnium nationum exterarum principes Sicilia se ad amicitiam fideque populi R. applicuit: prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est, appellata: prima docuit majores nostros, quam præclarum esset, exteris gentibus imperare.—Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam ex hac provincia gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthagini tantæ conciderissent, nisi illud, et rei frumentariæ subsidium, et receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africam, Carthagine deletâ, Siculorum urbes signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit; ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret. *Cic. Verr.* 3. n. 2, 3.*

² *O dii immortales!—Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquæ vitæ vestrae populi R. existimationi comprobeat, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam credidit ac commissum putarem. Sic olimini quæsturam in provinciâ, ut omnium oculis in me unum conjectors arbitrarer: ut me quæsturamque meam quasi in aliquo orbis terre theatro versari existimarem; ut omnia semper, quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modò his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, sed etiam ipsi nature ac necessitati decernerem. Nunc sum designatus ædilis.—Ita mihi deos omnes propitios esse velim, ut tamen mihi iudicissimum rei honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum sollicitudinis et laboris ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuit recte collocata, et iudicio populi, digno in loco posita esse videatur. *Cic. Verr.* 7. n. 35—37.*

³ *Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi idcirco fasces et securæ, et tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam; ut earum rerum vi et auctoritate omnia repugula juris, pudoris, et officii perfringeres; ut omnium bona prædam tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullius domus clausa, nullius vita septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem et audaciam posset esse. *Cic. Verr.* n. 39.*

had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In order to obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good-nature; and yet, when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, of which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might say, even frenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and grovelling, like slaves. But as this condition was constrained, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, but merely lulled asleep, they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had opposed them.

With the slightest attention to the whole series of

the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived (as Galba afterwards said of the Romans,) that¹ they were equally incapable of bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude. So that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people to a wise medium between those two extremes, by seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution of good measures. And in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken of were wonderfully successful, under whose government the Syracusans always enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of those that governed them, who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.

¹ Imperaturnus es hominibus, qui nectotam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem. *Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 15.*

THE

HISTORY OF PONTUS.

BOOK XXIII.

SECTION I.—MITHRIDATES, AT TWELVE YEARS OF AGE, ASCENDS THE THRONE OF PONTUS. HE SEIZES CAPPADOCIA AND BITHYNIA, HAVING FIRST EXPELLED THEIR KINGS. THE ROMANS RE-ESTABLISH THEM. HE CAUSES ALL THE ROMANS AND ITALIANS IN ASIA MINOR TO BE PUT TO THE SWORD IN ONE DAY. FIRST WAR OF THE ROMANS WITH MITHRIDATES, WHO HAD MADE HIMSELF MASTER OF ASIA MINOR AND GREECE, AND HAD TAKEN ATHENS. SYLLA IS CHARGED WITH THIS WAR. HE BESIEGES AND RETAKES ATHENS. HE GAINS THREE GREAT BATTLES AGAINST THE GENERALS OF MITHRIDATES. HE GRANTS THAT PRINCE PEACE IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THE WAR. LIBRARY OF ATHENS, IN WHICH WERE THE WORKS OF ARISTOTLE. SYLLA CAUSES IT TO BE CARRIED TO ROME.

MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whose history I am now beginning to relate, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported, during almost thirty years, against the Romans, was surnamed Eupator. He was descended from a house which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabazus, one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hystaspes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But, besides that we do not find the name of Artabazus amongst those seven Persians, many reasons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we speak was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabazanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during seventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we are treating in his place, was the sixteenth from him.

He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. He began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death;¹ and the sequel corresponded but too well with such a beginning. Nothing is said of the first years of his reign,² except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity against them.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who was apprehensive that this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to

possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man (who seemed very fit for acting such a part) as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such, and sent her to Rome, to assist and support by her presence the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned; and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to choose whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext assigned for this expedition; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprises of Mithridates, whose power daily augmenting, gave umbrage to the Romans. Sylla executed his commission the following year; and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Parthian, named Orobasus, arrived at his camp, deputed from king Arsaces,³ to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla, when he received him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent, one for Ariobarzanes, who was present, another for Orobasus, and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy for having acquiesced in this instance of Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any intercourse with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while he engaged in cultivating powerful alliances for the augmentation of his strength; and began with Tigranes, king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. Armenia⁴ had at first appertained to the Persians; it came under the Macedonians afterwards; and upon the death of Alexander made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadres, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus, they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts. Tigranes, of whom we now speak, was descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his projects against the Romans,

¹ Memnon in excerptis Photii, c. xxxii.

² Apian in Mithrid. 177, 178.

³ This was Mithridates II.

⁴ Strab. l. xi. p. 531, 532.

that they agreed Mithridates should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

The first enterprise and act of hos-

A. M. 3915. tility was committed by Tigranes, Ant. J. C. 89. who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happening to die about this time, his eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both reinstated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, urged both by the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and by his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerable sums for the same purpose, could no longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastri, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, as he had a great number of good troops on foot; but he did not take the field. He was glad to throw the blame on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied, and made complaints on their side against Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave the man answer in loose and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassador to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to renew his complaints against them. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented the Roman people should be umpire in the affair; and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing, till they had received the senate's orders, nor engage rashly in a war that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to procure it for himself. The Romans highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer, that Mithridates was immediately to draw his troops from Cappadocia, and not to continue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable, and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived; which was what Mithridates wished. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans, had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interest. Amongst his troops were reckoned twenty-two nations, or as many different languages, all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army

consisted of 250,000 foot and 40,000 horse, without including 130 armed chariots and a fleet of 400 ships.

Before he proceeded to action,¹ he thought it necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made them a long discourse to animate them against the Romans.² He represented to them, "That the matter now in hand was not to examine whether war or peace were to be preferred; that the Romans, by attacking the first, had left them no room for deliberation: that their business was to fight and conquer; that he assured himself of success, if the troops persisted to act with the same valour they had already shown upon so many occasions, and very lately against the same enemies, whom they had put to flight and cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia: that there could not be a more favourable opportunity than the present, when the Marsi infested and ravaged the very heart of Italy; when Rome was torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable army of the Cimabri from Germany overran all Italy: that the time was come for humbling those proud republicans, who were hostile to the royal dignity, and had sworn to pull down all the thrones of the universe. Then as to what remained,³ the war his soldiers were now entering upon was highly different from that they had sustained with so much valour in the horrid deserts and frozen regions of Scythia: that he should lead them into the most fruitful and temperate country of the world, abounding with rich and opulent cities, which seemed to offer themselves an easy prey: that Asia, abandoned to be devoured by the insatiable avarice of the proconsuls, the inexorable cruelty of tax-gatherers, and the flagrant injustice of corrupt judges, held the name of Roman in abhorrence, and impatiently expected them as her deliverers: that they followed him, not so much to a war, as to assured victory and certain spoils." The army answered this discourse with universal shouts of joy, and reiterated protestations of service and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the several parts of Asia Minor. The first was commanded by L. Cassius, who had the government of the province of Pergamum; the second, by Manius Aquilius; the third, by Q. Oppius, proconsul, in his province of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thousand men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had fifty thousand foot and six thousand horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting for orders from Rome, and carried it on with so much negligence and so little judgment, that they were all three defeated on different occasions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kinds of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities. He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people, mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he caused molten lead to be poured down his throat, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him

¹ Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3.—7.

² I have abridged this discourse extremely, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomiser. The discourse is a specimen of that excellent historian's style, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

³ "Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ineredi. Nam neque celo Asia esse temperatius aliud, nec solo fertilitas, nec urbiu multitudinem amoenius; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam sed ut festum diem, actures, bello dubium facili magis an uberi—tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet: adeo illis edum Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum calumnia litium." Justin.—*Sectio publicanorum* in this passage properly signifies the forcible sale of the goods of those who for default of the payment of taxes and imposts had their estates and effects seized on and sold by the publicans. *Calumnia litium* are the unjust quacks and chicanery, which served as pretexts for depriving the rich of their estates, either upon account of taxes, or under some other colour.

up to Mithridates at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

Mithridates,¹ who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all the Greeks he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, and applied to him all the other names by which Bacchus was denominated, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his time² who could drink most without being disordered; a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of these his first victories were, the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonice a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

Mithridates,³ considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia

Minor upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the prejudice of his interests, sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia Minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed.⁴ The women, children, and domestics, were included in this proscription. To these orders was annexed a prohibition to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead; and a reward appointed for whoever discovered those who were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves who killed their masters; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this dreadful order is enough to make one shudder with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all those provinces when it was put in execution! Four-score thousand Romans or Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

Being informed that there was a great treasure at Cos,⁵ he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found eight hundred talents (eight hundred thousand crowns,) which the Jews in Asia Minor had deposited there when they saw the war ready to break out.

All those who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge in Rhodes,⁶ which received them with joy, and afforded them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

When he had made himself master of Asia Minor,⁷ Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force,

which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, to whom he gave two thousand men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the 2000 men under his command to secure to himself the supreme authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war A. M. 3917. against Mithridates. He set out Ant. J. C. 87. immediately for Greece, with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards, to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, subjected to the tyrant Aristion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, the one of which he sent to besiege Aristion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to the port Piræus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, when, the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering them, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expense, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, twenty thousand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happened to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broken and spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the beautiful avenues of the Academy and Lycaum, which were the finest walks in the suburbs, and planted with the finest trees; and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and endeavoured to attach the soldiers to his interests and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphictyons assembled at Delphi, "that they would act wisely in sending him the treasures of the god, because they would be more secure in his hands; and that if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return the value after the war." At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphi, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphi, he was afraid, through reverence for the god, to meddle with the consecrated gifts, and bewailed with tears, in the presence of the Amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which, some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was willing to take advantage of that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, wrote him an account of what had happened. Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, "that he was surprised he should not comprehend, that singing was a sign of joy, and by no means of anger and resentment; and, therefore he had nothing to do but to take the trea-

¹ Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 401. Athen. l. v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacc. l. 60.

² Plut. Sympos. l. i. p. 624.

³ Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7.

⁴ Is uno die tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque una literarum significatione, cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit. Cic.

⁵ Appian. p. 186. Joseph Antiq. l. xiv. c. 12.

⁶ Appian. p. 186-188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402.

⁷ Plut. in Sylla, p. 459-461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 188-197.

sures boldly, and be assured that the god saw him do so with pleasure, and gave them to him himself."

Plutarch, on this occasion, notices the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no other views from their employments but the public good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops that were steady, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truly kings, says Plutarch,¹ in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage, they put the state to no other expense in the discharge of their offices than what was reasonable and necessary, conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers, than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever for carrying on the siege in which he had engaged, the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both with respect to his honour and even his safety. He was desirous of depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, would destroy all hopes of conquering that prince, and oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides scolded by the keen raillery which Aristion vented every day against him and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigour; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What did them most damage was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves who were in the Piræus. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman interest, or desirous of providing for their own safety in case the place was taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that was going forward within, and threw them from slings to the Romans. So that how prudent soever the measures were which Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, whilst Aristion commanded in the city, none of them succeeded. He resolved to make a general sally; the traitors slung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: "To-morrow, at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horse your camp." Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown in the city, which was in want of every thing. Upon advice of the same kind the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disappointments, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the wall, or by undermining them to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigour. By the help of mines also they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground; and, having propped the foundation with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burnt, part of the wall fell down with a horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with

equal ardour on both sides, but the Romans were at length obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a crescent, in the place of the other, which had fallen, and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for a thousand drachmas (about five-and-twenty pounds sterling.) The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of their shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in revelling. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: he dispersed them with a shower of arrows, and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them, by saying, "Gentlemen orators, you may go back again, and keep your rhetorical flourishes for yourselves. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your ancient prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt."

During this audience, some spies, having entered the city, overheard by chance some old men talking in the Ceramicus,² and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily take the city by escalade. At their return into the camp they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place, and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and, having made himself master of the wall after a weak resistance, entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers, who in several houses found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were very few in number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus, and burnt all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munychia, another port of Attica.

This year, upon which we are now entering, was fatal to the arms of A. M. 3913. Mithridates,³ Taxiles, one of his Ant. J. C. 86. generals, arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of a hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, with fourscore and ten chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munychia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their provisions. This was very prudent conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Boeotia, where Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united,

¹ Αὐτοὶ τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλικοῖς, καὶ ταῖς δαπαναῖς οὐτελεῖς ὄντες.

² A public square at Athens.

³ Plut. in Sylla, p. 461—466. Appian, p. 196—203

they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemies could discover at one view their small number, which amounted to only fifteen thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. This induced Archelaus's generals to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and innumerable troops; for when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many nations, and so many thousands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were truly terrible. The brightness of their arms, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brass and steel, darted forth as it were flashes of lightning, which, whilst it dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their intrenchments. Sylla not being able by his discourse and remonstrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present state of discouragement, was obliged to lie still, and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their intrenchments; the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and straggled to a considerable distance, even several days' journey, from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the utmost despair when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the Cephissus, a little river which was near the camp, and in digging deep and large trenches, under pretence of their better security, but in fact, that by being tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice, to lead them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly entreated, and did not comply for some time; but when he saw their ardour increase from his opposition, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Chæronea. The enemy had possessed themselves, with a great body of troops, of a very advantageous post, called Thurium: it was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was well calculated to check their motions. Two men of Chæronea came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops, which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left, supported Murena, whilst Galba on the right did the same for Sylla. The barbarians had already begun to extend their horse and light-armed foot in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge it in the rear.

At that instant the two men of Chæronea, having gained the top of Thurium with their small troop, without being perceived by the enemy, showed themselves on a sudden. The barbarians, surprised and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down before the enemy, who charged and closely pursued them down the hill sword in hand, so that about three thousand men were killed upon the mountain. Of those who escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed in order of battle. Having marched against them, he intercepted and made a great slaughter of them: the

rest, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, taking advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigour, and charged over the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion; instead of which, a short space, that did not leave room for their career, rendered them useless and ineffectual. The barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans, easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot-races of the Circus.

After those chariots were removed, the two main bodies came to blows. The barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined, so that they could not be broken; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and with sword in hand thrust aside the enemy's pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increased their animosity, was the sight of fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted them amongst the heavy-armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battalions were so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the second line had put them into disorder by the discharge of their arrows, and a shower of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which Archelaus seeing, he ordered two thousand horse quickly to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with great part of his right wing, which had not yet been engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what was going forward, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing, which would now be without its general.

Taxiles, at the same time, led on his foot,¹ armed with brazen shields, against Murena: whilst each side raised great shouts, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted at the noise, not knowing well to which side he should first hasten. At length he thought it most expedient to return to his former post and support his right wing. He, therefore, sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But, as soon as he appeared, that wing taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After this great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and that he had defeated Taxiles, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the barbarians were killed on the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp; so that, of so many thousand men, only ten thousand escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

¹ Χαλκίπιδες.

To celebrate so great a victory, A. M. 3919. he gave music games at Thebes, Ant. J. C. 85. and caused judges to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities to distribute the prizes; for he had an implacable aversion for the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius and Jupiter Olympius; and decreed, that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods should be repaid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus, of the adverse party, (for at this time the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest,) had been elected consul, and had already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason he began without delay his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him. But being arrived at the city of Melitea, news came to him from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first. For Dorylaeus had arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined, of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himself into Boeotia, and possessed himself of the whole country, in order to bring Sylla to battle. Archelaus would have dissuaded him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had so lately lost; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon discovered that the advice that had been given him was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused ditches to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, in which their cavalry could act, and to remove them towards the marshes. The barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and, seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forward towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, "For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus." They could not endure those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sunrise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches; and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely that he put them to flight. These runaways threw the troops who had continued in the camp into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pell-mell with those who fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes, in a moment, were dyed with blood, and the lake filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, lost the greatest part of their troops. Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies. But, from the fear that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precaution of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

He was not more successful in Asia² himself, than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Perganius, where Mithridates resided,

and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place in the Troad. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But, as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who was cruising in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him that he might acquire immortal glory by seizing the person of Mithridates who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other; so that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not unusual in states where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers and generals of the army, which make them neglect the public good, lest they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards twice defeated Mithridates's fleet, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprising, as it was not expected that Lucullus would distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and during his being questor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journeys, by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history. So that he arrived in Asia a complete general, though he had left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war.³ Let our young warriors consider this with due attention, and observe in what manner great men are formed.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the most worthy and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chosen to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account that his enemies had burnt his house and ravaged his lands, and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel embarrassment, a merchant came to him to treat with him in secret from the general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the sea-coast, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who was not ignorant how important it was to Sylla to have it in his power to repossess into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interests with those of Mithridates; and added, that his master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, to maintain a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

² Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus à senatu, non modò opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque cò fuit mirabilis, quòd ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi operâ, quæsture diuturnum tempus, Murenâ bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace consumperat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usum disciplinæ. Itaque cum totum iter et navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando à peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Româ profectus rei militaris rudis. Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. vi. n. 2.

¹ In Thessaly.
² Put in Sylla, p. 466—463. Id. in Lucul. p. 496. Apian. p. 204—210.
Vol. II.—40

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him on his side to withdraw himself from the slavery in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government; and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected such a proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself affronted by the supposition of his being capable of such treachery. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him: "If, being only a slave, and at best but an officer of a barbarian king, you look upon it as base to quit the service of your master, how dared you propose the abandoning the interests of the republic to such a Roman as myself? Do you imagine our condition, and the state of affairs between us, to be equal? Have you forgotten my victories? Do you not remember, that you are the same Archelaus whom I have defeated in two battles, and forced in the last to hide himself in the marshes of Orcho-menus?"

Archelaus confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely, and dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions: "That Mithridates should renounce Asia and Paphlagonia; that he should restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes; that he should pay the Romans two thousand talents (about three hundred thousand pounds sterling) for the expenses of the war, and deliver up to them seventy armed galleys, with their whole equipment; and that Sylla, on his side, should secure to Mithridates the rest of his dominions, and cause him to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people." Archelaus seemed to approve these conditions, and despatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates's ambassadors at Larissa, who came to declare to him that their master accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia; and that as to the seventy galleys, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal, answered them in an angry tone: "What say you? would Mithridates keep possession of Paphlagonia, and does he refuse me the galleys I demanded? I expected to have seen him return me thanks upon his knees, if I should have only left the hand with which he butchered a hundred thousand Romans. He will change his note when I go over to Asia, though at present, in the midst of his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for a war he never saw." Such was the lofty style of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to understand, at the same time, that he would not talk such language had he been present at the past battles.

The ambassadors, terrified with this answer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla, and promised him that he would induce Mithridates to consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose, and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

Archelaus, upon his return, joined A. M. 3920. him at the city of Philippi, and informed him that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview was his fear of Fimbria, who having killed Flaccus, of whom mention has been made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, was advancing by great marches against Mithridates; and this it was which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of the Troad. Mithridates had with him 200 galleys, 20,000 foot, 6000 horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes; and Sylla had only four cohorts and 200 horse in his company. When Mith-

ridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his hand, Sylla asked him whether he accepted the proposed conditions? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, "Do you not know, Mithridates, that it is for suppliants to speak, and for the victorious to hear and be silent?" Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war, partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him, and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions which Archelaus had laid before him? Mithridates, surprised at the haughtiness and pride of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces, and afterwards presenting the kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the seventy galleys, entirely equipped, and 500 archers, re-embarked.

Sylla saw plainly, that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the most mortal enemy to Rome, and who in one day had caused 100,000 Roman citizens, dispersed in Asia, to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, whilst almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops superior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than 160,000 of the enemy; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself; and having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, compelled him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions. But what has been most admired in Sylla is, that during three years, whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them; and yet did not discontinue the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home. He has been also highly praised for his constancy in not hearkening to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira, in Lydia; and, having marked out a camp near his, he began his entrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers coming out unarmed, ran to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria, seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcilable enemy, from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay 20,000 talents,² and, besides that fine rifled individuals exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops, whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at discretion as in conquered cities. For he gave orders, that every host should pay each soldier quartered on him four drachmas³ a day, and entertain at table himself, and as many

¹ Vix quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius duxerim, quàm quòd, cùm per triennium Cinnæ Marianæque partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum his dissimulavit, nec quòd erat in manibus omisit; existimavitque antè frangendum hostem, quam ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externo metu, ubi quòd alienum esset vicisset, superaret quòd erat domesticum. *Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 24.*

² About 3,000,000. sterling. ³ About two shillings.

of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have fifty drachmas,¹ and, besides that, a robe to wear in the house, and another when he went abroad.

After having thus punished Asia,² he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at the Piræus. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher, at his death, had left his writings to Theophrastus, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepsis was dependent upon them, those heirs, apprehending these works would be taken from them, thought proper to hide them in a vault under ground, where they remained almost a hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, who after several generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had laid, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotted in many places, or worm-eaten and obliterated. These blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that in some places with sufficient want of judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works which have ever since exercised the learned world. Apellicon being dead some short time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library, and with these works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the public, and to him the world is obliged for the works of that great philosopher.

SECTION II.—SECOND WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES, UNDER MURENA, OF ONLY THREE YEARS' DURATION. MITHRIDATES PREPARES TO RENEW THE WAR. HE CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH SERTORIUS. THIRD WAR WITH MITHRIDATES. LUCULLUS THE CONSUL SENT AGAINST HIM. HE OBLIGES HIM TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF CYZICUM, AND DEFEATS HIS TROOPS. HE GAINS A COMPLETE VICTORY OVER HIM, AND REDUCES HIM TO FLY INTO PONTUS. TRAGICAL END OF THE SISTERS AND WIVES OF MITHRIDATES. III. ENDEAVOURS TO RETIRE TO TIGRANES, HIS SON-IN-LAW. LUCULLUS REGULATES THE AFFAIRS OF ASIA.

SYLLA,³ on setting out for Rome, A. M. 3921. had left the government of Asia to Ant. J. C. 83. Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him for whom Cicero made the fine oration which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates being returned into Pontus, turned his arms against the people of Chalcis and the Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. They first demanded his son Mithridates for their king, and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king imagining this conduct was the result of his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it; and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him

great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy which the excessive love of power is apt to excite, and to what a height the prince, who abandons himself to it, is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe his designs were against the Romans. And, in fact, he had not restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands; and he began to suspect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him, to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was in reality nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. In consequence, he continued to ravage his country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the A. M. 3922. senate, who publicly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. Ant. J. C. 82. But, as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as a mere collusion; and indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field, and, having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.

Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any A. M. 3923. longer that Mithridates, contrary to Ant. J. C. 81. the treaty he had granted him, should be molested, sent Gabinus to Murena to order him in earnest to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes. He obeyed. Mithridates having put one of his sons, only four years old, into the hands of Ariobarzanes, as a hostage, under that pretext retained the cities in which he had garrisons, promising no doubt to restore them in time. He then gave a great feast, in which he promised prizes for such as should excel the rest in drinking, eating, singing, and rallying: fit objects of emulation! Gabinus was the only one who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which he had no great claim.

Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, being A. M. 3926. compelled so to do by Sylla, who Ant. J. C. 78. died the same year. But he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants into the new city and the other parts of his dominions, that were not well peopled. He did so, and took away three hundred thousand souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner for the better peopling of his own dominions.

The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius,⁴ who was giving the A. M. 3928. Romans terrible employment in Ant. J. C. 76. Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order

¹ About five-and-twenty shillings.

² Plut. in Syll. p. 463. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. vii. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

³ Appian. p. 213—216.

⁴ Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 550, 551.

to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, would never be able to oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius; to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called the senate. They were unanimously of an opinion, that he should accept that prince's offers with joy; and the rather, because so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprise which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested, that he would never consent to any treaty injurious to the glory or interests of his country; and that he would not even desire a victory over his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable methods. And, having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly, he declared to them, that he would suffer his master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and to which the Romans could have no just pretensions; but he would never consent that he should set his foot in Asia Minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, "What orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome; who, even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares war against us, if we undertake any thing against Asia?" A treaty was however concluded, and sworn between them, to this effect; That Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send him troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates, on his side, should pay Sertorius three thousand talents down, and give him forty galleys.

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia, was one of those banished senators of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcius Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours. For, when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior, ally in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republic obscured the splendour and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as if he had been authorized by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes which Sylla had imposed on them; expressly declaring that it was from Sertorius they received that favour, and to him they were indebted for it. So moderate and politic a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name alone of Sertorius made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia,² A. M. 3929. died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He be-

lieved, that, after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

Instructed by his misfortunes and experience,³ he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurements of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion with solid and weighty bucklers; he collected horses, rather well made and trained than magnificently adorned; assembled a hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service, besides a hundred chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of galleys, which glittered no longer, as before, with gilt flags, but were filled with all sorts of arms, offensive and defensive; and provided immense sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax-gatherers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatic war, which subsisted almost twelve years.

The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each A. M. 3930. Ant. J. C. 74. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, for his province; the other, Bithynia and Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in repressing the rapaciousness and violence of the tax-gatherers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come; Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told that Lucullus was approaching, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight, believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it. But he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost sixty of his ships, with their whole complements; and in that by land he had four thousand of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no hope of any other relief than what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to revolt. He answered generously, that he would always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen than to possess himself of the whole dominions of an enemy; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than all his most splendid victories.

Mithridates,⁴ encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. undertook the siege of Cyzicum, the city of the Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantageous to him, by giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided into ten camps; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither; and began by seizing a post upon an eminence which

¹ About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

² Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.

³ Plut. in Lucul. p. 496.

⁴ Plut. in Lucul. p. 497—499. Appian. p. 219—222.

was of the highest importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him; for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in this that he placed his glory; for the lives of the soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand different obstacles which they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, they might asure themselves that the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that, without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer extremely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage, and some went so far as to support themselves upon human flesh. Mithridates, who passed for the most artful captain of his

Ant. J. C. 72. times, in despair that a general who could not yet have had much experience, should so often have deceived him by false marches and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years before the place. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them; and, having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thousand of them upon the spot, and took an infinite number of prisoners. It is said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, either soldiers and servants, or other followers of the army.

After this new success, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours which he derived from that success, he made a rapid march along the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand of his best troops, in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet, beat them twice,² the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in these two engagements: and in the last took their three generals,

one of whom was M. Marius, the Roman senator whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself, and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent; reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He suffered at first so greatly from a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make 30,000 Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things that an ox sold for only one drachma,³ and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by a tempest, in his passage on the Euxine sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion, which he had clearly foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities in the country, very near each other.

The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates; this place was his usual residence, and he had designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not content with these two sieges at once, Lucullus sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermodon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges which were not worth his trouble, and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification: "That is directly what I want; I act designedly thus, that our enemy may take new courage, and assemble so numerous an army as may embolden him to wait for us in the field and fly no longer before us. Do you not observe, that he has behind him immense wildernesses, and infinite deserts, in which it will be impossible for us either to pursue or come up with him? Armenia is but a few days' march from these deserts. There Tigranes keeps his court, that king of kings, whose power is so great that he subdues the Parthians, transports whole cities of Greeks into the heart of Media, has made himself master of Syria and Palestine, exterminated the kings descended from Seleucus, and carried their wives and daughters into captivity. This powerful prince is the ally and son-in-law of Mithridates. Do you think, when he has him in his palace as a suppliant, that he will abandon him, and not make war against us? Hence in hastening to drive away Mithridates, we shall be in great danger of drawing Tigranes upon our hands, who has long sought pretexts for declaring against us, and who can never find one more specious, legitimate, and honourable, than that of assisting his father-in-law, and a king reduced to the last extremity. Why, therefore, should we serve Mithridates against ourselves; or show him to whom he should have recourse for the means of supporting the war with us, by pushing him, against his will, and at a time perhaps when he looks upon such a step as unworthy his valour and greatness, into the arms and protection of Tigranes? Is it not infinitely better, by giving him time to take courage and strengthen himself with his own forces, to have only upon our hands the troops of Colchis, the Tibarenians, and Cappadocians, whom we have so often defeated, than to expose ourselves to have the additional force of the Armenians and Medes to contend with?"

¹ Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum mœnia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiae Januam fore putavisset, quâ effractâ et revulsâ tota pateret provincia; perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia, ut urbis fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiae regis diurnitate obsidionis consumerentur. *Cic. in Orat. pro Mur. p. 33.*

² Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornâtam, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam. *Cic. pro lege Manil. p. 21.*

Quid? illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine et parva duplicacione commissam arbitraris? *Cic. pro Murena, n. 33.*

³ Seven pence.

Whilst the Romans attacked the

A. M. 3933. three places we have mentioned, Ant. J. C. 71. Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the spring. Lucullus left the command of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to Murena, the son of him whom we have spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very favourable light: "He went into Asia, a province abounding with riches and pleasures, where he left behind him no traces either of avarice or luxury. He behaved in such a manner in this important war, that he did many great actions without the general, the general none without him." Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of Cabire. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly, without either servant or equery to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till after some time, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the flying crowd, got off his horse and gave it him. The Romans were so near him, that they almost bad him in their hands; and it was owing entirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice alone of the soldiers lost them a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says Cicero, artfully imitated the manner in which Medea, in the same kingdom of Pontus, formerly escaped the pursuit of her father. That princess is said to have cut in pieces the body of Absyrtus, her brother, and to have scattered his limbs in the places through which her father pursued her; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief so sad a spectacle would give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates, in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors or had been amassed by himself in preceding wars; and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabire, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prison full of Greeks and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus, seemed less a deliverance than a new life to them. In one of those castles, a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was to her a great instance of good fortune. For the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserably, Mithridates on his flight having sent them orders to die by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Among the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionian. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her prudence than her beauty, though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgotten nothing that might incline her to favour his passion: he sent her at once 15,000 pieces of gold. She was always

averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara, or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with the wishes of her family, who were dazzled with the splendour of a crown and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From the time of her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, which instead of a husband had given her a master, and instead of procuring her an honourable abode and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of barbarians; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flattered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princesses the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no farther than to leave them at liberty to choose the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate, Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it. But that wretch not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out, "ah, fatal trifle, you might at least do me this mournful office!" Then, throwing it away with indignation, she presented her throat to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice, she took a cup of poison; and as she was going to drink it, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that poison sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, for that, being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgotten them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the indignities their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates; but having received advice that he was four days' journey before him, and had taken the road to Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law Tigranes, he returned directly; and, after having subjected some of the nations, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain; and to increase his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A shower of rain, which then happened to fall, preserved a great number of buildings; and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burnt to be rebuilt. This city was an ancient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, whom the avarice and

¹ Asiam istam refertam et eandem delicatam, sic oblit, ut in ea neque avaritiae, neque luxuriae vestigium reliquerit. Maximo in bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res et magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine hoc imperatore. *Cic. pro Muræna*. n. 20.

² Ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: quam prædicant, in fugâ, fratris sui membra in his locis, quâ se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, merorque patrius, celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et à majoribus acceperat, et ipse bello superiore ex totâ Asiâ directis in suum regnum congererat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc domi nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse à manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio moror, nos lætitia retardavit. *Cic. de leg. Manis*. n. 22.

cruelty of the usurers and tax-gatherers held under the most dreadful oppression; inasmuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up at auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods. And, when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest of their arrears, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of twenty thousand talents¹ which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over: but those insatiable usurers by heaping interest upon interest, had run it up to 120,000 talents;² so that they still owed triple the sums they had already paid.

Tacitus³ had reason to say, that usury was one of the most ancient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition; but at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to be credited.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was one per cent; hence it was called *usura centesima* or *unciarium fenus*; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve per cent. was paid: *uncia* is the twelfth part of a whole.

The law of the twelve tables⁴ prohibited the raising interest to above twelve per cent. This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

Ten years after,⁵ interest was reduced to half that sum, in the 406th year of Rome; *semunciarium fenus*.

At length, in the 411th year of Rome,⁶ all interest was prohibited by a decree: *Ne fenerari liceret*.

All these decrees were ineffectual. Avarice was always too strong for the laws,⁷ and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republic or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any composition on this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate; because, God having forbidden any, she never believed she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated; and it was this disorder which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, exerted himself in procuring for the provinces of Asia⁸ some relaxation; which he could only effect by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-gatherers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great outcry, as if they had been excessively injured; and by the force of money animated many orators against him; particularly confiding in having most of those who

governed the republic in their debt, which gave them a very extensive and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable from its being very uncommon.

SECTION III.—LUCULLUS CAUSES WAR TO BE DECLARED WITH TIGRANES, AND MARCHES AGAINST HIM. VANITY AND RIDICULOUS SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF THAT PRINCE. HE LOSES A GREAT BATTLE. LUCULLUS TAKES TIGRANOCERTA, THE CAPITAL OF ARMENIA. HE GAINS A SECOND VICTORY OVER THE JOINT FORCES OF TIGRANES AND MITHRIDATES. MUTINY AND REVOLT IN THE ARMY OF LUCULLUS.

TIGRANES,¹ to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed king of kings. After having overthrown and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of the great Seleucus; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians called Scenites; he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours after the manner of the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity that had never known any interruption.

Appius Claudius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendour he could display, in order to give the ambassador a higher idea of the royal dignity; who, on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his natural disposition with that which particularly characterized his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained, in few words, the subjects of complaint, which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it, he told Tigranes that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates; and that, in case of his refusal, he was intrusted to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule than his own will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of king of kings, of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far, as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads. He never appeared in public without having four kings attending him; two on foot on each side of his horse, when he went abroad; at table, in his chamber; in short, every where, he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors. For, at that time, to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world. One more refined shocks less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprising that a prince of this character should bear with impatience the manner in which Claudius spoke to him. It was the first free and sincere speech he had heard during the five-and-twenty years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence. He answered, that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra, his wife; that the union between them was of too strict a nature

¹ About three millions sterling.

² About eighteen millions sterling.

³ *Sanè vetus urbi fenerare malum et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa. Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.*

⁴ *Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16. Liv. l. vii. n. 16.*

⁵ *Nequis unciario fenerare amplius exerceto.*

⁶ *Liv. l. vii. n. 27.*

⁷ *Ibid. n. 42.*

⁸ *Multis plebiscitis obviàm itum fraudibus: quæ toties repressæ miras per artes rursum oriebantur. Tacit. l. vi. c. 16.*

⁹ [The Asia here mentioned is not to be confounded with Asia Minor, or the peninsula so called, taken at large, (a space equal in amplitude to more than 200,000 British square miles.) but with the Prætorian Asia, or the Pergamian kingdom, and such additions as had been made to it in the partition of the Syrian dominions consequent on the defeat of Antiochus, and which was left as a legacy to the Romans by the last of the Attalian line. This portion comprehended Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Ionia, Phrygia, or the south-west part of the Asiatic peninsula. It was this Asia which had revolted from the Roman yoke and embraced the cause of Mithridates, and whose inhabitants (at least those of the principal cities) had, at his request, murdered above 150,000 Roman citizens.]

¹⁰ *Plut. in Lucul. p. 504—512. Memn. c. xlviii.—lvii. Apian in Mithrid. p. 223—222.*

to admit his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment, he directed his answer only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of Imperator, or any other commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported the result of his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprise seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those who relied less upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and independent cities. Cotta did not treat Heraclea, which he took after a long siege by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burnt almost the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place. But soon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators; a punishment in no wise proportioned to the flagrant excess proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatus, one of his generals, in Pontus, with 6000 men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to 12,000 foot and 3000 horse, through Cappadocia, to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. Nobody dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person who brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he should see the many thousands of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not strong enough to bear great prosperity without loss of reason and infatuation.

Tigranes at first had not designed so much as to see or speak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law, but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy, unwholesome places. But after Clodius's embassy, he had ordered him to be brought to court.

A. M. 3935. with all possible honours and marks Ant. J. C. 69. of respect. In a private conversation which they had together without witnesses, they cured themselves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

In the number of those unfortunate persons was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much influence with Mithridates, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him; "And you, Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do, with respect to your master's demands?" Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill-timed sincerity, "As an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counsel, not to do it." This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprized of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus was continually advancing against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of

his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter, so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it was to be charged with a commission, to go immediately with some troops and bring Lucullus prisoner; as if the matter had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives, in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission.

This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with 10,000 horse to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check, he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders to all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This city was full of all sorts of riches; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having envied each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king; for this reason Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour; believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in his conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, in the strongest terms, to advise him not to hazard a battle, and to make use of his cavalry alone in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxiles himself was sent by him with the same instructions; who staying with him in his camp, earnestly entreated him, every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when all his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils, resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it, only out of envy, to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He, therefore, marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to engage with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had twenty thousand archers, or slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were heavy-armed cavalry, a hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides pioneers to clear the roads, build bridges, clear and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers of the same description necessary in armies, to the number of thirty-five thousand, who being drawn up in battle-array behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its forces and confidence.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with six thousand foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand men, all his horse, and about a thousand archers, or slingers, marched against Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a larger river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and

supplied his flatterers with matter for pleasantries. Some openly jested upon them: others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils; and of all Tigranes's generals, and all the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat him to intrust that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself, to appear agreeable, and a delicate rallier, used an expression, which has been much admired; "If they come as ambassadors, they are a great many; but if as enemies, very few." Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning, at sunrise, Lucullus made his army march out of their intrenchments. That of the barbarians was on the other side of the river towards the east, and the river ran in such a manner, that it turned off short to the left towards the west, where it was easily fordable. Lucullus, in order to lead his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxiles, told him, with a contemptuous laugh—"Do you see those invincible Roman legions? You see they can run away." Taxiles replied; "Heartily wish your majesty's good fortune may this day work a miracle in your favour; but the arms and motions of those legions do not indicate people running away."

Taxiles was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first legion move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, "How! are those people coming to us?" They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle without much disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general officers advised him not to engage upon that day, because it was one of those unfortunate days which the Romans called black-days. For it was the same upon which the army of Cæsar had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbræ. Lucullus made them this answer which afterwards became so famous: "And I, for my part, will make this a happy day for the Romans."

It was the sixth day of October (the day before the nones of October.)

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass, made in the form of scales, which glittered surprisingly, under which was his coat of arms, bordered all round with fringe. He brandished his naked sword in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to close immediately with an enemy who were accustomed to fight only at a distance with their arrows; to deprive them, by the swiftness and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, the summit of which was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken, nor very difficult, he saw at first glance what use was to be made of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords. For the principal, or rather whole force, of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, and when they had not room to use these, they could do nothing either against the enemy or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immovable.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders,

he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he showed himself from the highest part of it, and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, "The victory is ours, fellow-soldiers, the victory is ours!" At the same time, with his two cohorts, he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his men not to make use of their pikes, but close with the troopers sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unwieldy horses upon the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin until they began to fly, or rather to endeavour to fly; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so pompous and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning with a few followers; and seeing his son the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem, weeping; and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than a hundred thousand of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped: on the side of the Romans only five were killed, and a hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition. For by protraction and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates when he was strongest and most formidable; and ruined Tigranes by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined that Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes as he had done against himself; so that he marched but slowly and by small days' journeys to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians upon the way, who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened; and afterwards meeting a much greater number of fugitives naked and wounded, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him, at length, abandoned by all the world and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting him in his misfortunes, as Tigranes had done to him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgrace, gave him the guard which attended, and the officers who served him, consoled, encouraged him, and revived his hopes; so that Mithridates, upon this occasion, showed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together engaged in raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose in Tigranocerta; the Greeks having mutinied against the barbarians, and being determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city; and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who, besides other riches, found in it eight thousand talents of coined silver (about 1,200,000 pounds

* The Greek text says, *the army of Scipio*, which Monsieur de Thou justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, *the army of Cæsar*.

sterling.) Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier eight hundred drachmas,¹ which, with all the booty they had taken, was not sufficient to satisfy their inordinate avidity.

As the city had been peopled by colonies which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia,² Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great numbers, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory,³ without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war would have been at an end. His having failed to do so was very ill taken both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused, not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and to turn his arms against the king of the Parthians: flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprise against the Parthians, and to confine himself to the pursuit of Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in the best condition to assist them, in the present extremity. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and which is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

LETTER OF MITHRIDATES TO ARSACES,⁴ KING OF THE PARTHIANS.

"All those who, in a state of prosperity, are invited to enter as confederates into a war, ought first to consider whether peace be at their own option;⁵ and next, whether what is demanded of them is consistent with justice, their interest, safety and glory. You might enjoy perpetual peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always intent upon seizing occasions of war, and undeterred by any crimes. In reducing the Ro-

mans, you cannot but acquire the highest reputation. It may seem inconsistent in me, to propose to you either an alliance with Tigranes, or that you, powerful as you are, should join a prince in your unfortunate condition. But I dare assert, that those two motives, your resentment against Tigranes upon account of his late war with you, and the disadvantageous situation of my affairs, if you judge rightly, far from opposing my demand, ought to support it. For as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given you just cause of complaint, he will accept, without difficulty, whatever conditions you shall think fit to impose upon him; and for me, I can say that fortune, by having deprived me of almost all I possessed, has enabled me to give others good counsel, and, which is much to be desired by persons in prosperity, I can, even from my own misfortunes, supply you with examples, and induce you to take better measures than I have done. For, do not deceive yourself; it is with all the nations, states, and kingdoms of the earth, that the Romans are at war; and two motives, as ancient as powerful, put their arms into their hands; the unbounded ambition of extending their conquests, and the insatiable thirst of riches." Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings whom they had reduced one after another, and often by means of one another. He repeats also his first successes against the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to this effect: "Examine now,⁶ I beg you, whether, when we are finally ruined, you will be better able to resist the Romans, or can believe, that they will confine their conquests to my country? I know you are powerful in men, in arms, and in treasure; it is for that reason we desire to strengthen ourselves by your alliance; they, to grow rich by your spoils. For the rest, it is the intention of Tigranes to avoid drawing the war into his own country, that we shall go with all my troops, which are certainly well disciplined, to carry our arms far from home, and attack the enemy in person in their own country. We cannot therefore either conquer or be conquered, without your being in danger. Do you not know, that the Romans, when they found themselves stopped by the ocean in the west, turned their arms in this way? that to look back to their foundation and origin, whatever they have, they have from violence; home, wives, lands, and dominions? A vile herd of every kind of vagabonds, without country, without forefathers, they established themselves for the misfortune of the human race. Neither divine nor human laws restrain them from betraying and destroying their allies and friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak or the powerful. They reckon as enemies all that are not their slaves; and especially whatever bears the name of king. For few nations affect a free and independent government; the generality prefer just and equitable masters.

* Nunc quæso, considera, nobis oppressis, utrùm firmiterem te ad resistendum, an finem belli futurum putes? Scio equidem tibi magnas opes virorum, armorum, et auri esse: et eâ re nobis ad societatem, ab illis ad prædam peteris. Cæterum consilium est Tigranis, regno inclitum, meis militibus belli prudentibus, procul ab domo, parvo labore, per nostra corpora bellum conficere: quando neque vincere neque vinci sine periculo tuo possumus. An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, arma huc convertisse? Neque quicquam à principio nisi raptum habere; domum, conjugem, agros, imperium? Convenas, olim sine patria, sine parentibus, peste conditos orbis terrarum: quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant, quin socios, amicos, procul iuxtaque sitos, inopes potentesque trahant, excidantque: omniaque non serva, et maxime regna, hostilia ducant. Namque, pauci libertatem, pars magna justos dominos volunt. Nos suspecti sumus amulî, et in tempore vindicæ affuturi. Tu verò, cum Seleucia maxima urbium, regnumque Persidis inclitis divitis est, quid ab illis, nisi dolum in præsens, et postea bellum expectas? Romani in omnes arma habent, acerrima in eos quibus spolia maxima sunt. Audendo et fallendo, et bella ex bellis serendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguunt omnia, aut occidunt: quod difficile non est, si tu Mesopotamiam nos Armeniam, circumgredimur exercitum sine frumento, sine auxiliis. Fortuna autem nostris vitis adhuc incolumis, teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus latrones gentium oppressisse. Quod uti facias moneo hortorque, neu matris perniciem nostram unquam imperium prolatæ, quam societate victor fieri.

¹ About twenty pounds.

² Strab. l. xi. p. 532, & l. xii. p. 539.

³ Dion. Cass. l. xxxv. p. 1.

⁴ Arsaces was a name common to all the kings of Parthia.

⁵ Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere: dein quod queritur, satissime pium, tutum, gloriosum, an indecorum sit. Tibi perpetua pax fieri liceret nisi hostes opportuni et sceleratissimi. Egregria fama, si Romanos oppressoria, futura est. Neque petere audeam societatem, et frustra mala mea cum tuis bonis misceri sperem. Atque ea, quæ te morari posse videntur, ira in Tigranem recentis belli, et mea res parùm prospera, si vera restimare voles, maxime hortantur. Ille enim ubi vix, qualem tu vides societatem accipiet: mihi fortuna, multis rebus ereptis, unus dedit bene suadenti, et quod florentibus optabile est, ego non validissimum præbeo exemplum, quo rebus tuis componas. Namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una et ea vetus causa bellandi est, cupido profunda imperii et divitiarum.

They suspect us, because we are rivals with them for dominion, and may in time take vengeance for their oppressions. But for you, who have Seleucia, the greatest of cities, and Persia, the richest and most powerful of kingdoms, what can you expect from them but deceit at present, and war hereafter? The Romans are at war with all nations; but especially with those from whom the richest spoils are to be expected. They are become great by heroic enterprise, by betraying, and by making one war bring forth another. By this means, they will either de-stroy all others, or be destroyed themselves. It will not be difficult to ruin them, if you, on the side of Mesopotamia, and we on that of Armenia, surround their army, which will be without provisions or auxiliaries. The prosperity of their arms has subsisted hitherto solely by our fault, who have not been so prudent as to appreciate the views of this common enemy, and to unite ourselves in confederacy against him. It will be for your immortal glory to have supported two great kings, and to have conquered and destroyed these robbers of the world. This is what I earnestly advise and exhort you to do; by warning you to choose rather to share with us, by a salutary alliance, in the conquest of the common enemy, than to suffer the Roman empire to extend itself still farther by our ruin."

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates which Mithridates might have hoped from it. So that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army, was to call Megadates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name; to him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. Syria² being thereby ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus, took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

The army³ of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of 70,000 chosen men, whom Mithridates had trained well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before it took the field. The two kings took particular care in all the movements they made, to choose an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it; nor could all the stratagems he used, engage them to come to a battle. Their design was to reduce him gradually; to harass his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them; to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new plan, which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children; and there he had deposited almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design; and, by four great marches, having got before him, posted himself behind the river Arsania,⁴ which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy; a great battle ensued, in which the Romans again obtained a complete victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst; for, not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first who fled; which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost all courage; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

Lucullus, after this victory,⁵ determined to contin-

ue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war. But as that city was still several days' journey from thence, towards the north, and winter was approaching with its train of snows and storms, the soldiers, already fatigued by a sufficiently rough campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came.

He therefore repassed mount Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and he put his troops into winter-quarters.

It was there that the spirit of mutiny began to show itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known by the invectives of Cicero, his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debaucheries, which he carried to such excess as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions; in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons, born to disturb and ruin every thing by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations, with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion of which we are now speaking. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, well calculated to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaricious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow-soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and affable behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with 4000 of his own troops, and 4000 given him by Tigranes. Several inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as through the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him, from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness. For the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect engraven in the hearts of the people for the name and person of kings. Mithridates encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself, more than ever, in a condition to make head against the Romans. So that not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops, so often victorious; beat a body of them, commanded by Fabius; and, after having put them to the route, pressed Triarius and Sornatus, two other of Lucullus's lieutenants in that country, with great vigour.

Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late. Triarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed 7000 of his men; amongst whom were reckoned 150 centurions and twenty-four tribunes,⁷ which made this one of the greatest losses

⁶ Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, et preliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. *Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 23.*

⁷ Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumore afferret. *Cic. pro leg. Manil. n. 25.*

¹ Appian. in Syr. p. 113, 119.

² Justin. lib. xl. c. 2

³ Plut. in Lucul. p. 513-515.

⁴ Or Arsania.

⁵ Dion. Cas. l. xxxvii. p. 3-7.

the Romans had sustained for a great while. The army would have been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates had received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their internment; which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that, without any regard for his character as general, they treated him no longer but with insolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them, if he thought fit.

SECTION IV.—MITHRIDATES, TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE DISCORD WHICH HAD ARISEN IN THE ROMAN ARMY, RECOVERS ALL HIS DOMINIONS. POMPEY IS CHOSEN TO SUCCEED LUCULLUS. HE OVERTHROWS MITHRIDATES IN SEVERAL BATTLES. THE LATTER FLIES IN VAIN TO TIGRANES, HIS SON-IN-LAW, FOR REFUGE, WHO IS ENGAGED IN A WAR WITH HIS OWN SON. POMPEY MARCHES INTO ARMENIA AGAINST TIGRANES, WHO COMES TO HIM AND SURRENDERS HIMSELF. WEARY OF PURSUING MITHRIDATES TO NO PURPOSE, HE RETURNS INTO SYRIA, MAKES HIMSELF MASTER OF THAT KINGDOM, AND PUTS AN END TO THE EMPIRE OF THE SELEUCIDE. HE MARCHES BACK TO PONTUS. PHARNACES MAKES THE ARMY REVOLT AGAINST HIS FATHER MITHRIDATES, WHO KILLS HIMSELF. THAT PRINCE'S CHARACTER. POMPEY'S EXPEDITIONS INTO ARABIA AND JUDEA, WHERE HE TAKES JERUSALEM. AFTER HAVING REDUCED ALL THE CITIES OF PONTUS, HE RETURNS TO ROME, AND RECEIVES THE HONOUR OF A TRIUMPH.

MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO AND C. PISO had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded. The senate, at the same time, disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops towards Lucullus.

It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age; and of having had almost all the qualities that form a complete general. But one was wanting which diminished the merit of all the rest; I mean the art of gaining the affections, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access; rough in commanding; carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an excess that made it odious; was inexorable in punishing offences; and did not know how to conciliate good-will by praises and rewards opportunely bestowed, or by an air of kindness and affability, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters which Lucullus had written to the senate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprised to find, upon their arrival, that, far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. He informed them, that

Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing his command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbade them paying him any farther obedience. So that he soon found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make great ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise
A. M. 3938.
was made at Rome against Lucul- Ant. J. C. 66.
lus.—Pompey had just put an end to the war with the pirates, for which an extraordinary power had been granted to him.³ Upon this occasion one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, proposed a decree to this effect: "That Pompey, taking upon him the command of all the troops and provinces which were under Lucullus, and adding to them Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be charged with the conduct of the war against the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command at sea with the same conditions and prerogatives as had been granted him in the war against the pirates; that is to say, that he should have absolute power on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to thirty leagues' distance from the sea." This was, in effect, subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man. For all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycania, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the higher Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, which included also all the armies and forces, with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings, Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed to succeed more to the honours of his triumph than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and senate most concern: they were well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved; but what gave them most pain, and what they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. For this reason they exhorted each other in private, and mutually encouraged one another to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion that the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, entitled, For the law of Manilius. After having demonstrated, in the first two parts of his discourse, the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves, in the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose, he enumerates at length the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shows that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the public good: "Virtues, by so much the more necessary," says he, "as the Roman name is become infamous and hateful amongst foreign nations, and our allies, in consequence of the debauches, avarice, and unheard-of oppressions of the generals and magistrates we send amongst them. Instead of which, the prudent, moderate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey will

³ Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. Appian. p. 238. Dion. Cass. l. xxxv. p. 20.

⁴ Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines. *Cic. pro leg. Manil.* n. 61.

⁵ Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsum intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere fuisse homines Romanos hæc quondam abstinentiâ, quod jam nationibus cæteris incredibile ac falso memorie proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causâ majores suos tum, cum hæc temperatâ magistratus habebamus servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse. *Ibid.* n. 41.

¹ Dion. Cass. l. xxxv. p. 7.

² In ipso illo malo gravissimâque belli offensione, L. Lucullus qui tamen aliquâ ex parte is incommodis mederi forrasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitatem modum statuentium, veteri exemplo, putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabriori tradidit. *Cic. pro leg. Manil.* n. 25.

make him be regarded, not as sent from Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the nations. People begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterestedness of those ancient Romans is real and true; and that it was not without reason, that under such magistrates, nations chose rather to obey the Roman people than to command others."

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people; wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent, who had at first appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorised by the suffrages of all the tribes; and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian,¹ that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the public good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's: he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarized the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions: in heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at him. So that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also had in view only his own greatness. His weak side was a desire of bearing sway in the commonwealth; not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his wish to support himself by the influence of Pompey, he was very well pleased with showing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and, in a manner, two republics in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. It was always his policy to conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

A. M. 3933. Pompey,² who had lately terminated the war with the pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said, that he knit his brows, struck his thigh, and cried out, as if oppressed by, and sorry for, that new command: "Gods! what endless labours am I devoted to? Should I not have been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children?"

This is usually enough the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most inordinately actuated by that passion. But, however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others; and the public is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not endure his dissimulation at this time. For there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his quarrel with Lucullus, made him feel a more refined and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him; and his actions soon took off the mask, and discovered his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march he altered every thing which his predecessor had decreed. He exonerated some from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them: in short, his sole view in every thing was to let the partisans of Lucullus see that they adhered to a man who had neither authority nor power. Strabo's uncle,³ by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates for having put

to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessor had entered into solely from a view to the public good, affected a universal opposition to them, and looked upon all these as his enemies who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all the honour to himself; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to sully, or rather totally eclipse, the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of this conduct. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity. But these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which costs the great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to invectives; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. Of these he formed a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness and generosity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus, but not without being long contested.

It was he who first brought cherries to Rome,⁴ which, till then, had been unknown in Europe. They were then called from Cerasus, a city in Cappadocia.

Pompey began by engaging Phraates, king of the Parthians, in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same who was surnamed the god. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates; but that prince, believing himself sure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed that Pompey had anticipated him, he sent to treat with him. But Pompey having demanded, by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms, and give up all deserters, those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakened by the loss of their comrades. To appease them, Mithridates was obliged to tell them that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect the condition of the Roman army; and to swear that he would not make peace with the Romans, either on those or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having distributed his fleet in different stations, to guard the whole sea between Phœnicia and the Bosphorus, marched by land against Mithridates, who had still 30,000 foot and 2000 or 3000 horse; but did not dare, however, to come to a battle. That prince was encamped upon a mountain, in a very strong position, where he could not be forced; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and other signs, that there must be an abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells to be dug, and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not sufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

¹ Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 20, 21.

² Plut. in Pomp. 634-636. Dion Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 22-25. App. p. 238.

³ Strab. l. xii. p. 557, 558.

⁴ Plin. l. xv. c. 25.

Soon after he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within strong ramparts, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight leagues in circumference,¹ and were fortified with strong towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. Pompey's plan was to starve him out. And in fact he reduced him to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage-beasts in their camp. The horses alone were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night undiscovered, with all the best troops of his army, having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him; came up with him near the Euphrates; encamped near him; and apprehending, that, in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his intrenchments, and advanced against him by night, in order of battle. His design was merely to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning. But all his old officers made such entreaties and remonstrances to him, that they induced him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not withstand the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed above 10,000 men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with 800 horse, in the beginning of the battle opened himself a way, sword in hand, through the Roman army, and went off. But those 800 horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hysicratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness; which occasioned her being called Hysicrates,² by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the masculine. She was mounted that day on horseback, and wore the habit of a Persian. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journeys, or being weary of serving him, though she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress where the king's treasures and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

That unhappy fugitive³ saw no other hopes for him, than from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father-in-law's head, promising one hundred talents⁴ to whosoever should seize or kill him; under pretence that it was Mithridates who had made his son take up arms against him; but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia Major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son, who bore the same name with himself. We have already mentioned that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates, king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the place very strong, and

provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes, the father, soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove them out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates. But on the way he was informed of his defeat; and having lost all hope of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for, as he was about to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as he. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put into his hands the ambassadors sent to him by Mithridates, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. He said,⁵ That of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide; that, in whatsoever manner he should decide his fate, he should be satisfied; that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man whom none could conquer; and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superior to all others.

When he arrived on horseback near the intrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot; telling him, that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, ungirt his sword, and gave it to the lictors; and afterwards, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself to the earth to embrace his knees. But Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, carried him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. After which he deferred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited the father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father, and as he had not shown him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his interests, in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans 6000 talents,⁶ for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on the hither side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his ancient kingdom Armenia Major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death; reserving, however, to the father the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it would have been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum which Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions, which still left him a crown. But the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to excite new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, order-

¹ Mox ipse supplex et præsens se regnum quo ditiori ejus permisit, præfatus: neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, ejus se fidei commissurus fore, quam Cn. Pompeium. Proinde omnem sibi vel adversam vel secundam, cujus auctor ille esset, fortunam tolerabilem futuram. Non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas: neque ei inhonestè aliquem summum, quem fortuna super omnes extulisset. *Vel. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 37.

⁶ About 900,000*l.* sterling.

¹ One hundred and fifty stadia.

² Ultra feminam feroc. *Tucit.*

³ *Plut.* in *Pomp.* p. 636, 637. *Appian.* p. 242. *Dion.* Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 25, 26.

⁴ A hundred thousand crowns.

ed him to be always kept in view; and, upon his absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put into prison. Afterwards having discovered that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him amongst those whom he reserved for his triumph.

A short time after, Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law; and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, that the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required; but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the 6000 talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier in the Roman army fifty drachmas, 1000 to each centurion, and 10,000 to each tribune; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This would have been pardonable, had he not added to it object behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

After having regulated every thing in Armenia,¹ Pompey marched northwards in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the Cyrus² he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situate between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him; but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very war-

A. M. 3939. like nation, and had never hitherto Ant. J. C. 65. been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had successively possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without very considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians sent him a bed, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the questors for the public treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again, whilst he was engaged with the Iberians and the people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cosis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows, singled out Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him. But Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a second peace upon the same terms with that which he had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his sons as a hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscurias, in the north-east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same which is now called Crim Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had assigned it as an establishment to one of his sons, named Machares.

But that young prince had been so vigorously pressed by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had invariably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much dreaded meeting him. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs. But finding that his father was not influenced by his reasons, he endeavoured to escape by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to kill himself than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey, having terminated the war in the north, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates into the remote country to which he had retired, led back his army to the south, and on his march subjected Darius king of the Medes, and Antiochus, king of Coenagena. He went on to Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Coele-syria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country as far as the Tigris: these were two of his lieutenant-generals. Antiochus Asiaticus,³ son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucide, who, by Lucullus's permission, had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it, came to solicit him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus, whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt during the course of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria from Tigranes; that it was not just that they should lose the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews and Arabians, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person.

In him ended the empire of the Seleucidæ, after a duration of almost Ant. J. C. 65. 250 years.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms; and after having expelled him, called in Ptolemy Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing article.

Pompey afterwards went to Damascus;⁴ where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judea. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.

A fine contention⁵ between the love of a father and the duty of a son was seen at this time; a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem on his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the son, who was truly afflicted at a circumstance for which others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion in which he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have persisted in refusing the sceptre,⁶ if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cap-

¹ Plut. in Pomp. p. 637. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 28—33. Appian. p. 212, 213.

² Called also Cyrus by some authors.

³ Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Justin. l. xl. c. 2.

⁴ Plut. in Pomp. p. 633, 639.

⁵ Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

⁶ Nec ullum finem tam egregium certamen habuisset, nisi patriæ voluntati auctoritas Pompei adfuisset. Fel. Max.

padocia has displayed of such a contest of generosity. We have spoken in its place of a similar contest between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treasures concealed in it, demanding only for recompense, that if her son Xipharex should fall into his hands, he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in surrendering that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xipharex in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the strait.

Caina, or the New City, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value, in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs, written by himself, which gave a very good insight into his character. In one part he had noted down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes and Alcaeus of Sardis; the latter, because he had carried the prize in the chariot-race against him. What fantastical records were these! Was he afraid that the public and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

His memoirs of physic¹ were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lencæus, a good grammarian, one of his freedmen; and they were afterwards made public in that language. For, amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skilful in medicine. It was he who invented the excellent antidote which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

Pompey² during his stay at Aspis, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it advisable to pursue Mithridates in the kingdom of the Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that he must have marched round the Euxine Sea with an army, and passed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert; a very dangerous enterprise, in which he would have run great risk of perishing. So that all that Pompey could do was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardour into Syria was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red Sea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian Sea, and believed there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to push them on as far as the Red Sea. Upon his arrival in Soria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia, upon the Orontes, free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red Sea. But an accident happened which obliged

him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embassy had come to him from Mithridates, who demanded peace. He proposed, that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all his other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he should also come in person, as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not consent to such a meanness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not be satisfied with that. The negotiation broke off, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose, he went to pass some time at Amisus, the ancient capital of the country. There, through the just punishment of the gods, says Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publicly charged and reproached Lucullus, for having, while the war still raged, disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act till a war is finally terminated; and now he fell into the same inconsistency himself. For he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new strength. And indeed at that very time, when he was believed to be irretrievably ruined, he was actually meditating a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia Minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interests during this war, to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus who, by always persisting, through gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the Moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians in Pontus, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least 6000 persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him who commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece in his first war with the Romans, and who, being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge amongst them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana, and the sovereignty annexed to it, were given to the son, in recompense for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, took advantage of his absence to make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia: but news of importance interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, ever since Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him; and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party; far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps, to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him: a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair had inspired him. A great number of the neighbouring Scythians had en-

¹ Plin. l. xxv. c. 20.

² Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. 5, 6. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639-641. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvii. p. 31-33. Appian. p. 246-251.

tered themselves in his service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to solicit the nations there to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence: that the pirates would soon repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces, oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be anxious to throw off the yoke by his aid, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he had revolved in his mind.

But as, in order to execute this project, it was necessary to march more than 500 leagues, and traverse the countries now called Little Tartary, Podolia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, the Tirol, and Lombardy; and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po; the bare idea of so toilsome and dangerous a march threw his army into such terror, that, to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces, his son, king, who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment, and, after having given poison to such of his wives, concubines, and daughters, as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but when he perceived that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says, he was killed by his own son.

Mithridates had reigned sixty years A. M. 3941. and lived seventy-two. His greatest Ant. J. C. 63. fear was of falling into the hands of the Romans, and of being led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way, if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution which he executed so suddenly. It is generally said, that the reason that the poison which he drank did not kill him was, his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error, and that it is impossible any remedy should be a universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expresses despatched on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Those expresses arriving with their lances crowned with laurels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only begun to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage-horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates and the manner of his killing himself; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and his dominions to the Romans, and that thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This was a subject of great joy to both the army and general.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent: full of activity in war, of distinguished

courage; sometimes very great through the favours of fortune, and always through his invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier by his bold and hazardous exploits; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates, that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings; *Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus*.² It is certain that the Romans never had such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities: a vast extent of mind, that embraced every subject; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him on a sudden again on the stage, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe that he is to be considered as a consummate general; that idea does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first; but against generals without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, opposed him, it does not appear he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergencies, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But, should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he cannot but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides with which he polluted his reign, and that inhuman cruelty which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

Pompey,³ being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damascus, with design to set out from thence to fight at length the war with Arabia. A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

When Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.

The troubles of Judea employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Anisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent to him; no doubt to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great presents, in order to conciliate his favour. Pompey accepted the presents; but as for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity as extinguished by death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope, to be interred there with the kings of Pontus, his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey he took possession of all the places in the hands of those to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telaurus, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept: his principal arsenal was also in the same place. Amongst these were 2000 cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, furniture, and military accoutrements for man and horse, that it cost the questor, or treasurer of the army, thirty entire days in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, as a reward for his parricide, declared him the friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. Here he distributed rewards to his victorious army. He gave each of his soldiers fifteen hundred drachmas (about 37l. sterling), and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was 16,000 talents; that is to say, about 2,400,000l.; besides which, he had 20,000

¹ Vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine cura; bello accerrimus; virtute eximius; a liquidando fortuna, semper animo maximus; consilii dux, miles manu; odio in Romanos Annibal. *Vel. Patere*. l. ii. c. 18.

² Acad. Quæst. l. iv. n. 3.

³ Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4, 8, et de Bell. Jud. l. 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. Appian. p. 520. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 33, 36.

more (3,000,000,) to put into the treasury at Rome, upon the day of his entry.

His triumph continued two days, A. M. 3943. and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused 324 captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot; amongst whom were Aris-

tobulus, king of Judea, with his son Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchis; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia; the sister, five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. In the place of that king's person, his throne, sceptre, and a colossal busto of gold of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.

THE HISTORY OF EGYPT. BOOK XXIV.

SECTION I.—PTOLEMY AULETES HAVING BEEN PLACED UPON THE THRONE OF EGYPT IN THE ROOM OF ALEXANDER, IS DECLARED THE FRIEND AND ALLY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE BY THE INFLUENCE OF CÆSAR AND POMPEY, WHICH HE HAD PURCHASED AT A VERY GREAT PRICE. IN CONSEQUENCE, HE LOADS HIS SUBJECTS WITH TAXES. HE IS EXPELLED THE THRONE. THE ALEXANDRIANS MAKE HIS DAUGHTER BERENICE QUEEN. HE GOES TO ROME, AND, BY MONEY, OBTAINS THE VOICES OF THE HEADS OF THE COMMONWEALTH FOR HIS RE-ESTABLISHMENT. HE IS OPPOSED BY AN ORACLE OF THE SIBYL'S; NOTWITHSTANDING WHICH, GABINIUS SETS HIM UPON THE THRONE BY FORCE OF ARMS, WHERE HE REMAINS TILL HIS DEATH. THE FAMOUS CLEOPATRA, AND HER BROTHER, VERY YOUNG, SUCCEED HIM.

WE have seen I in what manner A. M. 3939. Ptolemy Auletes ascended the throne Ant. J. C. 65. of Egypt. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, had withdrawn to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood-royal, he had made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will; but to show that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheritance, and sent deputies to Tyre, to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions; and it would have been a very insecure establishment to possess a state to which they believed they had so just a claim, unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. For Ptolemy to get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But by how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects which do not suit their condition,

though they are often spared for those that are much more hurtful, the surname of Player on the Flute, which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans as in that of the Egyptians.

He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings.² All the methods which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual; and it is likely they would always have been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and expedients just that conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the people's consent, almost six thousand talents; that is to say, almost nine hundred thousand pounds. At this price he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this A. M. 3946. sum, he could not immediately raise Ant. J. C. 53. the money without exceedingly overtaxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented at his not claiming the isle of Cyprus as an ancient dependance of Egypt, and, in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than she.

Ptolemy,³ in the mean time, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica, had also arrived there some time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to

¹ See p. 263 of this volume.

² Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. liv. Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97.

Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

³ Plut. in Cato. Utic. p. 776.

let him know of his arrival, expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may here see an instance of Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that, if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him, if he thought fit. Accordingly he went. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but inwardly wonder how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty that appeared in his dress and all his equipage. But he was still more surprised, when, upon entering upon business, Cato blamed him, in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grantees, and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not scruple to tell him, that, though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him, therefore, to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices for that purpose.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome, (one may easily guess with what views,) dissuaded him from following Cato's good advice. He had full time to repent it, when he found himself, in that proud city, reduced to solicit the magistrates upon his business from door to door, like a private person.

Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome; he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money which he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had since cultivated his friendship by various services which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained at his own charge 8000 horses for him in that of Judea. Having, therefore, made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained for him a compliance with his request. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

But before his consulship expired, A. M. 3947. the Egyptians having been informed Ant. J. C. 57. that their king was not dead, as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify their revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than 100 persons, at the head of whom was a celebrated philosopher, named Dion, who had considerable friends at Rome. Ptolemy having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and so much intimidated those whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders. But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible; and his immense profusion, in gaining the poorest and most self-interested senators, became so public, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius, the Stoic philosopher, was the first in it who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his motion, it was re-

solved that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some short time after, though he who did the murder was accused in due form of law, the king was exculpated, upon maintaining that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought he had nothing farther to transact at Rome that demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued there any longer, he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

His affair, in fact, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, enterprising young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himself, in frequent harangues, against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was heartened to by the people with singular pleasure and extraordinary applause.

In order to put a new engine in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected: and as soon as A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56. Lentulus had quitted that office, he produced to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which ran thus: "If a king of Egypt, having occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity; but, however, you shall not give him any troops; for if you do, you will suffer and hazard much."

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order to examine whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited, to the people, and obliged them by the authority which his office of tribune gave him, to lay what they had found in them before the public, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a thunder-stroke to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar which their enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province, in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, as to have any faith in such an oracle. Nobody doubted but that it had been expressly contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret political intrigue. But it had been published and approved in the assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess, and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree by which he had been commissioned with his re-establishment, and demanded by Ammonius, his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because, it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged, with reason, that it was necessary to substitute, in the room of force, a person of great authority; and Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, occasioned by his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was discussed in the senate, and debated

* Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Cæ. ad Famil. l. i. ep. 1-4. Id. in Piso. n. 48-50. Id. pro Cæl. n. 23, 24.

with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be spent without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus, his intimate friend, who, during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his recall from banishment. But what means were there to render him any service, in the condition in which things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using force of arms, which was expressly forbidden by the oracle? In this manner, people of little wit and subtilty, that were not used to consider things in different lights, would have thought. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and still go with a good army to besiege Alexandria? After he had taken it, he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter written by him at that time to Lentulus: "You are the best judge," says he, "as you are master of Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria, and possess yourself of the rest of Egypt, it is, without doubt, both for your own honour, and that of the commonwealth, that you should go thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place; in order that, after you have appeased the revolt, and left strong garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return thither. In this manner you will reinstate him, according to the senate's first decree; and he will be restored without troops, which our zealots assure us is the direction of the Sibyl." Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so important as that at present in question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity upon which Cicero valued himself? It was because he reckoned the pretended oracle of the Sibyl to be what indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprise, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented, "That all the world would judge of his conduct from the event," that therefore he had only to take his measures so well, as to assure his success; and that otherwise, he would do better not to undertake it."

Gabinus, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and less cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by a positive law to quit his province or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest borderer, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, who had been expelled by the king, his brother, from

A. M. 3949. Media, which kingdom had fallen to his share. He had already passed the

Euphrates with his army for that purpose,⁴ when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had very lately been declared consul for the year ensuing. By those letters he conjured Gabinus to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that that prince should make him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and, still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinus begin to waver. The pressing remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasion to signalize himself, and was besides inclin-

ed to please Ptolemy, whose entreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinus had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprise, the more Gabinus thought he had a right to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army 10,000 talents, or 1,500,000*l.* the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated. Gabinus accepted the offer without hesitation.

Egypt⁵ had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown, and Berenice, to Antiochus Asiaticus, in Syria, who, by his mother Selene's side, was the nearest heir male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned; they brought an account that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of massy gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucidae. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high-priest of Comana, in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though, in fact, he was only the son of that prince's chief general.

Gabinus⁶ after having passed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to arrive at Pelusium; for they could not avoid passing plains, covered with sands of such a depth as was terrible to think on, and so parched, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the fens of Serbonis. Antony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of the army, and gave his general great hopes of success in the expedition.

The enemy derived considerable advantage from the desire of glory which influenced Antony. For Ptolemy had no sooner entered Pelusium, than, urged by the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Antony, who rightly judged that that act of cruelty would disgrace himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinus received advice of Antony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, and consequently the properest time for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp and break ground for the intrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work at the expense of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in fact, soon put to the rout. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner,

¹ Cic. ad Famil. l. i. epist. 7.

² Ita fore ut per restitutum, quemadmodum initia senatus censuit; et sine multitudine reductor, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.

³ Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicatos, videmus—Nos quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum; sin dubium, non esse conandum.

⁴ Appian. in Syr. p. 120, et in Parth. p. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

⁵ Strab. l. xii. p. 533. Id. l. xvii. p. 794—796. Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 115. 117. Cic. in Pison. n. 49, 50.

⁶ Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired amongst the Romans who served with him in this war the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinus left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. Those troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and abandoned themselves to the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there more than in any other city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the same manner, of all the rich persons who had been of the adverse party. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinus, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

The Egyptians suffered all these violences without murmuring.¹ But, some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinus nor the authority of Ptolemy could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number.

Nothing farther is known with respect to the life of Ptolemy Auletes,² except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to procure payment when he was entirely reinstated, that prince gave him to understand that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues, by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a pretence for causing him to be imprisoned, though one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed, in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country-house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt more miserable than he had gone thither. To complete his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he had lent him for that purpose; of having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt; and lastly, of having shared in the money which Gabinus brought from thence, with whom, it was alleged, he had connived. Cicero's oration in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

Ptolemy Auletes died in the peace. A. M. 3953. able possession of the kingdom of Ant. J. C. 51. Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment.³ He left two sons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house, and govern jointly. And because they were both very young (for the daughter, who was the eldest, was only seventeen years of age,) he left them under the guardianship of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.⁴

SECTION II.—POTHINUS AND ACHILLAS, MINISTERS OF THE YOUNG KING, EXPEL CLEOPATRA. SHE RAISES TROOPS TO RE-ESTABLISH HERSELF. POMPEY, AFTER HAVING BEEN OVERTHROWN AT PHARSALIA, RETIRES INTO EGYPT. HE IS ASSASSINATED THERE. CÆSAR, WHO PURSUED HIM, AR-

RIVES AT ALEXANDRIA, WHERE HE IS INFORMED OF HIS DEATH, WHICH HE SEEMS TO LAMENT. HE ENDEAVOURS TO RECONCILE THE BROTHER AND SISTER, AND FOR THAT PURPOSE SENDS FOR CLEOPATRA, OF WHOM HE SOON BECOMES ENAMOURED. GREAT COMMOTIONS ARISE AT ALEXANDRIA, AND SEVERAL BATTLES ARE FOUGHT BETWEEN THE EGYPTIANS AND CÆSAR'S TROOPS, WHEREIN THE LATTER HAVE ALMOST ALWAYS THE ADVANTAGE. THE KING HAVING BEEN DROWNED IN FLYING AFTER A SEA-FIGHT, ALL EGYPT SUBMITS TO CÆSAR. HE SETS CLEOPATRA, WITH HER YOUNGER BROTHER, UPON THE THRONE, AND RETURNS TO ROME.

LITTLE is known of the beginning of the reign of Cleopatra and her brother. A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achillas the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt to engross to themselves the whole administration of the public affairs, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the quarrel between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he should find there an open and secure asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to Pompey's influence that he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Cleopatra at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers. Pothinus and Achillas, consulted with Theodotus the rhetorician, the young king's preceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make: Pompey in the mean time waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to be the foot-ball of three unworthy persons who governed the prince, than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods; and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding themselves of him. His reason was, because, if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy: if they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them for their refusal. That therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death; by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship, and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt; for said he, according to the proverb, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice prevailed, as being in their opinion the wisest and most safe. Achillas, Septimius, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it into execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the pretext that large vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea-side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimius tendered his hand to Pompey in the name of his master, and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death; and, after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, "Every man who en-

¹ Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75.

² Cic. pro Rabir. Posth.

³ Cæsar de Bello Civ. l. v.

⁴ Eutrop. l. vi.

⁵ Plut. in Pomp. p. 659—662. Id. in Cæs. p. 730, 731, Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 480—481. Cæs. de Bel. Civ. l. iii. Diod. l. xlii. p. 200—205.

ters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before," he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed-men gave it with the assistance of an old Roman, who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched funeral-pile, and for that purpose made use of some fragments of an old wreck, that had been driven ashore there.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before her eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised; and weighing anchor immediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea: this prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chase them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him still alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him; only 800 horse and 3200 foot. He left the rest of his army in Greece and Asia Minor, under his lieutenant-generals, with orders to make all the advantages of his victory which it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries. As for his own person, confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very high paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities. And the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him, and were then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of his victory was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the lives, and do services to some of those citizens, who had borne arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar, clearly perceiving that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither as soon as possible. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually during the dog-days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria; as those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the dispute between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him by the promise of 6000 talents, and by that means had procured himself to be established upon the throne, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him a bond for the remainder.

Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and urged his claim with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver which was found in them, and made the king and all the

great persons of the kingdom eat out of earthen or wooden vessels; insinuating underhand, that Cæsar had seized upon all the silver and gold plate, in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which were not destitute of probability in appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him for the decision of their dispute. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which, being independent, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being appointed arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the guardianship of the senate and people of Rome, the whole authority of which was then vested in his person, in quality of consul: that, as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them; and that all he pretended to was, as executor of the will, to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed that her presence would be more persuasive than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived that those whom she employed in her behalf betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took nobody with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian; got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark night. Finding that there were no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem. She laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of clothes, Apollodorus wrapped it up in a cloth, tied up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the gate of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly that his judge was become his adversary: and having learned that his sister was then in the palace, and even in Cæsar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street rent the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed; and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in an uproar. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what was passing, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, Cæsar would inevitably have been overpowered and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to show himself to them from a part of the palace so high that he had nothing to fear upon it; from hence he assured them, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as guardian and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will; and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoë the young-

¹ Cæsar confusus samâ rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat; atque omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimabat. *Cæs.*

er daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people; for it was an absolute gift that he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrian's fury; and it was to extricate himself out of his present danger that he made that concession.

Every one was satisfied and charmed with this decree, except Pothinus. A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that it was only through fear and by force that Cæsar had granted this decree, which would not long subsist; and that his true design was to place Cleopatra alone upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have the sole authority. When he saw that the people came into his views, he made Achilles advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their former confusion. Achilles, who had 20,000 good troops, despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well, in the streets and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him, in consequence, from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their design, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he would have been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire drove so near the quay, that the flames caught the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter of Bruchion. It was at this time that the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were 400,000 volumes. What a loss was this to literature!

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Asia Minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately despatched two legions, the one by land, and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time; the other that marched by land did not go thither at all. Before it had got there, the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenean, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia; for he brought him the troops which extricated him out of the danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he awaited the aid he had sent for, in order that he might not fight an army so superior in number till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who coincided with Achilles, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted; and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoë the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians; who not

having had, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achilles, caused that general to be accused of having given up the fleet to Cæsar that had been set on fire by the Romans, caused him to be put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to himself. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the office of a prime minister, probably only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification: for he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.

For instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means. For there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, than that of the Nile. In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that purpose; and by a sluice, made with that design, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs, which were the cisterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of this water; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome; for there were no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision of water made at one time served for the whole year. Every house had an opening like the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications with the caverns in the quarters of Cæsar to be stopped up; and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and raised such a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found which supplied them with water enough to make amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice that the legion which Calvinus had sent by sea was arrived upon the coast of Libya, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprized of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria; and had not the night come on, the ships of the enemy would not have escaped.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships from the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses next the port, to be spectators of the fight, and awaited the success with fear and trembling; lifting up their hands to heaven to implore the assistance of the gods. The all of the Romans was at stake, as they had no resource left if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than 800 men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat. For the ship in which he had designed to get off, being

¹ There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as at that time. *Therenol's Travels.*

ready to sink on account of the great number of people who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was thus swimming he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other, so that they were not wetted.

The Alexandrians, seeing that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least pretended such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him; assuring him, that his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and, if they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince to take advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity; to redress the evils with which a war very imprudently undertaken had distressed his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty; and to show his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. Ptolemy, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him, than to reign over others. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea, near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt.² He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater the Idumean contributed very much towards it. He had not only joined him with 3000 Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Coele-syria, and the free cities of Phœnicia and Syria also, to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt; and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city; for he was the first that mounted the breach and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion,³ all the passes of which had been seized by the Jews who inhabited it. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his influence, and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near the Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was soon broken, and obliged to give way; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle began afresh, and the enemy were

defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to repass the Nile, in order to escape.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them; and as soon as he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a complete victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to escape in a boat, was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria and all Egypt submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of our January; and not finding any farther opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The passion which Cæsar had conceived for that princess was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsarion, whom Augustus caused to be put to death when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt than his affairs required. For though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he stayed there nine months. Now he had arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra.⁴ Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. He had resolved to bring her to Rome, and to marry her; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such and as many wives as they thought fit. Helvius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared a baragane, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his assistance upon the earnest solicitation of Cæsar.

He carried Arsinoë, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold; but immediately after that solemnity he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence; at least it was there that Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed; and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven, with the decree confirming them.

What at length made him quit Egypt,⁵ was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of Zela,⁶ defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*; that is to say, I came, I saw, I conquered.

SECTION III.—CLEOPATRA CAUSES HER YOUNGER BROTHER TO BE PUT TO DEATH, AND REIGNS ALONE. THE DEATH OF JULIUS CÆSAR HAVING MADE WAY FOR THE TRIUMVIRATE FORMED BETWEEN ANTONY, LEPIDUS, AND YOUNG CÆSAR, CALLED ALSO OCTAVIANUS, CLEOPATRA DECLARES HERSELF FOR THE TRIUMVIRS. SHE GOES TO ANTONY AT TARSUS, GAINS AN ABSOLUTE ASCENDANT OVER HIM, AND BRINGS HIM WITH HER TO ALEXANDRIA. ANTONY GOES TO ROME, WHERE HE

¹ Regius animus disciplinis fallacissimis eruditus, ne à gentis suæ moribus degeneraret, fleus orare contra Cæsarem cepit, ne se dimitteret: non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse iucundum. *Hirt. de Bell. Alex.*

² Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14, 15.

³ So called from Onias the Jewish priest, who had got a grant of that district from one of the Ptolemies.]

⁴ Suet. in J. Cæs. c. 52.

⁵ Plut. in Cæs. p. 731.

⁶ This was a city of Cappadocia.

WIVES OCTAVIA. HE ABANDONS HIMSELF AGAIN TO CLEOPATRA; AND AFTER SOME EXPEDITIONS RETURNS TO ALEXANDRIA, WHICH HE ENTERS IN TRIUMPH. HE THERE CELEBRATES THE CORONATION OF CLEOPATRA AND HER CHILDREN. OPEN RUPTURE BETWEEN CÆSAR AND ANTONY. THE LATTER REPUDIATES OCTAVIA. THE TWO FLEETS PUT TO SEA. CLEOPATRA DETERMINES TO FOLLOW ANTONY. BATTLE OF ACTIUM. CLEOPATRA FLIES, AND DRAWS ANTONY AFTER HER. CÆSAR'S VICTORY IS COMPLETE. HE ADVANCES SOME TIME AFTER AGAINST ALEXANDRIA, WHICH MAKES NO LONG RESISTANCE. TRAGIC DEATH OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA. EGYPT IS REDUCED INTO A PROVINCE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CÆSAR after the war of Alexandria, had re-established Cleopatra upon the throne, and, for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority, all power was in her hands. When he

A. M. 3961. attained his fifteenth year,¹ which Ant. J. C. 43. was the time when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

In this interval Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius; and the triumvirate, between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavianus Cæsar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

Cleopatra declared herself without hesitation for the triumvirs.² She gave Allienus, the consul, Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and formed part of the troops which Cæsar had

A. M. 3962. left with her for the defence of Egypt. Ant. J. C. 41. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but it was prevented by storms from setting out. Cassius made himself master of those four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she resolutely refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet, to join Antony and Octavianus. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

Antony,³ after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, Ant. J. C. 42. having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors of the East, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed that the governors of Phœnicia, which was dependent upon the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to answer for the conduct of her governors; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step was, from its consequences, very fatal to Antony, and completed his ruin. His love for Cleopatra having awakened passions in him, till then concealed or asleep, inflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue which he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms by the proof she had already so successfully made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes that she could also very easily captivate Antony; and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young, and had no experience in the world; whereas she was going to appear before Antony, at the age wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to manage and conduct the greatest affairs. Cleopatra was at that time five-and-twenty years old. She provided herself, therefore, with exceeding rich presents, great sums

of money, and especially with most magnificent habits and ornaments; and with still higher hopes in her attractions and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way she received several letters from Antony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey; but she only laughed at their eagerness, and used never the more diligence for them. Having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus, and, going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was equipage more splendid and magnificent than hers. The stern of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the Nereides, and others the Graces. Instead of trumpets were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and other such instruments of music, warbling the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes were burning on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance upon the river, and on each side of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarsus went out to meet her; so that Antony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by every one, and not a single person with him, but his lictors and domestics. A rumour was spread that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Antony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies, that she should be very glad to regale him herself, and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the lights, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and whose brilliancy was such, that they made midnight seem bright day.

Antony invited her in his turn, for the next day. But in spite of his utmost endeavours to exceed her in this entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendour as disposition of the feast; and was the first to rally the parsimony and plainness of his own, in comparison with the sumptuousness and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen, finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasures of Antony, and more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation, attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and features, and left upon his mind and heart an indelible impression. She charmed whenever she spoke, such music and harmony were in her utterance, and the very sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints against Cleopatra, which were besides without foundation. She struck Antony so violently with her charms, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time, that at her entreaty he caused Arsinoë, her sister, to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Miletus, as in a secure asylum.

Great feasts were made every day.⁴ Some new banquet still outdid that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Antony, at a feast to which she had invited him, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with a disdainful air, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Antony, according

¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. Porphy. p. 226.

² Appian. l. iii. p. 576. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675.

³ Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 932. Dio. l. xlviii. p. 371. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 671.

⁴ VOL. II.—43

⁴ Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 143.

to custom, had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She gave them all the vessels and plate of gold and silver used at the entertainment.

Without doubt, in one of these feasts happened what Pliny, and, after him, Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jested, according to custom, upon Antony's entertainment, as very niggardly and inelegant. Fiqued with the raillery, he asked her, with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra answered coldly, that she could expend more than a million of livres² upon one supper. He affirmed that she was merely bragging, that it was impossible, and that she could never make it appear. A wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Antony calculated the expense, demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as secure of victory, told her, that they were still far from a million. "Stay," said the queen, "this is only a beginning. I shall try whether I cannot spend a million only upon myself." A second table³ was brought, and, according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it but a single cup of vinegar. Antony, surprised at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two pearls, the finest that ever were seen, each of which was valued at above 50,000*l*. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into the vinegar,⁴ and, after having dissolved it, swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other; Plancus stopped her,⁵ and deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having swallowed 2,000,000 in two draughts.

Antony was embroiled with Cæsar. A. M. 3964. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness, treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expenses; which may be judged of from the following circumstance.

A young Greek,⁶ who went to Alexandria to study physic, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself with his own eyes about them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he saw, amongst other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. Upon which he expressed surprise at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at the supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there would not be above a dozen in all; but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils. "For," added he, "it often happens, that Antony will order his supper, and a moment after forbid it to be served, having entered into some conversation that diverts him. For that reason, not one but many

suppers are provided, because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to have it set on table."

Cleopatra, lest Antony should escape her, never lost sight of him, nor quitted him day or night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and, when he exercised his troops, was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day when he was fishing with an angle, and caught nothing, he was very much vexed on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want skill or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten to his hook some of their large fishes, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprise at Antony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had passed, and invited them to come the next day and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing-boats, and Antony had thrown in his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, one of those that come from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Antony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine what bursts of laughter arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, "Leave the line, good general, to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus; your business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings."

Whilst Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests, at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his lethargy, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. But having begun his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, Ant. J. C. 39. which had something of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.

This queen,⁷ in the midst of the most violent passions, and the intoxication of pleasures, still retained a taste for polite learning and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Antony very much contributed, by presenting her with the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above 200,000 volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament; she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter; she answered most of them in their own language, the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. She knew,⁸ besides, several other languages; whereas the kings who had reigned before her in Egypt had scarcely been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgotten the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself to be the lawful wife of Antony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phenicia, the Lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judea and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the extent of the empire, very much afflicted the Romans, and they were no less offended at the excessive honours which he paid this foreign princess.

¹ Plin. l. ix. c. 35. Macrobi. Satur. l. ii. c. 13.

² *Centes H. S. Hoc est, centies centena milia sestertium.* Which amounted to more than a million of livres, or 52,500*l* sterling.

³ The ancients changed their tables at every course.

⁴ Vinegar is strong enough to dissolve the hardest things. *Acetill succus domitor rerum*, as Pliny says of it, l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before her, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian (Clodius, the son of Æsopus) had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls dissolved in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expense of his meals enormous.

⁵ Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ, Sollicit ut decies solidum exsorberet, aceto Diluit insignem laccam—*Hor. l. ii. Sat. 3.*

⁶ This other pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome on his return from Alexandria; and having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary, that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess. *Plin. ibid.*

⁷ Plut. in Anton. p. 923.

⁸ Epiphan. de mens. et. pond. • Plut. in Anton. p. 927.

Two years passed, during which Antony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

It was in one of these expeditions,¹ that the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddess much celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broken in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna, in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at supper. "Is it true," said that prince, during the repast, talking of this story, "that the man who made the first stroke at the statue of this goddess was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?"—"If it were," replied the veteran, with a smile, "I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person who made the first attack upon her, which has been of great service to me. For, if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess; upon one of whose legs, my lord, you are now supping."

Antony,² believing he had made A. M. 3969. every thing secure in these countries, Ant. J. C. 35. led back his troops. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he hastened his march so much, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the continual snows, that he lost 8000 men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra; and, as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languor, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with clothes and great sums of money for his troops.

Octavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that she came only to dispute Antony's heart with her. She was afraid that with her virtue, wisdom, and gravity of manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating attractions, to win her husband, that she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid which danger, she affected to be dying for love of Antony; and with that view made herself lean and wan, by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprise and amazement; and when he left her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide from him her weakness and disorder. Antony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least uneasiness to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and to come no farther, because he was upon the point of undertaking some new expedition. And, in fact, at the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him, to know where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried which she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Antony received this second compliment no better than the first; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would not permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage, than that of making Antony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a just reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing a high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Antony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house, and that if he had no other reasons for a war with Antony than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been pre-

sent, and educated with great care and magnificence not only the children he had by her, but also those whom he had by Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of rebuffs and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect; and the other with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence!

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatterers represented to him, in the strongest terms, that it would be absolutely cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Antony so effectually, that, for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following spring.

It was with great difficulty then that he resolved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

A. M. 3970.

Ant. J. C. 34.

After having made himself master of Armenia, as much by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph,

A. M. 3971.

Ant. J. C. 33.

dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure after his great fatigues in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed days and nights. That vain Egyptian woman,³ at one of these banquets, seeing Antony flushed with wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

Before he set out on a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and with diamond buttons. On his side he wore a scimitar, after the Persian mode, the hilt and scabbard of which were loaded with precious stones; he had a diadem on his brows, and a sceptre of gold in his hand; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand in a brilliant robe, made of the precious linen which was appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsarion the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned him, the heralds, by the command of Antony, and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cæle-syria, in conjunction with her son Cæsarion. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes kings of kings; and declared, that, till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander, the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it; and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were dressed after the mode of the several countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes, rising from their seats, approached the throne, and putting one knee on the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a

¹ Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanorum imperium petit: et promisit Antonius, Flor. l. iv. c. 2.

² Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 23. ³ Plut. in Antony. p. 939—942.

train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians, and had already advanced as far as the banks of the Araxes; but the news of what was passing at Rome against him prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with sixteen legions to the coast of the Ionian sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, where he might be ready to act in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party; and that occasioned Antony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But that queen, apprehending that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by dint of money, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove a princess from this war who contributed so much towards it on her side, nor useful to himself; because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army—she, who had governed so great a kingdom so long, and who might have learned, in her intercourse with Antony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Antony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed their time in feasting and pleasure. The kings in their train exhausted themselves in making their court by extraordinary expenses, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

It was probably in one of these feasts that the circumstance¹ happened which is related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him, for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquet till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible how ill founded his fears were: and at the same time, if she had so bad an intention, how ineffectual all the precautions he took would be. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Antony and herself at table, according to the custom of the ancients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gayety, Cleopatra proposed to Antony to drink off those flowers. He made no difficulty; and, after having plucked off the ends of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him, "I am the poisoner against whom you take such mighty precaution. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity or means for such an action." Having ordered a prisoner, condemned to die, to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor, upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem as Octavia had received during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, which terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to send to her, and at the head

of which he himself would be in quality of a citizen of Athens.

The new consuls, Caius Sosius and Domitius Ænobarbus,² having declared openly for Antony, quitted Ant. J. C. 32. Rome and repaired to him. Cæsar instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission: and declared publicly, that all persons who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree and act whatever he thought proper for his own interests, or contrary to those of Antony.

When Antony was apprized of this, he assembled all the heads of his party; and the result of their deliberation was, that he should declare war against Cæsar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæsar vigorously without loss of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side; for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him either by sea or by land. But voluptuousness prevailed, and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæsar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies sent by Antony to Rome to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and, in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave nobody in it but the son of Antony by Fulvia; an indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with her tears; and unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people to enter into such petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit that they should resent it; and that she should be very wretched if she were the occasion of a new war; she who had consented to her marriage with Antony solely from the hope that it would prove the pledge of a union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions; and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony than before.

But nothing enraged them to such a height as Antony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the Vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by two persons of consular dignity,³ who, not being able to endure the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they discovered it to Cæsar. The Vestals made great difficulty to give up an instrument confided to their care; alleging in their excuse the faith of trusts, which they were obliged to observe; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the Forum, these three articles were read in it; I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsar as lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of *kings of kings*. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral and interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a forgery contrived by Cæsar to render Antony more odious to the people. And indeed what probability was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament which violated them with so much contempt?

¹ Plin. l. xxi. c. 3.

² Plut. in Anton. p. 942—955.

³ Titius and Plancus.

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree enacted by the people to that purpose, he caused it to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra; it was from a refinement of policy, that he acted in that manner, and did not insert Antony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him. For, besides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he did not hurt the feelings of those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Antony had been expressly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of 500 ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks one above another, with towers upon the head and stern of a prodigious height; so that those superb vessels upon the sea might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for completely manning those heavy machines, that Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than to do real service.

On board this fleet were 200,000 foot and 12,000 horse. The kings of Libya, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagenia, and Thrace, were there in person; and those of Pontus, Judea, Lycania, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its sails of purple; its flags and streamers floating in the wind, whilst trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her close in a galley equally splendid. That queen, intoxicated with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, foolishly threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared with her infamous troop of eunuchs utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

On the other side, less pomp and splendour were seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only 250 ships, and 80,000 foot, with as many horse as Antony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Antony's, but then they were much lighter and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Antony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter-quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till the approach of spring.

Antony and Cæsar, as soon as the

A. M. 3973. season would admit, took the field Ant. J. C. 31. both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulf in Episcurus. Antony's bravest and most experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible

haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of good troops, and much superior in numbers to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory; whereas a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied on. But Antony had not been susceptible of good advice for a long time, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged of things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she rightly perceived that in case of misfortune it would be easier for her to escape in her ships than by land. Her opinion, therefore, took place against the advice of all the generals.

The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in sight of both the land armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle array upon the north, and the other upon the south of that strait, expecting the event. The contest was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, which consisted of sixty ships of the line; with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which, till then, he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear. For Antony's ships fought so well after his departure, that, though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day Cæsar, seeing his victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the main body of the fleet. Antony having entered the admiral-galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage; reflecting with profound melancholy upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes it had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those gloomy thoughts during the three days they were going to Tænarus,² without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

The land army had still remained entire, and consisted of eighteen legions and 22,000 horse, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head against Cæsar, and given him abundance of difficulty. But seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus, Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no reason to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He, therefore, had no other choice to make than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she was returned victorious; and no sooner landed, than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom, whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her, when they were informed of her defeat. Antony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

¹ —Dum Capitolio

Regina dementes ruinas.

Funus et imperio parabat,

Contaminato cum grege turpium

Morbo viorum; quidlibet impotens

Sperare, fortunæque dulci

Ebria

Hor. Od. xxxvii. l. 1.

Whilst drunk with fortune's heady wine,

Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,

The haughty queen conceives the wild design,

So much her vain ambition charms!

With her polluted band of supple slaves,

Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,

The Capitol in dust to level low,

And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last and fatal blow!

² The 4th before the nones of September.

³ Promontory of Laconia.

A. M. 3974. extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hand, who, she foresaw would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red Sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad; and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships and others which she already had in that sea: but the Arabians who inhabited the coast having burnt all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.

Changing, therefore, her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Antony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition. Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love, and the crown being dearer to her than her husband, she entertained thoughts of preserving it at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his: but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Antony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures; her person to adorn his triumph, her treasures to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In his retirement it might have been expected, that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those two philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion, which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and, with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person: provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

This second deputation not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment, and that those which were gentle brought on an easy but slow death, she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied in her presence to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length that the aspic was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions; but merely throwing the persons bitten into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a light sweating upon the face and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Antony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude in caressing him. Though she celebrated

her own birth-day with little solemnity, and suitable to her present condition, she kept that of Antony with a splendour and magnificence above what she had ever displayed before; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast went rich from it.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess! The most odious of vices were united in her person; an avowed disregard of modesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and, what crowns all the rest, the false exterior of a deceitful friendship, which covers a fixed design of delivering up to his enemy the person she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious effects and movables to be carried; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood; as if she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending lest her despair should induce her to burn them, despatched every day some person to her, to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence which he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and, being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally; and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the gates of their camp a detachment of horse which had been sent against him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of expiring valour; for, after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who was betraying him, he came, completely armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Antony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony resolved to attack Cæsar, by sea and land. He drew up his land army upon some eminences in the city; and from thence kept his galleys in view, which were going out of the port in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited without making any motion, to see the success of that attack; but was much astonished when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Antony's eyes, and made him, when too late, give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity he was for signaling himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his opinion, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Antony, seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and

betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artful princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with strong walls, and the gates of which she had ordered to be closed. She caused Antony to be told, that preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestor's tombs, where she had also chosen her own sepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news which he ought to have suspected after all Cleopatra's other infidelities; and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her to the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave; and having caused his armour to be taken off he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast. But that slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity, for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes; and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort where she had shut herself up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance for fear of some surprise; but she appeared at a high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Antony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra, assisted by two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath; while she, with her features distorted and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength; the people below, who could give her no farther aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her clothes upon him; and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face close to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Antony's hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who believed that it gave relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy since he died in her arms; and that, as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour; to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæsar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Antony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive, if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had, however, a conversation with him without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through cracks. They talked a considerable time together, during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children; whilst he exhorted

her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interests to Cæsar.

After having considered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæsar, who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates as Proculeius had done, and spoke like him through the crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the meanwhile Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Antony, and followed by two officers, who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprise, "O unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!" Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle. But Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, "You wrong yourself and Cæsar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of showing his goodness and clemency." At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar sent one of his freedmen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her at the same time with all the attention and complaisance she could desire; he likewise instructed Proculeius to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there was no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Arius, upon whom he leaned with an air of familiarity, to testify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he had ordered to be erected there; and, seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them for three reasons: the first, upon account of Alexander their founder; the second, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the sake of Arius, one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the meantime, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed it amongst the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning; but when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien which were inspired by her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through that depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth keen glances, and a kind of radiance which brightened in her looks, and in every movement of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. "My lord," said she to him, pointing to those pictures, "behold those images of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I am indebted for my

crown." Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it, "See also," said she, kissing them, "the dear testimonies of his love." She afterwards read some of the most tender of them, commenting upon them at proper intervals, with moving exclamations, and passionate glances, but she employed those arts with no success; for whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she presaged no good; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and which he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in return she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt. And in fact, she put an inventory into his hands of all her movables, jewels, and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her most valuable effects; incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows in the face. Then turning towards Cæsar, "Is it not a horrible thing," said she to him, "that while you have not disdained to visit me, and have thought fit to console me in the sad condition in which I now am, my own domestics should accuse me before you of retaining some women's jewels, not to adorn a wretch like myself, but as a slight present to your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess.

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved; and after having assured her that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could venture to hope, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, who, under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where; and besides that, her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better, therefore, to cajole him, she sent to desire that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Antony, to whom she addressed her discourse as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and tears, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath and from the bath to ta-

ble, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she arose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a couch, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after laid down as if she had fallen asleep. But that was the effect of the aspic, which was concealed amongst the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict examination; but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, that there seemed so little appearance of deceit in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had written to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Antony; and he instantly despatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

That princess was too haughty and too much above the vulgar, to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot.¹ Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw with a tearless and steadfast eye the mortal venom of the aspic glide into her veins.

She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. The statues of Antony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were; Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar 1000 talents that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a prefect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, if we date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued 293 years, from the year of the world 3661 to 3974.

¹ *Ausa et jacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno, foris et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum;
Deliberata morte ferocior:
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.*

Hor. Od. xxxvii. l. 1.

Not the dark palace of the realms below
Can awe the furious purpose of her soul:
Calmly she looks from her superior woe,
That can both death and fear control!
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,
And joys to feel his poison in her veins.
Invidious to the victor's fancied pride,
She will not for her own descend,
Disgraced a vulgar captive by his side,
His pompous triumph to attend;
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end.

CONCLUSION OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY.

WE have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and ancient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states separate, and in a manner entirely distinct from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, subsist during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire still remains, that of the Romans, which having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and, after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, will be itself torn, in a manner, into different pieces, and, by being so dismembered, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly, a picture on a small scale, of the duration of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that is most splendid and most capable of exciting admiration in human greatness! Every excellence, by a happy concurrence, is here found assembled; the fire of genius, delicacy of taste, accompanied by solid judgment; uncommon powers of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from nature and truth; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to our view! What powerful, what glorious kings! what great captains! what famous conquerors! what wise magistrates! what learned philosophers! what admirable legislators! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, who appear to possess them as privileges peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish and amaze us, so much do they appear above the power of human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But, whilst we are in admiration and ecstasy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone truly estimate all things, sees nothing in them but littleness, meanness, vanity, and pride; and while mankind are anxiously busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and, if that were possible, rendering them eternal, God, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him; "He seeth from everlasting to everlasting."¹ He has assigned to all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions which we have seen, nothing has come to pass by chance. We know that under the image of that statue which Nebuchadnezzar saw, of an enormous height and terrible aspect, whose head was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is splendid, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus? "A small stone was cut out without hands,² which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was

the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer thrashing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at least in part. Jesus Christ, who came down from heaven to clothe himself with flesh and blood in the sacred womb of the blessed Virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristics of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his disciples; in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, JESUS CHRIST will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea that a prophet represents him to us; "He went forth conquering and to conquer."³ His work and mission are, "to set up a kingdom for his Father, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom which shall not be left to other people;" like those of which we have seen the history; "but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever."

The power granted to JESUS CHRIST, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their might, have nothing which approaches in the slightest degree to that of JESUS CHRIST. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry and come to nothing even during their own lives. At least all their greatness vanishes and perishes with them. But with JESUS CHRIST it is quite otherwise. "All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth."⁴ He exercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing co-operates, directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of his designs.

Whilst all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and the human race, vainly employed with these outward appearances, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which, however, determines our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end than the formation of the company of the elect, which augments and tends daily towards perfection. When it shall have received its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect, "Then cometh the end,"⁵ when JESUS CHRIST shall have delivered the kingdom to God, even the FATHER: when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power." GOD grant that we may all have our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose King is love, and whose duration is eternity! *Fiat, Fiat.*

¹ Eccles. xxxix. 20.² Dan. ii. 34, 35.³ Apoc. vi. 2.⁴ Matt. xxviii. 18.⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 24.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
ARTS AND SCIENCES
OF
THE ANCIENTS.
BY M. ROLLIN.

INTRODUCTION.

ON THE BENEFIT OF ARTS AND SCIENCES TO MANKIND. THEIR ORIGIN TO BE ATTRIBUTED TO GOD.

THE history of arts and sciences, and of the persons who have most eminently distinguished themselves by them, to speak properly, is the history of the powers of the human mind, which in some sense does not give place to that of princes and heroes, whom common opinion places in the highest degree of elevation and glory. I do not intend, by speaking in this manner, to strike at the difference of rank and condition, nor to confound or level the order which God himself has instituted amongst men. He has placed princes, kings, and rulers of states over our heads, with whom he has deposited his authority; and after them generals of armies, ministers, magistrates, and all those with whom the sovereign divides the cares of government. The honours paid them, and the pre-eminence they possess, are no usurpation on their side. It is the divine providence itself that has assigned them their high stations, and demands submission, obedience, and respect for those that sit in its place.

But there is also another order of things, and, if I may be permitted to say so, another disposition of the same providence, which, without regard to the first kind of greatness I have mentioned, establishes a quite different species of eminence, in which distinction arises neither from birth, riches, authority, nor elevation of place, but from merit and knowledge alone. It is the same providence that regulates rank also of this kind, by the free and entirely voluntary dispensation of the talents of the mind, which it distributes in what proportion, and to whom it pleases, without any regard to quality and nobility of person. It forms, from the assemblage of the learned of all kinds, a new species of empire, infinitely more extensive than all others, which takes in all ages and nations, without regard to age, sex, condition, or climate. Here the plebeian finds himself upon a level with the nobleman, the subject with the prince, nay, often his superior.

The principal law and most legitimate proof of deserving solid praises in this empire of literature, is, that every member of it be contented with his own place; that he be void of all envy for the glory of others; that he looks upon them as his colleagues, destined, as well as himself, by providence, to enrich society, and become its benefactors; and that he remembers with gratitude from whom he holds his talents, and for what ends they have been conferred upon him. For, indeed, how can those, who distinguish themselves most amongst the learned, believe, that they have that extent of memory, facility of comprehending, industry to invent and make discoveries; that beauty, vivacity, and penetration of mind from themselves? and if they possess all these advantages from something exterior, how can they assume any vanity from them? But can they believe they may use them at their own pleasure, and seek in the application they make of them only their own glory and reputation? As providence places kings upon their thrones solely for the good of their people, it distributes also the different talents of the mind solely for the benefit of the public. But in the same manner as we sometimes see in states, usurpers and tyrants, who, to exalt themselves alone, oppress all others, there may also arise amongst the learned, if I may be allowed to say so, a kind of tyranny of the

mind, which consists in regarding the successes of others with an evil eye, in being offended at their reputation, in lessening their merit, in esteeming only one's self, and in affecting to reign alone,—a hateful defect, and very dishonourable to learning. The solid glory of the empire of learning in the present question, I cannot repeat it too often, is not to labour for one's self, but for mankind; and this, I am bold to say, is what places it exceedingly above all the other empires of the world.

The victories which take up the greatest part of history, and attract admiration the most, have generally no other effects, but the desolation of countries, the destruction of cities, and the slaughter of men. Those so much boasted heroes of antiquity, have they made a single man the better? Have they made many men happy? And if by the founding of states and empires they have procured posterity some advantages, how dearly have they made their cotemporaries pay for it, by the rivers of blood they have shed? Those very advantages are confined to certain places, and have a certain duration. What benefit do we, at this day, derive from either Nimrod, Cyrus, or Alexander? All those great names, all those victories which have astonished mankind from time to time—those princes and conquerors, with all their magnificence and vast designs, are returned into nothing with regard to us; they are dispersed like vapours, and are vanished like phantoms.

But the inventors of arts and sciences have laboured for all ages of the world. We still enjoy the fruits of their application and industry. They have provided, at a great distance for all our occasions. They have procured for us all the conveniences of life. They have converted all nature to our uses. They have reduced the most indocile matter to our service. They have taught us to extract from the bowels of the earth, and even from the depths of the sea, the most precious riches; and what is infinitely more estimable, they have opened to us the treasures of all the sciences; and have guided us to knowledge the most sublime, the most useful, and the most worthy of our nature. They have put into our hands, and placed before our eyes, whatever is most proper to adorn the mind, to direct our manners, and to form good citizens, good magistrates, and good princes.

These are part of the benefits we have received from those who have invented, and brought arts and sciences to perfection. The better to know their value, let us transport ourselves in imagination back to the infancy of the world, and those gross ages, when man, condemned to eat his bread by the sweat of his brow, was without aids and instruments, and obliged, however, to cultivate the earth, that he might extract nourishment from it; to erect himself huts and roofs for his security; to provide clothing for his defence against the frosts and rains; and, in a word, to find out the means to satisfy all the necessities of life. What labours, what difficulties, what disquiets! all which are spared us.

We do not sufficiently consider the obligations we are under to those equally industrious and laborious men, who made the first essays in arts, and applied themselves in those useful but elaborate researches. That we are commodiously housed, that we are cloth-

ed, that we have cities, walls, habitations, temples; to their industry and labour we are indebted for them all. It is by their aid our hands cultivate the fields, build houses, make stuffs and habits, work in brass and iron; and to make a transition from the useful to the agreeable, that we use the pencil, handle the chisel and graver, and touch instruments of music. These are solid and permanent advantages and emoluments, which have always been increasing from their origin; which extend to all ages and nations, and to all mankind in particular, which will perpetuate themselves throughout all times, and continue to the end of the world. Have all the conquerors together done any thing that can be imagined parallel with such services? All our admiration, however, turns generally on the side of these heroes in blood, whilst we scarce take notice of what we owe to the inventors of arts.

But we must go farther back, and render the just homage of praise and acknowledgment to him, who alone has been, and was capable of being, their author. This is a truth confessed by the Pagans themselves; and Cicero attests, most expressly, that men have all the conveniences of life from God alone: *Omnes mortales sic habent, externas commoditates a diis se habere*.¹

Pliny, the naturalist, explains himself in a still stronger manner, where he speaks of the wonderful effects of simples and herbs in regard to distempers; and the same principle may be applied to a thousand other effects which seem more astonishing than those. ² "It is," says he, "to understand very ill the gifts of the Divinity, and to repay them with ingratitude, to believe them capable of being invented by man. It is true, chance seems to have given birth to these discoveries; but that chance is God himself; by which name, as well as by that of nature, we are to understand him alone, who is the great parent of all things." In effect, how little soever we reflect upon the relation and proportion which appears, for instance, between the works of gold, silver, iron, brass, lead, and the rude mass as it lies hid in the earth, of which they are formed; when from linen cloth, whether fine or thin, or coarse and strong, and flax and hemp; between stuffs of all sorts, and the fleece of sheep; between the glossy beauty of wrought silks, and the deformity of an hideous insect; we ought to assure ourselves, that man, abandoned to his own faculties, could never have been able to make such happy discoveries. It is true, as Pliny has observed, that chance has seemed to give birth to most inventions; but who does not see, that God, to put our gratitude to trial, takes pleasure to conceal himself under these fortuitous events, as under so many veils, through which our reason, when ever so little enlightened by faith, traces with ease the beneficent hand which confers so many gifts upon us.

The divine providence shows itself no less in many modern discoveries, which now appear to us exceedingly easy, yet nevertheless escaped, during all preceding ages, the knowledge and inquiries of the many persons always intent upon the study and perfection of arts, till it pleased God to open their eyes, and to show them what they did not see before. In this number may be reckoned both wind and water mills, so commodious for the uses of life, which however are not very ancient. The ancients engraved upon copper: whence was it that they never reflected, that by impressing upon paper what they had engraved, they might write that in a moment which they had been so long in cutting with a tool? It is, notwithstanding,

only about three hundred years³ since the art of printing books has been discovered. The same may be said of gunpowder, of which our ancient conquerors were in great want, and which would have very much abridged the length of their sieges. The compass, that is to say, the needle touched with the loadstone, suspended upon an axis, is of such wonderful use, that to it alone we stand indebted for the knowledge of the new world, and by its means all the people of the earth are united by commerce. How came it that mankind, who knew all the other properties of the loadstone, were so long without discovering one of such great importance?

We may conclude in the same manner, I think, in regard to the incredible difficulty of some discoveries, which do not offer themselves by any outward appearances, and yet are almost as old as the world, and the extreme felicity of other inventions, which seem to guide us to them, and yet have not been discovered till after many ages, that both the one and the other are absolutely disposed by the direction of a superior Being, who governs the universe with infinite wisdom and power. We are indeed ignorant of the reasons which have induced God to observe a different conduct in the manifestation of these mysteries of nature, at least in a great measure; but that conduct is, however, no less to be revered. What he suffers us sometimes to see of it, ought to instruct us in respect to all the rest. Christopher Columbus conceives the design to go in search of new worlds. He addresses himself for that end to several princes, who look upon his enterprise as madness, and it seemed such in effect. But he had within him, with regard to this enterprise, an inherent impulse, an ardent and continual desire, which rendered him passionate, restless, and invincible to all obstacles and remonstrances. Who was it that inspired him with this bold design, and gave him such inflexible constancy, but God alone, who had resolved from all eternity, to enlighten the people of that new world with the lights of the gospel. The invention of the compass was the occasion of it. Providence had assigned a precise time for this great event. The moment could neither be advanced nor retarded. Hence it was that this discovery had been so long deferred, and was afterwards so suddenly and so courageously executed.

After these observations, which I thought useful to many of my readers, I shall proceed to my subject. [I shall divide all that relates to the arts and sciences into three books. In the first I shall treat of agriculture, commerce, architecture, sculpture, painting, and music. In the second I shall treat of the art-military, and what regards the raising and maintaining troops, battles, and sieges, both by sea and land. In the last book, with which my work will conclude, I shall run over the arts and sciences that have most relation to the mind,—grammar, poetry, history, rhetoric, and philosophy, with all the branches that either depend on, or have any relation to them.]

I must observe beforehand, with the same freedom I have professed hitherto, that I undertake to treat a subject of which many parts are almost entirely unknown to me. For this reason I shall have occasion for new indulgence. I demand permission therefore to make use freely, as I have always done (and am now reduced to do more than ever,) of all the helps I shall meet with in my way. I shall hazard losing the glory of being an author and inventor: but I willingly renounce it, provided I have that of pleasing my readers, and of being any way useful to them. Profound erudition must not be expected here, though the subject seems to imply it. I do not pretend to instruct the learned; my aim is to make choice of that from all the arts which may best suit the capacities of the generality of readers.

¹ Lib. 3. De. nat. deor. n. 86.

² Quæ si quis ullo fortè ab homine excogitari potuisset credit, ingratis deorum munera intelligit—Quod cerè casu repertum quis dubitet? His ergo casus, hic est ille, qui plurima in vita invenit Deus. Hoc habet nomen, per quem intelligitur eadem, et parens rerum omnium et magistra natura.—Plin.

³ It is now (1826) nearly a hundred years more since our Author wrote

THE HISTORY

OF THE

ARTS AND SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENTS.

CHAPTER I.

OF AGRICULTURE.

ARTICLE I.—ANTIQUITY OF AGRICULTURE. ITS UTILITY. THE ESTEEM IT WAS IN AMONGST THE ANCIENTS. HOW IMPORTANT IT IS TO PLACE IT IN HONOUR, AND HOW DANGEROUS TO NEGLECT THE APPLICATION TO IT.

I MAY with justice place agriculture at the head of the arts, which has certainly the advantage of all others, as well with regard to its antiquity as utility. It may be said to be as ancient as the world, having taken birth in the terrestrial paradise itself, when Adam, newly come forth from the hands of his Creator, still possessed the precious but frail treasure of his innocence; God having placed him in the garden of delights, commanded him to cultivate it; *ut operaretur illum: to dress and keep it*, Gen. ii. 15. That culture was not painful and laborious, but easy and agreeable; it was to serve him for amusement, and to make him contemplate in the productions of the earth the wisdom and liberality of his Master.

The sin of Adam having overthrown this order, and drawn upon him the mournful decree, which condemned him to eat his bread by the sweat of his brow; God changed his delight into chastisement, and subjected him to hard labour and toil, which he had never known had he continued ignorant of evil. The earth, become stubborn and rebellious to his orders, to punish his revolt against God, brought forth thorns and thistles. Violent means were necessary to compel it to pay man the tribute, of which his ingratitude had rendered him unworthy, and to force it, by labour, to supply him every year with the nourishment, which before was given him freely and without trouble.

From hence therefore we are to trace the origin of agriculture, which from the punishment it was at first, is become, by the singular goodness of God, in a manner the mother and nurse of the human race. It is, in effect, the source of solid wealth and treasures of a real value, which do not depend upon the opinion of men—which suffice at once to necessity and enjoyment, by which a nation is in no want of its neighbours, and often necessary to them—which make the principal revenue of a state, and supply the defect of all others, when they happen to fail. Though mines of gold and silver should be exhausted, and the monies made of them lost—though pearls and diamonds should remain hid in the womb of the earth and sea—though commerce with strangers should be prohibited—though all arts, which have no other object than embellishment and splendour, should be abolished, the fertility of the earth alone would afford an abundant supply for the occasions of the public, and furnish subsistence both for the people and armies to defend it. We ought not to be surprised, therefore, that agriculture was in so much honour amongst the ancients; it ought rather to seem wonderful that it ever should cease to be so, and that of all professions the most necessary and most indispensable should have fallen into so great contempt. We have seen in the whole course of our history, that the princ-

pal attention of the wisest princes, and the most able ministers was to support and encourage husbandry.

Amongst the Assyrians and Persians the Satrapæ were rewarded, in whose governments the lands were well cultivated, and those punished who neglected that part of their duty. Numa Pompilius, one of the wisest kings antiquity mentions, and who best understood and discharged the duties of the sovereignty, divided the whole territory of Rome into different cantons.¹

An exact account was rendered him of the manner in which they were cultivated, and he caused the husbandmen to come before him, that he might praise and encourage those whose lands were well manured, and reproach others with their want of industry. The riches of the earth, says the historian, were looked upon as the justest and most legitimate of all riches, and much preferred to the advantages obtained by war, which are of no long duration. Ancus Martius, the fourth king of the Romans, who piqued himself upon treading in the steps of Numa, next to the adoration of the gods, and reverence for religion, recommended nothing so much to the people, as the cultivation of lands and the breeding of cattle.² The Romans long retained this disposition, and in the latter times, whoever did not discharge his duty well, drew upon himself the animadversion of the censor.³

It is known from never failing experience, that the culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle, which is a consequence and necessary part of it, has always been a certain and inexhaustible source of wealth and abundance. Agriculture was in no part of the world in higher consideration than in Egypt, where it was the particular object of government and policy; and no country was ever better peopled, richer, or more powerful. The strength of a state is not to be computed by extent of country, but by the number of its citizens, and the utility of their labour.

It is hard to conceive, how so small a tract as the land of Promise should be able to contain and nourish an almost innumerable multitude of inhabitants: this was from the whole country's being cultivated with extreme application.

What history relates of the opulence of several cities in Sicily, and in particular of the immense riches of Syracuse, of the magnificence of its buildings, of the powerful fleets it fitted out, and the numerous armies it had on foot, would appear incredible, if not attested by all the ancient authors. From whence can we believe, that Sicily could raise wherewith to support such enormous expenses, if not from the produce of their lands, which were improved with wonderful industry? We may judge of their application to the culture of land, from the care taken by one of the most powerful kings of Syracuse, (Hiero II.) to compose a book upon that subject, in which he gave wise advice and excellent rules, for supporting and augmenting the fertility of the country.

¹ Dion. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. ii. p. 135.

² Id. l. iii. p. 177.

³ *Agrum male colere Censorium probrum adjudicabatur.*—*Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.*

Besides Hiero, other princes are mentioned,¹ who did not think it unworthy their birth and rank, to leave posterity precepts upon agriculture, so sensible were they of its utility and value: of this number were Attalus, surnamed Philometor, king of Pergamus, and Archelaus of Cappadocia. I am less surprised that Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and other philosophers, who have treated politics in particular, have not omitted this article, which makes an essential part of that subject. But who would expect to see a Carthaginian general amongst these authors? I mean Mago. He must have treated this matter with great extent, as his work, which was found at the taking of Carthage, consisted of twenty-eight volumes. So high a value was set on it, that the senate ordered it to be translated, and one of the principal magistrates took upon himself the care of doing it.² Cassius Dionysius of Utica had before translated them out of the Punic language into Greek.³ Cato, the censor, had however published his books upon the same subject. For Rome was not then entirely depraved, and the taste for the ancient simplicity still continued in a certain degree. She remembered with joy and admiration, that in ancient times her senators lived almost continually in the country; that they cultivated their lands with their own hands, without ever indulging rapacious and unjust desires for those of other men; and that consuls and dictators were often taken from the plough.⁴ In those happy times, says Pliny,⁵ the earth, glorious in seeing herself cultivated by the hands of triumphant victors, seemed to make new efforts, and to produce her fruits with greater abundance; that is, no doubt because those great men, equally capable of handling the plough and their arms, of sowing and conquering lands, applied themselves with more attention to their labour, and were of course more successful in it. And indeed, when a person of condition, with a superior genius, applies himself to arts, experience shows us, that he does it with greater ability, force of mind, industry, taste, and with more inventions, new discoveries, and various experiments; whereas an ordinary man confines himself servilely within the common road, and to his ancient customs. Nothing opens his eyes—nothing raises him above his old habits; and after many years of labour, he continues still the same, without making any progress in the profession he follows.

Those great men I have mentioned had never undertaken to write upon agriculture, if they had not been sensible of its importance, which most of them had personally experienced. We know what a taste Cato had for rural life, and with what application he employed himself in it. The example of an ancient Roman, whose farm adjoined his, was of infinite service to him. (This was Manius Curius Dentatus, who had thrice received the honour of a triumph.) Cato often went to walk in it, and considering the small extent of that land, the poverty and simplicity of the house, he was struck with admiration for that illustrious person, who, when he became the greatest of the Romans, having conquered the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, cultivated this little land with his own hands, and after so many triumphs, inhabited so wretched a house.⁶ It is here, said he to himself, that the ambassadors of the Samnites found him by his fire-side, boiling roots, and received this wise answer from him, after having offered him a great sum

of money: That gold was a thing of small value to one who could be satisfied with such a dinner; and that for his part, he thought it more glorious to conquer those who had that gold, than to possess it himself.⁷ Full of these thoughts, Cato returned home, and making an estimate of his house, lands, slaves, and expenses, he applied himself to husbandry with more ardour, and retrenched all needless superfluity. Though very young at that time, he was the admiration of all that knew him. Valerius Flaccus, one of the most noble and most powerful persons of Rome, had lands contiguous to Cato's small farm. He there often heard his slaves speak of his neighbour's manner of living, and of his labour in the field. He was told, that in the morning he used to go to the small cities in the neighbourhood, to plead and defend the causes of those who applied to him for that purpose. That from thence he returned into the field, where, throwing a mean coat over his shoulders in winter, and almost naked in summer, he worked with his servants, and after they had done, he sat down with them at table, and ate the same bread, and drank the same wine.⁸

We see by these examples how far the ancient Romans carried the love of simplicity, poverty, and labour. I read with singular pleasure the tart and sensible reproaches which a Roman senator makes to the augur Appius Claudius, upon the magnificence of his country houses, by comparing them to the farm where they then were. "Here (said he) we see neither painting, statues, carving, nor mosaic work; but to make us amends, we have all that is necessary to the cultivation of lands, the dressing of vines, and the feeding of cattle. In your house every thing shines with gold, silver, and marble; but there is no sign of arable lands or vineyards. We find there neither ox, nor cow, nor sheep. There is neither hay in cocks, vintage in the cellars, nor harvest in the barn. Can this be called a farm? In what does it resemble that of your grandfather, and great-grandfather?"⁹

After luxury was introduced to this height amongst the Romans, the lands were far from being cultivated, or producing revenues as in ancient days. At a time when they were in the hands of slaves or abject mercenaries, what could be expected from such workmen, who were forced to their labour only by ill treatment?¹⁰ This was one of the great, and most imprudent neglects, remarked by all the writers upon this subject in the latter times; because to cultivate lands properly, it is necessary to take pleasure and be delighted with the work, and for that end to find it for one's interest and gain to follow it.

It is therefore highly important, that the whole land of a kingdom should be employed to the best advantage, which is much more useful than to extend its limits; in order to this, each master of a family residing in the small towns and villages, should have some portion of land appropriated to himself; whence it would follow, that this field, by being his own, would be dearer to him than all others, and be cultivated with application; that his family would think such employment their interest, attach themselves to their farm, subsist upon it, and by that means be kept within the country. When the country people are not on their own estates, and are only employed for hire, they are very negligent in their labour, and even work with re-

¹ De cultura agri præcipere fuit, etiam apud exteros.—*Plin.* l. xviii. c. 3.

² D. Syllanus.

³ Varr. de Re Rust. l. i. c. 1.

⁴ Antiquitus abaratro arcescebantur ut consules fierent—Attilum sua manu spargentem semem qui missi erant convenerunt—Suos agros studiosè colebant, non alienos cupidè appetebant.—*Cic. pro Rose. Amer.* n. 50.

⁵ Quæ nam ergo tantæ ubertatis causa erat? Ipsorum tunc manibus Imperatorem colebantur agri (ut fas est credere) gaudente terra vomere laureato, et triumphali aratore: sive illi eadem eura semina tractabant, quæ bella, eademque diligentia arva disponebant, quæ castra: sive honestis manibus omnia lætius proveniunt, quoniam et curiosius fiunt.—*Plin.* l. xviii. c. 3.

⁶ Hunc, et incompitis Curium capillis Utilem bello tulit et Camillum Sævæ paupertas, et avitus apto Cum lare fundus.

⁷ Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites eum attulissent repudiati ab eo sunt. Non enim anrum habere præclarum sibi videri dixit, sed is qui haberent aurum imperare. Cicero makes Cato himself speak thus, in his book upon old age, n. 55.

⁸ This puts me in mind of a fine saying of Pliny the younger, who gave his freedmen the same wine he drank himself. When some body represented that this must be very chargeable to him: No, said he; my freedmen do not drink the same wine I drink, but I the same they do. Quia scilicet liberti mei non idem quod ego bibunt, sed idem ego quod liberti.—*Plin.* l. ii. Epist. 6.

⁹ Varr. l. iii. c. 2.

¹⁰ Nunc eadem illi (arva) vineti pedes, damnate manus, inscripti vultus excenti—Nos miramur ergastulorum non eadem emolumenta esse, quæ fuerint Imperatorum.—*Plin.* l. xviii. c. 3.

gret. A lord and landholder ought to desire that their lands and estates should continue a long time in the same family, and that their farmers should succeed in them from father to son; from whence a quite different regard for them would arise: and what conduced to the interest of particulars, would also promote the general good of the state.¹ But when an husbandman or farmer has acquired some wealth by his industry and application, which is much to be desired by the landlord for his own advantage, it is not by this gain, says Cicero, the rents laid on them are to be measured, but by the lands themselves they turn so much to their account; the produce of which ought to be equitably estimated and examined into, for ascertaining what new imposition of rents they will bear.² For to rackrent and oppress those who have applied themselves well to their business, only because they have done so, is to punish, and indeed to abolish, industry; whereas, in all well regulated states, it has always been thought necessary to animate it by emulation and reward.

One reason of the small produce of the lands, is, because agriculture is not looked upon as an art that requires study, reflection, and rules: every one abandons himself to his own taste and method, whilst no body thinks of making a serious scrutiny into them, of trying experiments, and of uniting precepts with experience.³ The ancients did not think in this manner.⁴ They judged three things necessary to success in agriculture. *The will*: this employment should be loved, desired, and delighted in, and followed in consequence out of pleasure. *The power*: it is requisite to be in a condition to make the necessary expenses for the breeding and fattening of cattle and fowl of all sorts, for labour, and for what ever is necessary to the manuring and improving of lands; and this is what most of our husbandmen want. *The skill*: it is necessary to have studied maturely all that relates to the cultivation of lands, without which the two first things are not only ineffectual, but occasion great losses to the master of a family, who has the affliction to see, that the produce of the land is far from answering the expenses he has been at, or the hopes he has conceived from them; because those expenses have been laid out without discretion, and without knowledge in the application of them. To these three heads a fourth may be added, which the ancients had not forgot, that is, *experience*, which presides in all arts, is infinitely above precepts, and makes even the faults we have committed our advantage: for, from doing wrong we often learn to do right.⁵

Agriculture was in quite different esteem with the ancients, to what it is with us: which is evident from the multitude and quality of the writers upon this subject. Varro cites to the number of fifty amongst the Greeks only. He wrote upon it also himself, and Columella after him. The three Latin authors, Cato, Varro, and Columella, enter into a wonderful detail upon all the parts of agriculture. Would it be an ungrateful and barren employment to compare their opinions and reflections with the modern practice?

Columella,⁶ who lived in the time of Tiberius, declares, in a very warm and eloquent manner, the general contempt into which agriculture was fallen in his time, and the persuasion men were under, that to succeed in it, there was no occasion for a master. "I see at Rome," said he, "the schools of philoso-

phers, rhetoricians, geometricians, musicians, and what is more astonishing, of people solely employed, some in preparing dishes proper to whet the appetite, and excite gluttony; and others to adorn the head with artificial curls, but not one for agriculture. However, the rest might be well spared; and the republic flourished long without any of those frivolous arts; but it is not possible to want that of husbandry, because life depends upon it.⁷ Besides, is there a more honest or legal means of preserving, or increasing a patrimony? Is the profession of arms of this kind, and the acquisition of spoils always dyed with human blood, and amassed by the ruin of an infinity of persons? Or is commerce so, which, tearing citizens away from their native country, exposes them to the fury of the winds and seas, and drags them into unknown worlds in pursuit of riches? Or is the trade of money and usury more laudable, odious and fatal as they are, even to those they seem to relieve?⁸ Can any one compare any of these methods with wise and innocent agriculture, which only the depravity of our manners can render contemptible, and by a necessary consequence, almost barren and useless? Many people imagine, that the sterility of our lands, which are much less fertile now than in times past, proceeds from the intemperance of the air, the inclemency of seasons, or from the alteration of the lands themselves; that weakened and exhausted by long and continual labour, they are no longer capable of producing their fruits with the same vigour and abundance. This is a mistake," says Columella: "we ought not to imagine, that the earth, to whom the author of nature has communicated a perpetual fecundity, is liable to barrenness as to a kind of disease. After its having received from its master a divine and immortal youth, which has occasioned its being called the common mother of all things, because it always has brought forth, and ever will bring forth from its womb, whatever subsists, it is not to be feared, that it will fall into decay and old age like man. It is neither to the badness of the air, nor to length of time, that the barrenness of our lands is to be imputed; but solely to our own fault and neglect: we should blame only ourselves, who abandon those estates to our slaves, which in the days of our ancestors, were cultivated by the most noble and illustrious."

This reflection of Columella seems very solid, and is confirmed by experience. The land of Canaan (and as much may be said of other countries) was very fertile at the time the people of God took possession of it, and had been seven hundred years inhabited by the Canaanites. From thence to the Babylonish captivity was almost a thousand years. In the latter days, there is no mention of its being exhausted, or worn out by time, without speaking of the after ages. If, therefore, it has been almost entirely barren during a long course of years, as is said, we ought to conclude with Columella, that it is not from its being exhausted or grown old; but because it is deserted and neglected.⁹ And we ought also to conclude, that the fertility of some countries, of which so much is said in history, arises from the particular attention of the inhabitants in tilling the land, in cultivating the vines, and breeding of cattle; of which it is time to say something.

ARTICLE II.

OF TILLAGE. COUNTRIES FAMOUS AMONGST THE ANCIENTS FOR ABOUNDING WITH CORN.

I SHALL confine myself, in speaking of tillage, to what relates to wheat, as the most important part of that subject.

The countries most famous for abounding in corn

¹ Lucium Volusium asseverantem audivi, patris familias felicissimum fundum esse, qui colonus indigenas haberet, et tanquam in paterna possessione notos, jam inde a cunabulis longa familiaritate retineret.—Colum. l. i. c. 7.

² Cum Arator aliqum onus imponitur, non omnes, si quæ sunt præterea, facultates, sed aratorius ipse vis ac ratio consideranda est, quid ea sustineat, quid pati, quid efficere possit ac debeat.—Cic. *Verr. de frum.* n. 199.

³ Dehemus et imitari alius, et aliter ut faciamus quadam experientia tentare. Varro. l. i. c. 13.

⁴ Colum. l. i. c. 1.

⁵ Usus et experientia dominantur in artibus, neque est ulla disciplina in qua non peccando discatur. Nam ubi quid perperam administratum esse it improperè, vitatur, quod sœclerata, illuminata rectam viam docentis magistrum. Colum. *ibid.*

⁶ Colum. in præm. l. i.

⁷ Sine ludicris artibus—olini satis felices futuræque eunt urbes: at sine agricultoribus nec consistere mortales, nec alii posse manifestum est.

⁸ Ad fœneratio probabilior sit etiam his invisæ quibus succurrere videtur.

⁹ Non igitur fatigatione, quemadmodum plurimi crediderunt, nec senio, sed nostra scilicet inertia minus benignè nobis arva respondent. Colum. l. ii. c. 2.

were Thrace, Sardinia, Sicily, Egypt, and Africa.¹ Athens brought every year from Byzantium four hundred thousand *medimni* of wheat, as Demosthenes informs us.² The *medimnus* contained six bushels, and was sold in his time for no more than five drachmas, that is to say, for fifty pence French. How many other cities and countries did Thrace furnish with corn, and how fertile must it consequently have been! It is not without reason that Cato the censor, whose gravity of manners occasioned him to be surnamed the *Wise*, called Sicily the magazine and nursing mother of the Roman people.³ And indeed it was from thence Rome brought almost all her corn, both for the use of the city and the subsistence of her armies. We see also in Livy, that Sardinia supplied the Romans with abundance of corn.

All the world knows how much the land of Egypt, watered and enriched by the Nile, which served it instead⁴ of the husbandman, abounded with corn.⁵ When Augustus had reduced it into a Roman province, he took particular care of the bed and canals of this beneficent river, which by degrees had been much clogged with mud, through the neglect of the kings of Egypt, and caused them to be cleansed by the Roman troops, whom he left there. From thence came regularly every year, twenty millions of bushels of wheat. Without this supply, the capital of the world was in danger of perishing by famine. She saw herself in this condition under Augustus, for there remained only three days' provision of corn in the city. That prince, who was full of tenderness for the people, had resolved to poison himself, if the expected fleets did not arrive before the expiration of that time. They came, and the preservation of the people was attributed to the good fortune of the prince. We shall see, that wise precautions were afterwards taken to avoid the like danger for the future.

Africa did not give place to Egypt in point of fertility.⁶ In one of its countries, one bushel of wheat sown has been observed to produce an hundred and fifty. From a single grain almost four hundred ears would sometimes spring up, as we find by letters to Augustus and Nero, from those who governed Africa under them. This was, no doubt, very uncommon. But the same Pliny, who relates these facts, assures us, that in Bœotia and Egypt it was a very common thing for a grain to produce an hundred and fifty ears: and he observes, upon this occasion, the attention of the divine providence, which hath ordained, that of all plants, that which it had appointed for the nourishment of man, and in consequence the most necessary, should be also the most fruitful.

I have said that Rome at first brought almost all her corn from Sicily and Sardinia. In process of time, when she had made herself mistress of Carthage and Alexandria, Africa and Egypt became her store-houses. Those cities sent numerous fleets every year, freighted with wheat for the use of the Roman people, then lords of the universe. And when the harvest happened to fail in one of these provinces, the other came in to its aid, and supported the capital of the world. Corn, by this means, was at a very low price at Rome, and sometimes sold for no more than two *asses*, or pence, a bushel.⁷ The whole coast of Africa abounded exceedingly with corn, in which part of the wealth of Carthage consisted.⁸ The city of Leptis only, situated in the lesser Syrtis, paid a daily tribute to it of a talent, that is to say, of three thousand livres. In the war against Philip, the Carthaginian ambassadors supplied the Romans with a million of bushels of corn, and five hundred thousand of barley. Those of Massinissa gave them also as much.⁹

Constantinople was supplied in the same manner, when the seat of empire was transplanted thither. An admirable order was observed in both these cities, for subsisting the immense number of people that inhabited them. The emperor Constantine caused almost fourscore thousand bushels of corn, which came from Alexandria, to be distributed daily at Constantinople;¹⁰ this was for the subsistence of six hundred and forty thousand men, the Roman bushel serving only eight men. When the emperor Septimius Severus died, there was corn in the public magazines for seven years, expending daily seventy-five thousand bushels, that is to say, bread for six hundred thousand men.¹¹ What a provision was this against the dearth of any future years!

Besides these I have mentioned, there were many other countries very fruitful in corn. For the sowing of an acre, only one *medimnus* of corn was required: *medimnum*.¹² The *medimnus* consisted of six bushels, each of which contained very near twenty pound weight of corn. (It is observed, in the *Spectacle de la Nature*, that the usual and sufficient quantity for sowing an acre, is an hundred and twenty pounds of corn: which comes to the same amount.) The highest produce of an acre was ten *medimni* of corn, that is to say, ten for one; but the ordinary produce was eight, with which the husbandmen were well satisfied. It is from Cicero we have this account; and he must have known the subject very well, as he uses it in the cause of the Sicilians against Verres. He speaks of the country of the Leontines, which was one of the most fruitful in Sicily.¹³ The highest price of a bushel of corn amounted to three sesterces, or seven pence half-penny. It was less than that of France by almost one fourth. Our septier contains twelve bushels, and is often sold for ten livres. By that estimate, our bushel is worth sixteen pence and something more; that is to say, twice the price of the bushel of the ancients, and something more. All that Cicero relates upon the subject of corn, as to its price, how much of it was necessary for sowing an acre, and what quantity it produced being sown, ought not to be considered as an established rule; for these would vary considerably according to soils, countries, and times.

The ancients had different methods of thrashing their corn.¹⁴ They made use, for that purpose, either of sledges armed with points; or of horses, which they made trample upon it; or of flails, with which they beat the sheaves, as is now customary in many places. They also used various methods for preserving corn a great while, especially by shutting it up close in the ear in subterranean caverns, which they covered on all sides with straw, to defend it against damps; closing the entrance with great care, to prevent the air from getting in. Varro assures us, that corn would keep good in that manner for fifty years.¹⁵

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.—CULTIVATION OF THE VINE. WINES CELEBRATED IN GREECE AND ITALY.

WE may believe, that mankind have been no less industrious in the cultivation of the vine, than in that of corn, though they applied themselves to it later. The scripture informs us, that the use of wine was not known till after the deluge. "Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard," Gen. ix. 20. It was, no doubt, known before, but only in the grape, and not as liquor. Noah planted it methodically, and discovered the use that might be made of the fruit, by pressing out and preserving the liquor. He was deceived by its sweetness and strength, which he had not experienced: "And he drank of the wine and was drunken." The Pagans transferred the honour of the invention of wine to Bacchus, of which they never had much knowledge; and what is said of Noah's drunkenness, made them consider Bacchus as the god of drunkenness and debauch.

¹ Demosth. in orat. cont. Lept. p. 546.

² Id. in Phorm. p. 346.

³ Ille M. Cato Sapiens cellam penariam reip. nostræ nutriticem plebis Romanæ Siciliam nominavit.—Itaque ad omnes res Sicilia provincie semper ubi sumus; ut, quicquid ex se posset afferre id non apud eos nasci sed domi nostræ conditum putaremus. *Cic. Ferr. c. 3. n. 5.*

⁴ Nilus ibi coloni vice fungitur. *Plin.*

⁵ S. ut Aurel. vict. in epitul.

⁶ Liv. l. xxxi. n. 60.

⁷ Liv. l. xliii. n. 6.

⁸ Plin. l. xviii. c. 8.

⁹ Id. l. xxxv. n. 62.

¹⁰ Sacerat. l. ii. c. 13.

¹¹ *Ælian. Spartan. in Sever.*

¹² Cic. in Verr. de frum. n. 112.

¹³ Cic. *ibid.* n. 173.

¹⁴ Plin. l. xviii. c. 30.

¹⁵ Lib. i. de Re Rust. c. 5.

The offspring of Noah having dispersed into the several countries of the world, carried the vine with them from place to place, and taught the use to be made of it. Asia was the first to experience the sweets of this gift, and soon imparted it to Europe and Africa. We see in Homer,¹ that, in the time of the Trojan war, part of the commerce consisted in the freight of wines. The wine was kept in those days in large earthen jars, or in the skins of beasts; which custom continues to this day in countries where wood is not plenty. It is believed that we are indebted to the Gauls, that settled on the banks of the Po, for the useful invention of preserving our wine in vessels of wood exactly closed, and for retaining it within bounds, notwithstanding its fermentation and strength. From that time the keeping and transporting it became more easy, than when it was kept in earthen vessels, which were liable to be broke, or in bags of skin, apt to unsew or grow mouldy.

Homer mentions a very famous wine of Maroneæ in Thrace, which would bear mixing with twenty times as much water.² But it was common for the natives to drink it unmixed. Nor have authors³ been silent upon the excessive brutalities to which that nation were subject. Pliny⁴ tells us, that Mucianus,⁵ who had been thrice consul, being in that country in his own time, had experienced the truth of what Homer says, and saw that in a certain measure of wine they put fourscore times as much water; which is four times as much as the Grecian poet speaks of. The same author⁶ mentions wines much celebrated in Italy, which took their name from Opimius, in whose consulate they were made, which were preserved to his time, that is, almost two hundred years, and were not to be purchased for money. A very small quantity of this, mingled with other wines, communicated to them, as was pretended, a very surprising strength and exquisite flavour. How great soever the reputation of the wines made in the consulate of Opimius might be, or in that of Anicius, for the latter were much cried up, Cicero set no such great value upon them; and above an hundred years before Pliny writes, he found them too old to be supportable.⁷

Greece and Italy, which were distinguished in so many other respects, were particularly so by the excellency of their wines. In Greece, besides many others, the wines of Cyprus, Lesbos, and Chio were much celebrated. Those of Cyprus are in great esteem to this day. Horace often mentions those of Lesbos, and represents them as very wholesome and agreeable.⁸ But Chio carried it from all the other countries, and eclipsed their reputation so much, that the inhabitants of that island were thought to be the first who planted the vine, and taught the use of it to other nations.⁹ All these wines were in so great esteem, and of so high a price, that at Rome, so late as to the infancy of Lucullus, in their entertainments they drank only one cup of them at the end of the feast.¹⁰ Their prevailing qualities were sweetness and a delicious flavour.

Pliny was convinced that the libations of milk instituted by Romulus,¹¹ and Numa's prohibition to hon-

our the dead by pouring wine upon the funeral pile, were proofs that in those days vines were very scarce in Italy. They increased considerably in the following ages; and it is very probable that for this the Romans were obliged to the Greeks, whose vines were in high repute, as they were in process of time also, for their taste for arts and sciences. It was the wines of Italy, in the time of Camillus, that brought the Gauls again thither.¹² The charms of the liquor, which were entirely new to them, were powerful attractions to induce them to quit their country.

Two-thirds of all the places famed for the goodness of wine were in Italy. The ancient custom of that country,¹³ which it still retains, was to fasten their vines to trees,¹⁴ and especially to the poplar, to the tops of which they projected their slender circling branches: this had a very fine effect, and was a most agreeable object to the eye. In several places they made use of props, as we do. The country of Capua alone supplied them with the Massick, Calenian, Formian, Cæcuban, and Falerian, so much celebrated by Horace.¹⁵ It must be allowed, that the goodness of the soil, and the happy situation of all those places, contributed very much to the excellency of these wines; but we must also admit, that they owed it more to the care and industry of the husbandmen, who applied themselves with their utmost attention to the cultivation of the vines. The proof of which is, that in Pliny's time,¹⁶ which was about an hundred years after Horace, the reputation of these wines, formerly so famous, was entirely come to nothing, through the negligence and ignorance of the vine-dressers, who, blinded by the hope of gain, were more intent upon having a great quantity, than good wine.

Pliny cites several examples of the extreme difference which cultivation will produce in the same land.¹⁷ Amongst others, he tells us of a celebrated grammarian, who lived in the reign of Tiberius and Claudius, and purchased a vineyard at a small price, which had long been neglected by its ancient masters. The extraordinary care he took of it, and the peculiar manner in which he cultivated it, occasioned a change in a few years, that seemed little less than a prodigy *ad vix credibile miraculum perduxit*. So wonderful a success, in the midst of other vineyards, which were almost always barren, drew upon him the envy of all his neighbours, who, to cover their own sloth and ignorance, accused him of magic and sorcery.

Amongst the wines of Campania, which I have mentioned, the Falerian was in great vogue.¹⁸ It was very strong and rough, and was not deemed sufficiently improved for use till it had been kept ten years. To soften that roughness, and qualify its austerity, they made use of honey, or mingled it with Chio, and by that mixture made it excellent. This ought, in my opinion, to be ascribed to the refined and delicate taste of those voluptuous Romans, who, in the

¹² *Eam gentem (Gallorum) traditur fama, dulcedine frugum, maximeque vini nova tum voluptate captam, Alpes transisse.*—*Liv.* l. v. n. 33.

¹³ In Campano agro vites populis nubunt, maritosque complexæ atque per ramos earum procacibus brachiis geniculato curso scandentes, cacumena aquant.—*Plin.* l. xvi. c. 1.

¹⁴ From this custom three elegant expressions in Horace take birth, all derived from the same metaphor. He says, *he marries the trees to the vines.* *Epod.* 2.

*Ergo aut adulta vitum propagine
Altas maritat populos.*

He calls the same trees *widowers*, when the vines are no longer fastened to them. *Od.* v. l. iv. *Aut vitum viduas docuit arboribus.* And gives the name of *bachelors* to the trees which never had the vine annexed to them: *Platanus cæles vinetum utmos.*—*Od.* 15. l. ii.

¹⁵ *Cæcubum, et prælo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam: mea nec Faleriæ
Temperant vites, neque Formiani
Pocula colles.*—*Od.* 20. l. i.

*Cæcubus and Calenum join
To fill thy bowls with richest wine:
My humble cups do not produce
The Formian or Falerian juice.*

¹⁶ *Quod jam intercidit incuria coloni.*—*Cura, culturaque id contigerat.* Exolevit hoc quoque culpa (Vinitorum) copia potius quam bonitati studium.—*Plin.* l. xiv. c. 6.

¹⁷ *Liv.* xiv. c. 3.

¹⁸ *Athen.* l. i. p. 26.

¹ *Iliad.* l. vii.

² *Odyssey.* l. ix. v. 197.

³ *Natis id usum lætitiæ scyphis*

Pugnare Thracum est.—*Hor.* *Od.* xxvii. l. i.

With bowls for mirth and joy design'd,
To fight befits the Thracian hind.

⁴ *Plin.* l. xiv. c. 4.

⁵ This was the celebrated Mucianus, who had so much share in the election of Vespasian to the empire.

⁶ *Plin.* l. xiv. c. 4.

⁷ *Atqui ex notæ sunt optimæ credo: sed nimia vetustas nec habet eam, quam quærimus, suavitatem, nec est sane tam tolerabilis.*—*Cic.* *in Brut.* n. 287.

⁸ *Hic innocentis pocula Lesbii*

Duces sub umbra.—*Od.* vii. l. i.

Beneath the shade you here may dine,
And quaff the harmless Lesbian wine.

⁹ *Athen.* l. i. pp. 26, 32.

¹⁰ *Tanta vino Græco gratia erat, ut singula potiones in convitiis darentur.*—*l.* Lucullus puer apud patrem nunquam lautum convivium vult, in quo plus semel Græcum vinum daretur.—*Plin.* *ex Varro.* l. xiv. c. 14.

¹¹ *Plin.* l. ix. c. 12.

latter times, spared nothing to exalt the pleasures of the table, by whatever was most agreeable, and most capable of gratifying the senses. There were other Falernian wines more temperate and soft, but not so much esteemed.

The ancients, who so well knew the excellency of wine, were not ignorant of the dangers attending too free an use of it.¹ I need not mention the law of Zaleucus, by which the Epizephyrian Locrians were universally forbid the use of wine upon pain of death, except in case of sickness. The inhabitants of Marselles and Melitus showed more moderation and indulgence, and contented themselves with prohibiting it to women. At Rome,² in the early ages, young persons of liberal condition were not permitted to drink wine till the age of thirty; but as for the women, the use of it was absolutely forbid to them; and the reason of that prohibition was, because intemperance of that kind might induce them to commit the most excessive crimes. Seneca complains bitterly that this custom was almost universally violated in his times. The weak and delicate complexion of the women, says he, is not changed; but their manners are changed, and no longer the same.³ They value themselves upon carrying excess of wine to as great an height as the most robust men. Like them they pass whole nights at table, and with a full glass of unixed wine in their hands, they glory in vying with them, and, if they can, in overcoming them.

The emperor Domitian passed an edict in relation to wine, which seemed to have a just foundation.⁴ One year having produced abundance of wine, and very little corn, he believed they had more occasion for the one than the other, and therefore decreed that no more vines should be planted in Italy; and that in the provinces, at least one half of the vines should be rooted up. Philostratus expresses himself, as if the decree ordained that they should all be pulled up, at least in Asia; because, says he, the seditions which arose in the cities of that province, were attributed to wine.⁵ All Asia deputed Seoplianus, a professor of eloquence at Smyrna, to go to Rome upon that occasion. He succeeded so well in his remonstrances, that he obtained not only that vines should continue to be cultivated, but that those who neglected to do so should be laid under a fine. It is believed that Domitian was chiefly induced to abolish his edict by the dispersing of papers with two Greek verses in them, signifying, that let him do what he would, there would still remain wine enough for the sacrifice, in which an emperor should be the offering.⁶ It seems, however, says Mr. Tillamont, that his edict subsisted throughout the greatest part of the west to the reign of Probus; that is, almost two hundred years. That emperor, who after many wars had established a solid peace in the empire, employed the troops in many different works, useful to the public, to prevent their growing enervate through sloth, and that the soldier might not eat his pay without deserving it. So that, as Hannibal had formerly planted the whole country of Africa with olive trees, lest his soldiers, for want of something to do, should form seditions; Probus, in like manner, employed his troops in planting vines upon the hills of Gaul, Pannonia, Mesia, and in many other countries. He permitted in general the Gauls, Pannonians, and Spaniards, to have as many vines as they thought fit; whereas, from the time of Domitian, that permission had not been granted to any nation of the world.

SECTION II.—PRODUCE OF THE VINES IN ITALY IN COLUMELLA'S TIME.

BEFORE I conclude this article upon vines, I cannot omit extracting a passage of Columella. which

¹ Athen. l. x. p. 429.

² Vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit, ne scilicet in aliquod dedecus proberebentur: quia proximo a libro patre intemperantia gradus ad inconcessam venerem esse consequit.—*Val. Max.* l. i. c. 1.

³ Non minus, pervigilant, nun minus potant; et mero viros provocant.

⁴ Sueton. in Domit. c. 7.

⁵ Philostrat. vit. Apollon. l. vi. c. 7.

⁶ Sueton. in Domitian. c. 14.

explains what profit was made from them in his time. He enters for this purpose into a detail which seems sufficiently curious to me, and makes an exact calculation of the expense and produce of a vineyard of seven acres. His design is to prove, that the cultivation of vines is more beneficial than any other kind of husbandry, not excepting that of corn itself. That might be true in his times, but it is not so in ours, at least in the general opinion. This difference arises, perhaps, from the various accidents to which the vine is subject in France: frosts, rains, blights, which are not so much to be apprehended in hot countries. To these may be added the high price of casks in plentiful years, which swallows up the greatest part of the vine-dresser's profit, and the customs, which very much diminish (to the grower) the price of wines. Even amongst the ancients, all were not of Columella's opinion. Cato, indeed, gave vines the first rank, but those only which produced the most excellent liquor, and in great abundance.⁷ With the same conditions, we still think in the same manner. Many gave the preference to pasture lands; and their principal reason was, that the charges in the culture of vines were almost equal to their produce.

I.—The charges necessary for seven acres of vines.

These are,	livres.
1. For the purchase of a slave, whose labour sufficed for the cultivation of seven acres of vines, eight thousand sestertii, . . .	1000
2. For a field of seven acres, seven thousand sestertii, . . .	875
3. For the props and other necessary expenses for seven acres, fourteen thousand sestertii, . . .	1750
These three sums added together amount to twenty-nine thousand sestertii, . . .	3625
4. For the interest of the aforesaid sum of twenty-nine thousand sestertii for two years, during which the land does not bear, and the money lies dead, three thousand four hundred and fourscore sestertii, . . .	435
The total of the expense amounts to thirty-two thousand, four hundred and eighty sestertii, . . .	4060

II.—PRODUCE OF SEVEN ACRES OF VINES.

The yearly produce of seven acres of vines, is six thousand three hundred sesterces; that is, seven hundred fourscore and seven livres, ten sols. Of which what follows is the proof.

The *Culeus* is a measure which contains twenty *amphoræ*, or forty *urnæ*. The *amphora* contains twenty-six quarts, and somewhat more. The *Culeus*, in consequence, contains five hundred and twenty quarts, which make two hogsheads of the Paris measure, wanting fifty-six quarts. The lowest value of the *Culeus* is three hundred sestertii; that is to say, thirty-seven livres, ten sols. The least produce of each acre was three *Culci*, which were worth nine hundred sestertii,⁸ or an hundred and twelve livres, ten sols. The seven acres therefore produced a profit of six thousand three hundred sestertii, which make seven hundred fourscore and seven livres, ten sols. The interest of the total expense, which is thirty-two thousand four hundred and fourscore sestertii, that is, four thousand and sixty livres; this interest, I say, at six per cent. per annum, amounts to one thousand nine hundred and forty-four sestertii and something more, or two hundred and forty-three livres. The interest of the sum arising from the annual produce of a vineyard of seven acres, is six thousand three hundred sestertii; that is, seven hundred fourscore and seven livres, ten pence. From whence may be seen how much the latter interest exceeds the former, which

⁷ Cato quidem dicit [primum agrum esse] ubi vineæ possunt esse bono vino et multo. Alii dant primatum bonis pratis.—*Vineam* sunt qui putent sumptu fructum devorare.—*Varr. de Re Rustic.* l. i. c. 7, 8.

⁸ Columella observes, that each acre of Seneca's vineyards produced eight *Culci*.—*Lib. iii.* c. 3. And Varro, that in many places an acre produced from ten to fifteen, l. i. c. 2.

was, however, the common interest of money. This is what Columella would prove.

Besides this produce, Columella reckons another profit, arising from layers. The layer is a young shoot¹ or branch of a vine, which is set in the earth, where it takes root in order for propagation of the plant. Each acre produced yearly ten thousand of these layers at least, which sold for three thousand sestertii, or three hundred and seventy-five livres. The layers produced therefore from the seven acres, twenty-one thousand sestertii, or two thousand six hundred and twenty livres. Columella computes the produce of these layers at the lowest value; for as to himself, he assures us his own vineyards produced regularly twice as much. He speaks only of the vines of Italy, and not of those of other provinces.

Adding the produce of the wine to that of the plants or layers, the profit upon seven acres of vines amounted to three thousand four hundred livres. The produce of these layers, unknown to our vine-dressers, proceeded, no doubt, from the vine's being very rare in a great number of provinces; and the reputation of the vines of Italy having spread universally, people came from all parts to buy those layers, and to enable themselves, by their means, to plant good vineyards in places which had none before, or which had only such as were indifferent.

ARTICLE IV.

OF THE BREEDING OF CATTLE.

I HAVE said that the breeding of cattle is a part of agriculture. It certainly is an essential part of it, not only because cattle, from the abundance of their dung, supply the earth with the manure which is necessary to the preservation and renovation of its vigour, but because they share with man in the labours of husbandry, and spare him the greatest part of the toil. Hence it was that the ox, the laborious companion of man in tilling the ground, was so highly regarded by the ancients, that whoever had killed one of them was punished with death, as if he had killed a citizen; no doubt, because he was esteemed a kind of murderer of the human race, whose nourishment and life stood in absolute need of the aid of this animal.²

The farther we look back into antiquity, the more we are assured, that in all nations the breeding of cattle produced considerable revenues.³ Without speaking of Abraham, whose numerous family of domestics shows the multitude of his flocks and herds, or of his kinsman Laban, the holy scripture observes, Job i. 3, that the greatest part of Job's riches consisted in cattle; and that he possessed seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses. It was by this the land of promise, though of very moderate extent, enriched its princes, and the inhabitants of the country, whose numbers were incredible, amounting to more than three millions of souls, including women and children. We read that Ahab, king of Israel, 2 Kings iii. 4, imposed an annual tribute upon the Moabites, whom he had conquered, of an hundred thousand sheep. How much must this number have multiplied in a short time, and what abundance occasioned throughout the whole country!

The holy scripture, in representing Uzziah, 2 Chron. xxvi. 10, as a prince accomplished for every part of a wise government, does not fail to inform us, that he had a great number of husbandmen and vineyards, and that he fed abundance of cattle. He caused great enclosures to be made in the countries, and vast houses for foddering the flocks and herds, with lodges fortified with towers, for the shepherds to retire to with their flocks, and to secure them against irruptions. He also took care to have great numbers of cisterns cut for watering the flocks; works not so

splendid, but no less estimable, than the most superb palaces. It was, without doubt, the particular protection which he gave to all who were employed in the cultivation of lands, or the breeding of cattle, that rendered his reign one of the most opulent Judea had ever seen. And he did thus, saith the scripture, "because he loved husbandry;" *Erat enim homo agriculturæ deditus*. The text is still stronger in the Hebrew: *QUIA DILIGEBAT TERRAM*, "because he loved the ground." He took delight in it, perhaps cultivated it with his own hands; at least, he made husbandry honourable; he knew all the value of it, and was sensible that the earth, manured with diligence and skill, was an assured source of riches both to the prince and people; he therefore thought attention to husbandry one of the principal duties of the sovereignty, though often the most neglected.

The scripture says also of the holy king Hzekiah, 2 Chron. xxxii. 29: "Moreover he provided him cities and possessions of flocks and herds in abundance, for God had given him substance very much." It is easy to conceive, that the shearing of sheep alone, without mentioning other advantages from them, could not but produce a very considerable revenue in a country where an almost innumerable multitude were continually fed. And hence we find, that the time for shearing of sheep was a season of festivity and rejoicing.

Amongst the ancient pagans the riches of the kings consisted in cattle, as we find from Latinus in Virgil, and Ulysses in Homer. It was the same amongst the Romans, who by the ancient laws did not pay fines in money, but in oxen and sheep.

We must not be surprised, after having considered the great advantages produced by the breeding and feeding of cattle, that so wise a man as Varro has not disdained to give us an extensive account of all the beasts that are of any use to the country, either for tillage, breed, or for carriage, and the other conveniences of man. He speaks first of small cattle, sheep, goats, and hogs; *greges*. He proceeds next to the large beasts, oxen, asses, horses, and camels; *armen-ta*. And concludes with fowl, which may be called domestic animals, *villaticæ pecudes*; pigeons, turtles, doves, fowls, geese, and many others. Columella enters into the same detail;⁴ and Cato the censor runs over part of it. The latter, upon being asked what was the surest and shortest method to enrich a country, replied, the feeding of cattle, which is attended with an infinity of advantages to those who apply themselves to it with diligence and industry. And, indeed, the beasts that labour in the field render mankind continual and important services; and the advantages he reaps from them do not conclude even with their lives. They divide with him, or rather spare him the most laborious part of the work, without which the earth, however fruitful in itself, would continue barren, and not produce him any increase. They serve him in bringing home with safety into his house the riches he has amassed without doors, and carry him on his journeys. Many of them cover his table with milk, cheese, wholesome food, and even the most exquisite dishes; and supply him with the rich materials of the stuffs he is in want of for clothing himself, and with a thousand other conveniences of life.

We see, from what has been said hitherto, that the country, covered with corn, wine, flocks, and herds, is a real Peru to man, and a much more valuable and estimable one than that from whence he extracts gold and silver, which, without the other, would not preserve him from perishing with hunger, thirst, and cold. Placed in the midst of a fertile territory, he beholds around him at one view all his riches; and without quitting his little empire, he finds immense and innocent treasures within his reach. These he regards, no doubt, as gifts from the liberal hand of that supreme Master to whom he is indebted for all things; but he regards them also as the fruits of his own labour, and that renders them still more grateful to him.

¹ Vidi radices.

² Bos laboriosissimus hominis socius agriculturae cuius tanta fuit apud antiquos veneratio, ut tam capitale esset bovem necasse quam civem.—Colum. in *Præf.* l. vi.

³ In rusticatione vel antiquissima est ratio pascendi, eademque est questuosissima.—*Ibid.*

⁴ Columel. *præf.* l. vi.

SECTION V.—INNOCENCY AND PLEASURE OF A RURAL LIFE, AND OF AGRICULTURE.

THE revenues and profits which arise from the culture of lands, is neither the sole nor the greatest advantage accruing from it. All the authors who have wrote upon rural life,¹ have always spoken of it with the highest praises, as of a wise and happy state, which inclines a man to justice, temperance, sobriety, sincerity, and, in a word, to every virtue; which in a manner shelters him from all passions, by keeping him within the limits of his duty, and of a daily employment, that leaves him little leisure for vices. Luxury, avarice, injustice, violence, and ambition, the almost inseparable companions of riches, take up their ordinary residence in great cities, which supply them with the means and occasions: the hard and laborious life of the country does not admit of these vices. This gave room for the poets to feign that Astræa, the goddess of justice, had her last residence there, before she entirely quitted the earth.

We see in Cato the form of a prayer used by the country people, wherein may be discerned the precious tokens of the ancient tradition of men, who attributed every thing to God, and addressed themselves to him in all their temporal necessities, because they knew he presided over all things, and that all things depended on him. I shall repeat a good part of it, and hope it will not be unacceptable. It is in a ceremony called *Solitaurilia*, and according to some *Suetaurilia*, in which the country people made a procession round their lands, and offered libations and sacrifices to certain gods.

"Father Mars," said the suppliant, "I humbly implore and conjure you, to be propitious and favourable to me, my family, and all my domestics, in regard to the occasion of the present procession in my fields, lands, and estate; to prevent, avert, and remove from us all diseases, known and unknown, desolations, storms, calamities, and pestilential air; to make our plants, corn, vines, and trees grow and come to perfection; to preserve our shepherds and flocks; to grant thy preservation of life and health to me, my family, and all my domestics." What a reproach is it that Christians, and often those who have the greatest share in the goods of this world, should in these days be so little careful to demand them from God, and be ashamed to thank him for them! Amongst the Pagans all their meals began and ended with prayers, which are now banished from almost all our tables.

Columella enters into a detail upon the duties of the master or farmer,² in regard to his domestics, which seems full of reason and humanity. "Care ought to be taken," says he, "that they are well clad, but without finery; that they are defended against the wind, cold, and rain. In directing them,³ a medium should be observed between too great indulgence and excessive rigour, in order to make them rather fear than experience severities and chastisements; and they should be prevented from doing amiss by diligence, and their master's presence; for good conduct consists in preventing, instead of punishing, faults. When they are sick, care should be taken that they are well tended, and that they want for nothing; which is the certain means to make their business grateful to them."⁴ He recommends also the same usage of slaves, who often worked laden with chains, and who were generally treated with great rigour.

What he says with regard to the mistress of a country family is very remarkable.⁵ Providence, in

uniting man and woman, intended they should be a mutual support to each other, and for that reason assigned to each of them their peculiar functions. The man, designed for business without doors, is obliged to expose himself to heat and cold; to undertake voyages by sea, and journeys by land; to support the labours of peace and war, that is, to apply himself to the works of the field, and in carrying arms; all exercises which require a body robust, and capable of bearing fatigues. The woman, on the contrary, too weak to sustain these offices, is reserved for affairs within doors. The care of the house is confided to her; and as the proper qualities for her employment are attention and exactitude, and as fear renders us more exact and attentive, it was necessary that the woman should be more timorous. On the contrary, because the man acts and labours almost always without doors, and is often obliged to defend himself against injuries, God has infused boldness and courage into him. Hence from all ages, both amongst the Greeks and Romans, the government of the house devolved upon the women, that their husbands, after having transacted their business abroad, might return to their houses free from all cares, and find a perfect tranquillity at home.⁶ This is what Horace describes so elegantly in one of his odes,⁷ [which Dryden translates thus:

But if a chaste and pleasing wife,
To ease the business of his life,
Divides with him his household care,
Such as the Sabine matrons were,
Such as the swift Apulian's bride,
Sunburnt and swartly though she be,
Will fire for winter's nights provide,
And without noise will oversee
His children and his family;
And order all things till he come,
Sweaty, and over-labour'd, home;
If she in pens his flock will fold,
And then produce her dairy store,
And wine to drive away the cold,
And unbought dainties of the poor, &c.]

The ancients seem to have excelled themselves in treating this subject, which supplies so many fine thoughts and beautiful expressions. [Mr. Rollin gives here a prose translation of the passage at bottom, in the *Georgics*,⁸ which it was conceived would be no less agreeable in Mr. Dryden's version.

O happy, if he knew his happy state,
The swain, who free from business and debate,
Receives his easy food from nature's hand,
And just returns of cultivated land
No palace, &c.
But easy, quiet, a secure retreat,
A harmless life, that knows not how to cheat,
With homebred plenty the rich owner bless,
And rural pleasures crown his happiness.
Unmix'd with quarrels, undisturbed with noise,
The country-king his peaceful realm enjoys:
Cool grots, and living lakes, the flowery pride
Of meads, and streams that through the valleys glide;

⁶ Nam et apud Græcos, et mox apud Romano susque in patrum nostrorum memoriam, fere domestic labor matronalis fuit, tanquam ad requiem forensium excitationum omni cura deposita patribus familiis intradomesticis penates se recipientibus.

⁷ Quod si pudica mulier in partem juvet

Domum atque dulces liberos,

(Sibina qualis aut perusta solibus

Periclis uxor Appuli)

Særum vetustis extruat lignis focum

Lassi sub adventum viri;

Claudesque textis cratibus lætum pœcus,

Distenta siccet ubera,

Et hurna dulci vina promens dolio,

Dapes inemptas apparet, &c.—*Hor. Ep. 2.*

⁸ O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
Agricolæ! quibus, ipsa, procul discordibus arma
Fundit humo facilem victum justissima tellus.

Si non, &c.

At secura quies, et nescia fallere vita

Dives opum variumque; ut latius otia fundis,

Speluncæ, vivique lacus; at frigida Tempe,

Mugitusque bouum, mollesque sub arbori somni

Non absunt: illic saltus ac lustra ferarum,

Et patiens operum, parvoque assueta juvenus,

Sacra Deum, sanctique patres. Extrema per illos

Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

Virg. Georg. l. ii.

¹ In urbe luxuries creator: ex luxuria existat avaritia: necesse est: ex avaritia erumpat audacia: inde omnia scelera gignuntur.—In rusticis moribus, in victu arido, in hac horrida inculcata via istiusmodi maleficia gigni non solum.—Cupiditates porro que possunt esse in eo, qui ruri semper habitari, et in agro colendo vixit? Quæ vita maxime disjuncta a cupiditate, et eum officio conjuncta.—Vita autem rustica, parcimonia, diligentia, justitia, magistra est.—*Cic. pro Rose. Amer. n. 39 and 75.*

² Columel. l. i. c. 8.

³ The lands were cultivated by slaves.

⁴ Colum. l. xii. c. 1.

⁵ Colum. in præf. l. xii.

And shady groves, that easy sleep invite,
And after toilsome days, a soft repose at night.
Wild beasts of nature in his wood abound,
And youth, of labour patient, plough the ground,
Inured to hardship, and to homely fare.
Nor venerable age is wanting there,
In great examples to the youthful train:
Nor are the gods adored with rights profane.
From hence *Astræa* took her flight, and here
The prints of her departing steps appear.

Georg. lib. ii. l. 439.]

The fine description Cicero gives us, in his essay upon old age, of the manner in which corn and grapes gradually arrive at perfect maturity, shows his taste for the country life, and instructs us, at the same time, in what manner we ought to consider those wonderful productions, that merit our admiration no less from their being common and annual. And indeed, if a simple description gives so much pleasure, what effect, in a mind rationally curious, ought the reality itself to have, and the actual view of what passes in vineyards and fields of corn, till the fruits of both are brought in, and laid up in cellars and barns? And as much may be said of all the other riches, with which the earth annually clothes herself. This is what makes a residence in the country so agreeable and delightful, and so much the desire of magistrates and persons employed in serious and important affairs. Tired and fatigued with the continual cares of the city, they naturally cry out with Horace, "O country, when shall I see you? When will it be allowed me to forget, in thy charming retreats, my cares and solicitude, either in amusing myself with the books of the ancients, or enjoying the pleasure of having nothing to do, or reposing myself in sweet slumber?" The purest pleasures are, no doubt, to be found there. The country seems, according to the happy expression of the same poet,² to restore us to ourselves, in relieving us from a kind of slavery, and in placing us where we may justly be said to live and reign. We enter, in a manner, into a conversation with the trees and plants; we question them; we make them give us an account of the fruits they produce; and receive such excuses as they have to make when defective in bearing: alleging sometimes the great rains, sometimes excessive heats, sometimes the severity of the cold.³ It is Horace who lends them this language.

All I have said sufficiently implies, that I speak no longer of that painful and laborious tillage, to which man was at first condemned: but that I have another in view, intended for his pleasure, and to employ him with delight; an employment perfectly conformable to his original institution, and the design of his Creator, as it was commanded Adam immediately after his formation. In effect, it seems to suggest to us the idea of the terrestrial paradise, and to partake in some measure of the happy simplicity and innocence which reigned there. We find that in all times, it has been the most grateful amusement of princes and the most powerful kings. Without mentioning the famous hanging gardens, with which Babylon was adorned, the scripture informs us, that *Ahasuerus* (*Darius*, son of *Darius Hystaspes*) had planted part of the trees of his garden, and that he cultivated it

with his own royal hands, *Jussit convivium præparari in vestibulo horti et nemoris, quod regio cultu et manu, consilium erat.*⁴ [I do not find the latter part of this text in the English Bible.] We have said, that *Cyrus* the younger answered *Lysander*, who admired the beauty, economy, and disposition of his gardens, that himself had drawn the plan, laid them out, and planted many of the trees with his own hands. *Ego omnia ista sum dimensus: mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio: multæ etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satæ.*⁵

We should never be willing to quit so delightful a residence, were it possible for us to possess it always; and have endeavoured, at least, for our consolation, to impose a kind of illusion upon ourselves, by transporting the country in a manner into the midst of cities; not a simple and almost wild country, but a trim, laid out, embellished, I had almost said, painted country. I mean those adorned and elegant gardens, which present so grateful and splendid a view to our eyes. What beauty, riches, abundance, variety of sweets, colours, and objects! To see the unvariable constancy and regularity of flowers in succeeding each other, (and as much may be said of fruits) one would think that the earth, attentive to pleasing its master, endeavours to perpetuate her presents, by continually paying him the new tributes of every season.⁶ What a throng of reflections does not this suggest to a curious, and still more to a religious mind!

Pliny, after having confessed, that no eloquence was capable of expressing duly the incredible abundance, and wonderful variety of the riches and beauties, which nature seems to spread with complacency and delight throughout gardens, adds a very just and instructive remark. He observes upon the difference nature has made as to the duration of trees and flowers.⁷ To the trees and plants designed for the nourishment of man with their fruits, and for the structure of ships and edifices, she has granted years and even ages of time. To flowers and sweets, which serve only for pleasure, she has given only some moments and days of life; as if she intended to admonish us, that what is most shining and splendid soonest fades, and passes away with rapidity. *Malherbe* expresses this latter thought in a very lively manner, where he deplores the death of a very young and beautiful person:

Et rose elle a vécu ce qui vivent les roses,
L'espace d'un matin.

And lived a rose, as roses live,
A single morning's space.

It is the great advantage of agriculture to be more strictly united with religion and also moral virtue, than any other art; which made Cicero say, as we have seen, that the country life came nearest to that of the wise man; that is, it was a kind of practical philosophy.

To conclude this small treatise where I began it, it must be confessed, that of all human employments, which have no immediate relation to God and justice, the most innocent is agriculture. It was, as has been said, that of the first man in his state of innocence and duty. It afterwards became part of the penance imposed on him by God. So that, both in the states of innocence and sin, it was commanded to him, and in his person to all his descendants.⁸ It is, however, become, in the judgment of pride, the meanest and most contemptible of employments; and whilst useless arts, which conduce only to luxury and voluptuousness, are protected and honoured, all those who labour for the welfare and happiness of others are abandoned to poverty and misery.

¹ O rus, quando exote aspicium, quandoque licet
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno, et inertibus horis,
Ducere sollicitæ jucunda obliuia vitæ?

O rural scenes, and O serene abodes,
Wherein we seem to emulate the gods,
When, void of care, of passion, and of strife,
And all the busy ills of tedious life,
With you my happy hours shall I employ
In sweet vicissitudes of rest and joy,
In hooks that raise the soul, and learned ease,
In sleep, in leisure, and in what I please? *Paraph.*

² Villæ sylvarum, et mihi me reddentis ægelli.

Hor. Ep. 14. l. i.

³ Vivo et regno, simul ista reliqui, &c.—*Hor. Ep. 10. l. i.*

⁴ Fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquaæ
Culpante, nunc torrentia agros
Sidera, nunc hiemes iniquaæ—*Hor. Od. 1. l. iiii.*

When the land fails, and in its fruits
Against the show'ry skies imputes,
Or the whole blame with equal reason casts
On summer's sultry suns, or winter's fatal blasts.

⁴ *Esther* i. 5.

⁵ *Cic. de Senec. tut. n. 59.*

⁶ Sed illa quante benignitas nature, quod tam multa ad
vescendum, iam varia, tamque jucunda gignit: neque ea
uno tempore anni, ut semper et novitate delectemur, et co-
pia.—*Cic. de nat. deor. l. ii. n. 131.*

⁷ Quippe reliqua usus alimentique gratia genuit: ideoque
secula annosque tribuit iis. Flores vero odoresque in diem
gignit: magna et palam est, admonitio hominum, quæ
spectatissimè florent, celerrimè marcescunt.—*Plin. l. ii. c. l.*

⁸ Hate not laborious work, nor the husbandry, which the
Most High hath created.—*Ecclesiast. vii. 15.*

OF COMMERCE.

ARTICLE I.

EXCELLENCY AND ADVANTAGES OF COMMERCE.

It may be said, without fear of being suspected of exaggeration, that commerce is the most solid foundation of civil society, and the most necessary principle to unite all men, of whatever country or condition they are, with each other. By its means the whole world is but one city, and one family. It is the source of universal plenty to every part of it. The riches of one nation become those of all people, and no country is barren, or at least sensible of its sterility. All its necessities are provided for in time from the extremities of the universe; and every region is amazed to find itself abound in foreign productions, and enriched with a thousand commodities, unknown to itself, and which, however, compose all that is most agreeable in life. It is by the commerce of the sea and rivers, that is to say, by navigation, that God has united all mankind amongst themselves in so wonderful a manner, by teaching them to direct and govern the two most violent things in nature, the sea and the winds, and to render them subservient to their use and occasion.¹ He has joined the most remote people by this means, and preserved amongst the different nations an image of the dependence he has ordained in the several parts of the same body by the veins and arteries. This is but a weak, a slight idea of the advantages arising from commerce to society in general. With the least attention to particulars, what wonders might we not discover! But this is not the proper place for such inquiries.

I shall confine myself to one reflection, which seems very proper for our understanding at once the weakness and grandeur of man. I shall consider him, at first, in the highest degree of elevation to which he is capable of attaining. I mean upon the throne; lodged in superb palaces; surrounded with all the splendour of the royal dignity; honoured and almost adored by throngs of courtiers, who tremble in his presence, and vie with each other for his favour; placed in the centre of riches; and supported by numerous armies, who wait only to obey his orders. Behold the height of human greatness! But what becomes of this so powerful, so awful, prince, if commerce happens to cease on a sudden; if he is reduced to himself, to his own industry and personal endeavours? Abandoned to himself in this manner; divested of that pompous outside, which is not him, and is absolutely foreign to his person; deprived of the support of others, he falls back into his native misery and indigence; and to sum up all in a word, he is no longer any thing.

Let us now consider man in a mean condition, inhabiting a little house; reduced to subsist on a little bread, meat, and drink; covered with the plainest clothes; and enjoying in his family, not without difficulty, the other conveniences of life. What seeming solitude, what a forlorn state, what oblivion seems he in with regard to all other mortals! We are much deceived when we think in this manner. The whole universe is attentive to him. A thousand hands work for his occasions, and to clothe and nourish him. For him manufactures are established, granaries and cellars filled with corn and wine, and different metals extracted from the bowels of the earth with so much danger and difficulty. There is nothing, even to the things that minister to pleasure and voluptuousness, which the most remote nations are not solicitous to transfer to him through the most stormy seas. Such are the supplies which commerce, or, to speak more

properly, divine providence, always employed for our occasions, continually procures for us all, for each of us in particular:—supplies which, to judge aright of them, are in a manner miraculous, which ought to fill us with perpetual admiration, and make us cry out with the prophet, in the transports of a lively gratitude, “O Lord, what is man, that thou art mindful of him; or the son of man, that thou visitest him!”²

It would be to no purpose for us to say, that we lie under no obligation to those who labour for us in this manner, because their particular interest puts them in motion. This is true; but is their work therefore of less advantage to us? God, to whom alone it belongs to produce good from evil itself, makes use of the covetousness of some for the benefit of others. It is with this view providence has established so wonderful a diversity of conditions amongst us, and has distributed the goods of life with so prodigious an inequality. If all men were easy in their fortunes, were rich and opulent, who amongst us would give himself the trouble to till the earth, to dig in the mine, or to cross the seas? Poverty or covetousness charge themselves with these laborious, but useful toils. From whence it is plain, that all mankind, rich or poor, powerful or impotent, kings or subjects, have a mutual dependence upon each other for the demands of life; the poor not being able to live without the rich, nor the rich without the labour of the poor. And it is commerce, subsisting from these different interests, which supplies mankind with all their necessities, and at the same time with all their conveniences.

ARTICLE II.

ANTIQUITY OF COMMERCE. COUNTRIES AND CITIES MOST FAMED FOR IT.

It is very probable, that commerce is no less ancient than agriculture. It began, as was natural, between private persons, mankind assisting each other with whatsoever surplus they had of things useful and necessary to human life. Cain, no doubt, supplied Abel with corn and the fruits of the earth for his food; and Abel, in exchange, supplied Cain with skins and fleeces for his clothing, and with milk, curds, and perhaps meat for his table. Tubal-Cain, solely employed in works of copper and iron, for the various uses and occasions of life, and for arms to defend men either against human enemies or wild beasts, was certainly obliged to exchange his brass and iron works for other merchandise, necessary for his food, clothing, and lodging. Commerce afterwards, extending gradually from neighbour to neighbour, established itself between cities and adjacent countries, and after the deluge, enlarged its bounds to the extremities of the world.

The holy scripture gives us a very ancient example of traffic by the caravans of the Ishmaelites and Midianites, to whom Joseph was sold by his brethren.³ They were upon their return from Gilead, with their camels laden with spices, aromatic goods, and with other precious merchandise of that country. These they were carrying into Egypt, where there was a great demand for them, occasioned by their custom of embalming the bodies of men, after their death, with great care and expense.

Howar informs us, that it was the custom of the heroic age of the siege of Troy, for the different nations to exchange the things that were most necessary for life, with each other;⁴ a proof, says Pliny, that

¹ Quas res violentissimas natura genuit, earum moderationem nos soli habemus, maris atque ventorum, propter nauticarum rerum scientiam.—*Cic. de Nat. Deor.* l. ii. c. 15.

² Psal. viii. 4.

³ Gen. xxvii. 25.

⁴ Quantum felice ævo, cum res ipsæ permotabantur inter sese sicut et Trojaniis temporibus factitium Homero

it was rather necessity than avarice that gave birth to this primitive commerce. We read in the seventh book of the *Iliad*, that upon the arrival of certain vessels, the troops went in crowds to purchase wine, some with copper, and others with iron, skins, oxen, and slaves.

We find no navigators in history so ancient as the Egyptians and Phœnicians. These two neighbouring nations seem to have divided the commerce by sea between them: the Egyptians had possessed themselves chiefly of the trade of the East, by the Red Sea; and the Phœnicians of that of the West, by the Mediterranean. What fabulous authors say of Osiris, who is the Bacchus of the Greeks, that he undertook the conquest of the Indies, as Scesostris did afterwards, makes it probable that the Egyptians carried on a great trade with the Indians.

As the commerce of the Phœnicians was much more to the west than that of the Egyptians, it is no wonder that they are more celebrated upon that account by the Greek and Roman authors. Herodotus says that they were the carriers of the merchandise of Egypt and Assyria, and transacted all their trade for them, as if the Egyptians had not employed themselves in it; and that they have been believed the inventors of traffic and navigation, though the Egyptians have a more legitimate claim to that glory. Certain it is, the Phœnicians distinguished themselves most by ancient commerce, and are also a proof to what a height of glory, power, and wealth a nation is capable of raising itself merely by trade.

This people possessed a narrow tract of land upon the sea-coast, and Tyre itself was built in a very barren district; which, had it been richer and more fertile, would not have been sufficient for the support of the great number of inhabitants, which the early success of its commerce drew thither. Two advantages made them amends for this defect. They had excellent ports upon the coasts of their small state, particularly that of their capital; and they had naturally so happy a genius for trade, that they were looked upon as the inventors of commerce by sea, especially of that carried on by long voyages.

The Phœnicians knew so well how to improve both these advantages, that they soon made themselves masters of the sea, and of trade. Libanus and other neighbouring mountains supplying them with excellent timber for building of vessels, in a little time they fitted out numerous fleets of merchant vessels, which hazarded voyages into unknown regions, in order to establish a trade with them. They did not confine themselves to the coasts and ports of the Mediterranean; they entered the ocean by the straits of Cadiz or Gibraltar, and extended their correspondence to the right and left. As their people multiplied almost infinitely by the great number of strangers, whom the desire of gain, and the certain opportunity of enriching themselves, drew to their city; they saw themselves in a condition to plant many remote colonies, and particularly the famous one of Carthage, which retaining the Phœnician spirit with regard to traffic, did not give place to Tyre itself in trading, and surpassed it exceedingly in extent of dominion and glory of military expeditions.

The degree of glory and power to which commerce and navigation elevated the city of Tyre, rendered it so famous, that we could scarce believe there is no exaggeration in what profane authors report of it, if the prophets themselves had not spoke of it with still greater magnificence. "Tyre," says Ezekiel, to give us some idea of its power, "is a superb vessel. They have made all thy ship-boards of fir-trees of Senir; they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee. Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars: the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim. Fine linen, with brodered work from Egypt, was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail: blue

and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners: thy wise men, O Tyrus, that were in thee, were thy pilots."² The prophet, by this figurative language, designs to show us the power of this city. But he gives with more energy a circumstantial account of the different people with whom it traded. The merchandises of the whole earth seemed to be laid up in this city, and the rest of the world appeared less its allies than tributaries.

The Carthaginians trafficked with Tyre for all sorts of riches, and filled its markets with silver, iron, pewter, and lead.³ Greece, Tubal, and Meshech, brought it slaves and vessels of copper. Togarnah⁴ supplied it with horses and mules. Dedan,⁵ with elephants' teeth and ebony. The Syrians exposed to sale in it pearls, purple, wrought cloths, lawn, silk, and all sorts of precious merchandise. The people of Judah and Israel brought thither the finest wheat, balm, honey, oil, and fruits. Damascus sent it excellent wine, and wool of the most lively and most exquisite dyes; other people furnished it with iron work, myrrh, the aromatic calamus, and carpets of exquisite workmanship to sit upon. Arabia,⁶ and all the princes of Kedar, brought thither their flocks of lambs, sheep, and goats. Sheba and Raamah,⁷ the most excellent perfumes, precious stones, and gold; and others, cedar-wood, bales of purple, embroidered clothing, and every kind of rich goods.

I shall not undertake to distinguish exactly the situation of the different nations of whom Ezekiel speaks, this not being the proper place for such a disquisition. It suffices to observe, that this long enumeration, into which the Holy Spirit has thought fit to descend with regard to the city of Tyre, is an evident proof, that its commerce had no other bounds than the world, as known at that time. Hence it was considered as the common metropolis of all nations, and as the queen of the sea. Isaiah paints its grandeur and state in most lively, but very natural colours, where he says that Tyre wore the diadem upon her brows; that the most illustrious princes of the universe were her correspondents, and could not be without her traffic; that the rich merchants, enclosed within her walls, were in a condition to dispute precedence with crowned heads, and pretended, at least, to an equality with them: "Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowned city, whose merchants are princes whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth."⁸

I have related elsewhere the destruction of the ancient Tyre by Nebuchadonosor, after a siege of thirteen years; and the establishment of the New Tyre, which soon repossessed itself of the empire of the sea, and continued its commerce with more success and more splendour than before; till at length, being stormed by Alexander the Great, he deprived it of its maritime strength and trade, which were transferred to Alexandria, as we shall soon see.

Whilst both the old and the new Tyre experienced such great revolutions, Carthage, the most considerable of their colonies, was become very flourishing. Traffic had given it birth; traffic augmented it, and put it into a condition to dispute the empire of the world for many years with Rome. Its situation was much more advantageous than that of Tyre. It was equally distant from all the extremities of the Mediterranean sea; and the coast of Africa, upon which it was situated, a vast and fertile region, supplied it abundantly with the corn necessary to its subsistence. With such advantages, those Africans, making the best use of the happy genius for trade and navigation

² Ezek. xxvii. 5.

³ Ezek. v. 20—24.

⁴ Tubal and Meshech. The holy scripture always joins these two people. The latter intends Muscovy; the former, without doubt, was its neighbour.

⁵ Togarnah. Cappadocia, from whence came the finest horses, of which the emperors reserved the best for their own stables.

⁶ Dedan. The people of Arabia.

⁷ Arabia Deserta. Kedar was near it.

⁸ Sheba and Raamah. People of Arabia Felix. All antiquity mentions the riches and spices of this people.

⁹ Isa. xxiii. 8.

eredi convenit! Ita enim, ut opinor, commercia victus gratia inventa. Alios coriis boum, alios ferro captivisque rebus emittantur traditi.—*Plin.* l. xxxiii. c. 1.

¹ Herod. l. c. 1.

VOL. II.—46

which they had brought from Phœnicia, attained so great a knowledge of the sea, that in that point, according to the testimony of Polybius, no nation was equal to them. By this means they rose to such a height of power, that in the beginning of their third war with the Romans, which occasioned their final ruin, Carthage had seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and three hundred cities in its dependence upon the continent of Africa only. They had been masters not only of the tract of land extending from the great Syrtis to the pillars of Hercules, but also of that which extends itself from the same pillars to the southward, where Hanno, the Carthaginian, had founded so many cities, and settled so many colonies. In Spain, which they had almost entirely conquered, Asdrubal, Hannibal's father, who commanded there after Barca, had founded Carthæna, one of the most celebrated cities of those times. Great part also of Sicily and Sardinia had formerly submitted to their yoke.

Posterity might have been indebted for great lights to the two illustrious monuments of the navigation of this people, in the history of the voyages of Hanno, styled king of the Carthaginians, and of Imilco, if time had preserved them. The first related the voyages he had made in the ocean, beyond the pillars of Hercules, along the western coast of Africa; and the other, his voyages on the western coast of Europe, both wrote by order of the senate of Carthage. But time has consumed those writings.

This people spared neither pains nor expenses to bring navigation to perfection. That was their only study. The other arts and sciences were not cultivated at Carthage. They did not pique themselves upon polite knowledge. They professed neither poetry, eloquence, nor philosophy. The young people, from their infancy, heard of nothing in conversation but merchandise, accounts, ships, and voyages. Address in commerce was a kind of inheritance in families, and was the best part of their fortunes; and as they added their own observations to the experience of their fathers, we ought not to be surprised that their ability in this way always increased, and made such a wonderful progress. Hence it was that commerce raised Carthage to so high a degree of wealth and power, that it cost the Romans two wars, the one of twenty-three, and the other of seventeen years, both bloody and doubtful, to subdue that rival; and that, at last, victorious Rome did not believe it in her power to subject her enemy entirely, but by depriving her of the resources she might still have found in trade, and which, during so long a series of years, had supported her against all the forces of the republic.

Carthage had never been more powerful by sea, than when Alexander besieged Tyre, the metropolis of her people. Her fortune began to decline from that time. Ambition was the ruin of the Carthaginians. Their being weary of the pacific condition of merchants, and preferring the glory of arms to that of traffic, cost them dear. Their city, which commerce had peopled with so great a multitude of inhabitants, saw its numbers diminished to supply troops and recruit armies. Their fleets, accustomed to transport merchants and merchandise, were no longer freighted with any thing but munitions of war and soldiers; and out of the wisest and most successful traders, they elected officers and generals of armies, who acquired them an exalted degree of glory indeed, but one of short duration, and soon followed with their utter ruin.

The taking of Tyre by Alexander the Great, and the founding of Alexandria, which soon followed, occasioned a great revolution in the affairs of commerce. That new settlement was, without dispute, the greatest, the most noble, the wisest, and the most useful design that conqueror ever formed. It was not possible to find a more happy situation, nor one more likely to become a mart for all the merchandise of the east and west. That city had on one side a free commerce with Asia and the whole East, by the Red Sea. The same sea and the river Nile gave it the communication with the vast and rich countries of Ethio-

pia. The commerce of the rest of Africa and Europe was open to it by the Mediterranean; and for the inland trade of Egypt, it had, besides the navigation of the Nile and the canals cut out of it, the assistance of the caravans, so convenient for the security of merchants, and the conveyance of their effects. This induced Alexander to believe it a proper place for founding one of the finest cities and ports in the world. For the isle of Pharos, which at that time was not joined to the continent, supplied him with the happiest situation, after he had joined them by a mole, having two entrances, in which the vessels of foreign nations arrived from all parts, and from whence the Egyptian ships were continually sailing to carry their factors and commerce to all parts of the world then known.

Alexander lived too short a time to see the happy and flourishing condition to which commerce raised his city. The Ptolemies, to whose share, after his death, Egypt fell, took care to improve the growing trade of Alexandria, and soon raised it to a degree of perfection and extent, that made Tyre and Carthage be forgotten, which for a long series of time had transacted, and engrossed to themselves, the commerce of all nations.

Of all the kings of Egypt, Ptolemæus Philadelphus was the prince who contributed most to the bringing of commerce to perfection in his country. For that purpose he kept great fleets at sea, of which Athenæus gives us the number and description, that cannot be read without astonishment.¹ Besides upwards of six score sail galleys of an extraordinary size, he gives him more than four thousand other ships, which were employed in the service of the state and the improvement of trade. He possessed a great empire, which he had formed by extending the bounds of the kingdom of Egypt into Africa, Ethiopia, Syria, and beyond the sea, having made himself master of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades, possessing all most four thousand cities in his dominions. To raise the happiness of these provinces as high as possible, he endeavoured to draw into them, by commerce, the riches and commodities of the East; and to facilitate their passage, he built a city expressly on the western coast of the Red Sea, cut a canal from Coptus to that sea, and caused houses to be erected along that canal, for the convenience of merchants and travellers, as I have observed in its place. It was the convenience of this staple for merchandise at Alexandria, which diffused immense riches over all Egypt; riches so considerable, that it is affirmed, the customs only for the importation and exportation of merchandise at the port of Alexandria, amounted yearly to more than thirty-seven millions of livres, though most of the Ptolemies were moderate enough in the imposts they laid on their people.²

Tyre, Carthage, and Alexandria were, without dispute, the most famous cities of antiquity for commerce: it was also followed with success at Corinth, Rhodes, Marseilles, and many other cities, but not with such extent and reputation.

ARTICLE III.

THE END AND MATERIALS OF COMMERCE.

THE passage of Ezekiel, which I have cited in regard to Tyre, includes almost all the materials in which the ancient commerce consisted: gold, silver, iron, copper, tin, lead, pearls, diamonds, and all sorts of precious stones; purple, stuffs, cloths, ivory, ebony, cedar, myrrh, aromatic reeds, or the calamus; perfumes, slaves, horses, mules, grain, wine, cattle, and, in a word, all kind of precious merchandise. I shall not dwell here upon any thing but what relates to mines of iron, copper, gold, silver, pearls, purple, and silk; nor treat even these heads with any great extent. Pliny the naturalist will be my ordinary guide as to those of my subjects he has wrote upon. And I shall make great use of the learned remarks of the author of the natural history of gold and silver, ex-

¹ Athen. l. v. p. 203.

² Cic. apud Strab. l. xvii. p. 798.

tracted from the thirty-third book of Pliny, and printed at London.

SECTION I.—MINES OF IRON.

It is certain that the use of metals, especially of iron and copper, is almost as old as the world; but it does not appear that gold or silver were much regarded in the first ages. Solely intent upon the necessities of life, the first inhabitants of the earth did what new colonies are obliged to do. They applied themselves in building them houses, clearing lands, and furnishing themselves with the instruments necessary for cutting wood, hewing stone, and other mechanical uses. As all these tools could be formed only of iron, copper or steel, those essential materials became, by a necessary consequence, the principal objects of their pursuit. Those who were settled in countries which produced them, were not long without knowing their importance. People came from all parts in quest of them; and their land, though in appearance poor and barren in every other respect, became an abundant and fertile soil to them. They wanted nothing, having that merchandise; and their iron bars were ingots, which procured them all the conveniences and elegancies of life.

It would be very grateful to know where, when, how, and by whom these materials were first discovered. Concealed as they are from our eyes, and hid in the bowels of the earth in small and almost imperceptible particles, which have no apparent relation, or visible disposition for the different works composed of them, who was it that instructed man in the uses to be made of them? It would be doing chance too much honour to impute to it this discovery. The infinite importance, and almost indispensable necessity for the instruments with which they supply us, well deserve that we should acknowledge it to proceed from the concurrence and goodness of divine providence. It is true, that providence commonly takes delight in concealing its most wonderful gifts under events, which have all the appearance of chance and accident. But attentive and religious eyes are not deceived in them, and easily discover, under these disguises, the beneficence and liberality of God, so much the more worthy of admiration and acknowledgment, as less visible to man. This is a truth confessed by the Pagans themselves, as I have already observed elsewhere. It is remarkable that iron, which of all metals is the most necessary, is also the most common, the easiest to be found, less deep in the earth than any other, and most abundant.¹

As I find little in Pliny upon the manner in which the ancients discovered and prepared metals, I am obliged to have recourse to what the moderns say upon that head, in order to give the reader at least some slight idea of the usual methods in the discovery, preparation, and melting of those metals, which were in part practised by the ancients. The matter from which iron is extracted, (which the term, of art calls *iron-ore*), is found in mines of different depth, sometimes in stones as big as the fist, and sometimes only in sand.² After having amassed the quantity of matter to be melted, it is put into large furnaces, where a great fire has been kindled. When the ore is melted and well skimmed, they make it run out of the furnace through a hole prepared for that purpose, from which, running with rapidity like a torrent of fire, it falls into different moulds, according to the variety of works to be cast, as kettles, and such kind of utensils. In the same manner they form also the large lumps of iron called *sows*, of different sizes, which weigh sometimes two or three thousand pounds and upwards. These are afterwards carried to the forge, or foundery, to be forged or fined with the assistance of mills, which keep great hammers continually going.

Steel is a kind of iron refined and purified by fire, which renders it whiter, more solid, and of a smaller

and finer grain. It is the hardest of all metals, when prepared and *tempered* as it ought. That *temper* is derived from cold water, and requires a nice attention in the workman, in taking the steel out of the fire when it has attained a certain degree of heat.³ When we consider a sharp and well polished knife or razor, could we believe it was possible to form them out of a little earth, or some blackish stones? What a difference is there between so rude a matter, and such polished and shining instruments! Of what is not human industry capable?

Mr. Reaumur observes, in speaking of iron, one thing well worthy of observation.⁴ Though fire seldom or never renders it so liquid as it does gold, brass, pewter, and lead, of all metals, however, there is not one that takes the mould so perfectly, insinuates itself so well into the most minute parts of it, and receives impressions with such exactitude.

SECTION II.—MINES OF COPPER OR BRASS.

COPPER, which is otherwise called brass, is a hard, dry, weighty metal. It is taken out of mines like other metals, where it is found as well as iron, either in powder or stone. Before it is melted, it must be washed very much, in order to separate the earth from it, with which it is mixed. It is afterwards melted in the furnaces by great fires, and, when melted, poured off into moulds. The copper which has had only one melting, is the common and ordinary copper. To render it purer and finer, it is melted once or twice more.⁵ When it has passed the fire several times, and the grossest parts are separated from it, it is called *roselle*, or the purest and finest copper.

Copper is naturally red, of which brass is a species made yellow with *lapis calaminaris*. The *lapis calaminaris*, which is also called *cadmia*, is a mineral or fossil, which founders use to change the colour of copper yellow.⁶ This stone does not become yellow till after it has been baked in the manner of bricks; it is then used either to make yellow, or increase the red fine copper. The yellow copper, or brass, is therefore a mixture of the red with *lapis calaminaris*, which augments its weight from ten to fifty in the hundred, according to the different goodness of the copper. It is also called *latten*, and in the Roman language *aurichalcum*.

Bronze is a made metal, consisting of a mixture of several metals. For the fine statues of this metal, the mixture is half fine copper and half brass. In the ordinary sort, the mixture is of pewter, and sometimes of lead, to save cost. There is also another species of mixed copper, called by the French *fonte*, which differs from the *bronze* only by being more or less mixed.

The art of founding, or, as it is vulgarly called, of casting in brass, is very ancient. All ages have made their vessels and other curious works in metal. Casting must have been very common in Egypt when the Israelites left it, as they could form in the desert, without any great preparations, a statue with lineaments and shape representing a calf. Soon after they made the molten sea, and all other vessels for the tabernacle, and afterwards for the temple. It was not uncommon to form statues of plates hammered into form, and rivetted together. The invention of these images, either cast or hammered, took birth in the East, as well as idolatry, and afterwards communicated itself to Greece, which carried the art to the highest degree of perfection.

The most celebrated and valuable copper amongst the Greeks was that of Corinth, of which I have spoken elsewhere, and that of Delos. Cicero joins them together in one of his orations, where he mentions a vessel of brass, called *authpsa*, in which meat was

¹ *Stridentia tingunt ara lacu.*

² *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Scienc. an. 1736.*

³ *Præterea semel recoquant: quod sæpius fecissc, bonitati plurimum confert.—Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 8.*

⁴ *Vena (æris) quæ dictum est modo effuditur ignique perficitur. Fit et lapide æroso, quem vocant cadmiam.—Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 1.*

⁵ *Ferri metalla ubique propem odum reperiuntur.—Metallicorum omnium vena ferri largissima est.—Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14.*

⁶ *Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14, 15.*

dressed with very little fire, and almost of itself: this vessel was sold so dear, that those who passed by and heard the sum bid for it at the sale, imagined the purchase of an estate was in question.

It is said that brass was used before iron for the making of arms. It certainly was in use for money before gold and silver, at least with the Romans. It consisted at first of pieces of different sizes, and was taken by weight, without having any fixed marks or figure upon it; from whence came the form of speaking used in sales, *per as et libram*. Servius Tullius, the sixth king of the Romans, was the first that reduced it to form, and stamped it with a particular impression: and as at that time the greatest riches consisted in cattle, oxen, sheep, hogs, &c., the figure of those animals, or of their heads, was stamped upon the first money that was coined, and it was called *pecunia*, from the word *pecus*, which signifies cattle in general.² It was not till the consulship of Q. Fabius and Ogulnius, five years before the first Punic war, in the 485th year of Rome, that silver money was used at Rome.³ They, however, always retained the ancient language and denomination, taken from the word *as*, brass. From thence the expression *as grave* (heavy brass), to signify, at least in the origin of that term, the asses of a pound weight; *ararium*, the public treasury, wherein, in ancient times, there was only brass money; *as alienum*, borrowed money; with many others of like signification.

SECTION III.—MINES OF GOLD.

To find gold, says Pliny, we have three different methods. It is extracted either from rivers, the bowels of the earth, or the ruins of mountains, by undermining and throwing them down.⁴

I.—GOLD FOUND IN RIVERS.

Gold is gathered in small grains or little quantities upon the shores of rivers, as in Spain upon the brink of the Tagus, in Italy upon the Po, in Thrace upon the Hebrus, in Asia upon the Pactolus, and lastly, upon the Ganges in India; and it is agreed, that the gold found in this manner is the best of all; because having long ran through rocks and over sands, it has had time to cleanse and purify itself.⁵ The rivers I mention were not the only ones in which gold was to be found. Our Gaul had the same advantage. Diodorus says, that nature had given it gold in a peculiar manner, without obliging the natives to hunt after it with art and labour; that it was mingled with the sands of the rivers; that the Gauls knew how to wash those sands, extract the gold, and melt it down; and that they made themselves rings, bracelets, girdles, and other ornaments of it.⁶ Some rivers of France are said to have retained this privilege: the Rhine, the Rhone, the Garonne, the Doux in Franche-Comte, the Ceze, and the Gardon, which have their sources in the Cevennes, the Arriege in the country of Foix, and some others.⁷ The gathering of it indeed does not turn to any considerable account, scarce sufficing to the maintenance of the country people, who employ themselves for some months in that work. They have sometimes their lucky days, when they get more than a pistole for their trouble; but they pay for them on others, which produce little or nothing.

II.—GOLD FOUND IN THE BOWELS OF THE EARTH.

Those who search after gold, begin by finding what we call in French *la Manne*, manna, a kind of earth, which, by its colour and the exhalations that arise from it, informs those who understand mines, that there is gold underneath it. As soon as the vein

of gold appears, the water must be turned off, and the ore dug out industriously, which must be taken away and washed in proper lavers. The ore being put into them, a stream of water is poured on continually, in proportion to the quantity of the ore to be washed; and to assist the force of the water, an iron fork is used, with which the ore is stirred and broke, till nothing remains in the laver but a sediment of black sand, with which the gold is mingled. This sediment is put into a large wooden dish, in the midst of which four or five deep lines are cut, and by washing it and stirring it well in several waters, *conjectura*, the terrene parts dissolve, and nothing remains but pure gold dust. This is the method now used in Chili, and the same as was practised in the time of Pliny:⁸ *Aurum qui quarunt, ante omnia segillum tollunt: ita vocatur indicium, Alveus hic est: arena lavantur, atque ex eo quod resedit, conjectura capitur*. Every thing is comprehended in these few words. *Segillum*, which is what the French call *la manne*, or manna. *Alveus hic est*: that is, the vein of gold ore. *Arena avantur*: this implies the lavers. *Atque ex eo quod resedit*: this, the sediment of black sand, in which the gold is contained. *Conjectura capitur*: here the stirring of the sediment, the running off of the water, and the gold dust that remains, are intimated.

It sometimes happens, that without digging far, the gold is found upon the superficies of the earth: but this good fortune is not frequent, though there have been examples of it. For not long ago, says Pliny, gold was found in this manner in Nero's reign, and in so great a quantity, that fifty pounds a day, at least, has been gathered of it.⁹ This was in Dalmatia.

It is commonly necessary to dig a great way, and to form subterraneous caverns, in which marble and small flints are found, covered with the gold. These caverns are carried on to the right or left, according to the running of the vein; and the earth above it is supported with strong props at proper distances. When the metallic stone, commonly called the ore, in which the gold forms itself, is brought out of the mine, it is broke, pounded, washed, and put into the furnace. The first melting is called only silver, for there is always some of it mingled with the gold. The scum which rises in the furnace, is called *scoria* in Latin. This is the dross of the metal, which the fire throws up, and is not peculiar to gold, but common to all metallic bodies. This dross is not thrown away, but pounded and calcined over again, to extract what remains of good metal in it. The crucible, in which this preparation is made, ought to be of a certain white earth, not unlike that used by the potters.¹⁰ There is scarce any other which can bear the fire, bellows, and excessive heat of this substance melted.

This metal is very precious, but costs infinite pains in getting it. Slaves, and criminals condemned to death, were employed in working the mines. The thirst of gold has always extinguished all sense of humanity in the human heart. Diodorus Siculus observes, that these unhappy creatures, laden with chains, were allowed no rest either by night or day; that they were treated with excessive cruelty; and that, to deprive them of all hope of being able to escape by corrupting their guards, soldiers were chosen for that office who spoke a language unknown to them, and with whom, in consequence, they could have no correspondence, nor form any conspiracy.¹¹

III.—GOLD FOUND IN THE MOUNTAINS.

There is another method to find gold, which regards properly only high and mountainous places, such as are frequently met with in Spain.¹² These are dry and barren mountains in every other respect, which are obliged to give up their gold, to make amends in some measure for their sterility in every thing else.¹³

¹ Domus reserta vasis Corinthiis et Deliacis: in quibus est authepsa illa, quam tanto pretio nuper mercatus est, ut qui præterentes pretium enumerari audiebant, fundum vane necesse arbitrarentur.—*Orat. pro Rose. Americ. n. 133.*

² Servius Rex, primus signavit æs. Antea rudi usos Romæ Timeus tradit. Signatum est nota pecudum: unde pecunia appellata.—*Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.*

³ Plin. l. xxiv. c. 1.

⁴ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 4.

⁵ Nec ullum absolutum aurum est, ut curso ipsa tritque perpolitum.—*Plin.*

⁶ Diod. l. v.

⁷ Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, an. 1718.

⁸ See Dict. of Commerce.—*Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 4.*

⁹ Plin. *ibid.*

¹⁰ It is called Tasconium.

¹¹ Diod. l. iii.

¹² Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 4.

¹³ Cætera montes Hispaniarum aridi sterilesque, in quibus nihil aliud gigantur, huic bono fertiles esse coguntur.—*Plin.*

The work begins at first by cutting great holes to the right and left. The interior of the mountain itself is afterwards attacked by the assistance of torches and lamps; for the day is soon lost, and the night continues as long as the operations, that is, for several months. Before any great progress is made, great flaws appear in the earth, which falls in, and often crushes the poor miners to death; so that, says Pliny, people are much more bold and venturous in searching after pearls at the bottom of the waves in the East, than in digging for gold in the bowels of the earth, which is become by our avarice more dangerous than the sea itself.¹ It is therefore necessary in these mines, as well as in the first I spoke of, to form good arches at proper distances, to support the hollowed mountain. There are great rocks and veins of stone found also in these, which must be broke by fire and vinegar. But as the smoke and steam would soon suffocate the workmen, it is often more necessary, and especially when the work is a little advanced, to break these enormous masses with pick-axes and crows, and to cut away large pieces by degrees, which must be given from hand to hand, or from shoulder to shoulder, till thrown out of the mine. Day and night are passed in this manner. Only the hindmost workmen see daylight; all the rest work by lamps. If the rock is found to be too long or too thick, they proceed on the side, and carry on the work in a curve line. When the work is finished, and the subterraneous passages carried their proper length, they cut away the props of the arches, that had been formed at due distances from each other. This is the usual signal of the ruin which is to follow, and which those who are placed to watch it perceive first by the sinking in of the mountain, which begins to shake; upon which they immediately, either by hallooing or beating upon a brazen instrument, give notice to the workmen to take care of themselves, and then run away the first for their own safety. The mountain, sapped on all sides in this manner, falls upon itself, and breaks to pieces with a dreadful noise. The victorious workmen then enjoy the sight of nature overturned.² The gold, however, is not yet found; and when they began to pierce the hill, they did not know whether there was any in it. Hope and avarice were sufficient motives for undertaking the labour, and confronting such dangers.

But this is only the prelude to new toils, still greater and more heavy than the first. For the waters of the higher neighbouring mountains must be carried through very long trenches, in order to their being poured with impetuosity upon the ruins thus formed, and to carry off the precious metal.³ For this purpose new canals must be made, sometimes higher or lower, according to the ground, and hence the greatest part of the labour arises; for the level must be well placed, and the heights well taken, in all the places over which the torrent is to pass to the lower mountain that has been thrown down, in order that the water may have sufficient force to tear away the gold wherever it passes, which obliges the workmen to make it fall from the greatest height they can. And as to the inequality of the ground in its course, they remedy that by artificial canals, which preserve the descent, and keep the water within their bounds; and if there are any large rocks which oppose its passage, they must be hewn down, made level, and have tracks cut in them for the wood-work, which is to receive and continue the canal. Having united the waters of the highest neighbouring mountains, from whence they are to fall, they make great reservoirs, of the breadth of two hundred, and the depth of ten, feet. They generally leave five openings, of three or four feet square, to receive the water at several places. After which, when the reservoirs are full, they open the sluice, from whence falls so violent and impetuous a torrent, that it carries away all before it, and even stones of considerable magnitude.

There is another work in the plain at the foot of the mine. New trenches must be dug there, which form several beds for the falling of the torrent from height to height, till it discharges itself into the sea. But to prevent the gold from being carried off with the current, they lay, at proper distances, good dams of *ulcer*, a sort of shrub much resembling our rosemary, but something thicker of leaves, and consequently fitter for catching this prey as in nets. Add to this, that good planks are necessary on each side of these trenches, to keep the water within them; and where there are any dangerous inequalities of ground, these new canals must be supported with shores,⁴ till the torrent loses itself at last in the sand of the ocean, in the neighbourhood of which the mines commonly are. The gold got in this manner at the foot of the mountains, has no need of being purified by fire, for it is at first what it ought to be. It is found in lumps of various sizes, as it is also in deep mines, but not so commonly. As to the wild rosemary branches used on this occasion, they are taken up with care, dried, and then burned; after this the ashes are washed on the turf, upon which the gold falls and is easily gathered.

Pliny examines wherefore gold is preferred to other metals, and gives several reasons for it.⁵ It is the only metal which loses nothing, or almost nothing, by the fire, not even of funeral piles or conflagrations, in which the flames are generally most violent. It is even affirmed to be rather the better for having passed the fire several times. It is by fire, also, that proof is made of it; for when it is good, it takes its colour from it. This the workmen call *obryzum*, refined gold. What is wonderful in this proof is, that the hottest charcoal has no effect on it: to melt it, a clear fire of straw is necessary, with a little lead thrown in to refine it.⁶

Gold loses very little by use, and much less than any other metal; whereas silver, copper, and pewter, soil the hands, and draw black lines upon any thing, which is a proof that they waste, and lose their substance more easily. It is the only metal that contracts no rust, nor any thing which changes its beauty or diminishes its weight. It is a thing well worthy of admiration, that of all substances gold preserves itself best and entire, without rust or dirt, in water, the earth, dung, and sepulchres, and that throughout all ages. There are medals of it in being which have been struck above two thousand years, which seem just come from the workman's hands. It is observed, that gold resists the impressions and corrosion of salt and vinegar, which melt and subdue all other matter.⁷

There is no metal which extends better, nor divides into so great a number of particles of different kinds.⁸ An ounce of gold, for instance, will form seven hundred and fifty leaves, each leaf of four inches square and upwards. What Pliny says here is certainly very wonderful; but we shall presently see that our modern artificers have carried their skill much farther than the ancients in this, as well as many other points. In fine, gold will admit to be spun and wove like wool into any form. It may be worked even without wool or silk, or with both. The first of the Tarquins triumphed in a vest of cloth made of gold; and Agrippina, the mother of Nero, when the emperor Claudius, her husband, gave the people the representation of a sea-fight, appeared at it in a long robe made entirely of gold wire, without any mixture whatsoever. What is related of the extreme smallness of gold and silver, when reduced into wire, would seem incredible, if not confirmed by daily experience.

⁴ Machines to support those canals, made of board.

⁵ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 33.

⁶ Strabo makes the same remark, and gives the reason for this effect.—*Palaë faciliùs liquefit aurum; quia flamma mollis cum sit, proportionem habet temperatum ad id quod cedit et facile funditur; carbo autem multum absumit, vimis colligans sua vehementia et elevans.*—Strab. l. iii. p. 146.

⁷ Jam contra salis et aceti succus, domitores rerum, constantia.—Plin.

⁸ Nec alius laniatus dilatur, aut numerosius dividitur utpote cujus unicia in septingenas et quinquagenas, pluresque bracteas, quaternum utroque digitorum, spargantur.—Plin.,

¹ Ut jam minùs temerarium videatur è profundo maris petere margaritas: tanto nocentiores scimus terras.—Plin.

² Spectant victores ruinam naturæ: nec tamen adhuc aurum est.—Plin.

³ A centesimo plerumque lapide.

I shall only copy here what I find in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences upon this head.¹

We know, says those Memoirs, that gold wire is only silver wire gilt. By the means of the engine for drawing wire, a cylinder of silver, covered with leaf-gold, being extended, becomes wire, and continues gilt to the utmost length it can be drawn. It is generally of the weight of forty-five marks; its diameter is an inch and a quarter French, and its length almost two and twenty inches. Mr. Reaumur proves that this cylinder of silver, of two and twenty inches, is extended by the engine to thirteen million, nine hundred and sixty-three thousand, two hundred and forty inches, or one million, one hundred and sixty-three thousand, five hundred and twenty feet; that is to say, six hundred and thirty-four thousand, six hundred and ninety-two times longer than it was, which is very near ninety-seven leagues in length, allowing two thousand perches to each league. This wire is spun over silk thread, and before spun is made flat from round as it was when first drawn, and in flattening generally lengthens one-seventh at least; so that its first length of twenty-two inches is changed into that of an hundred and eleven leagues. But this wire may be lengthened a fourth in flattening, instead of a seventh, and in consequence be six-score leagues in extent. This should seem a prodigious extension, and yet is nothing.

The cylinder of silver of forty-five marks, and twenty-two inches length, requires only to be covered with one ounce of leaf-gold. It is true the gilding will be light, but it will always be gilding; and though the cylinder in passing the engine attains the length of an hundred and twenty leagues, the gold will still continue to cover the silver without variation. We may see how exceedingly small the ounce of gold, which covers the cylinder of silver of forty-five marks, must become, in continuing to cover it throughout so vast an extent. Mr. Reaumur adds to this consideration, that it is easy to distinguish that the silver is more gilt in some than in other places; and he finds by a calculation of wire the most equally gilt, that the thickness of the gold is $\frac{1}{1000000}$ th of a line, or twelfth part of an inch; so enormous a smallness, that it is as inconceivable to us as the infinite points of the geometricians. It is, however, real, and produced by mechanical instruments, which, though ever so fine to our senses, must still be very gross in fact. Our understanding is lost and confounded in the consideration of such objects; and how much more in the infinitely small of God!

ELECTRUM.

It is necessary to observe, says Pliny, whom I copy in all that follows, that in all kinds of gold there always is some silver, more or less: sometimes a tenth, sometimes a ninth or an eighth.² There is but one mine in Gaul from whence gold is extracted, that contains only a thirtieth part of silver, which makes it far more valuable than all others. This gold is called *Albicratense*, of *Albicrate* (an ancient place in Gaul near Tarbe.) There were several mines in Gaul, which have been since either neglected or exhausted. Strabo mentions some of them, amongst which are those of Tarbe, that were, as he says, very fruitful in gold; for without digging far, they found it in quantities large enough to fill the palm of the hand, which had no great occasion for being refined.³ They had also abundance of gold dust,⁴ and gold in grains, of equal goodness with the other.

To the gold, continues Pliny, which was found to have a fifth part of silver in it, they gave the name of *Electrum*. (It might be called white gold, because it came near that colour, and is paler than the other.) The most ancient people seemed to have set a great value upon it. Homer, in his description of Menelaus' palace, says it shone universally with gold, *electrum*, silver, and ivory.⁵ The *electrum* had this pro-

perty peculiar to it, that it brightens much more by the light of lamps than either gold or silver.

SECTION IV.—SILVER MINES.

SILVER mines, in many respects, resemble those of gold.⁶ The earth is bored, and long caverns cut on the right or left, according to the course of the vein. The colour of the metal does not enliven the hopes of the workmen, nor the ore glitter and sparkle as in the others. The earth which contains the silver is sometimes reddish, and sometimes of an ash colour, which the workmen distinguish by use. As for the silver, it can only be refined by fire, with lead or with pewter ore.⁷ This ore is called *galena*, and is found commonly in the veins of silver mines. The fire only separates these substances; the one of which it reduces into lead or pewter, and the other into silver; but the last always swims at top, because it is lightest, almost like oil upon water.

There were silver mines in almost all the provinces of the Roman empire. That metal was found in Italy near Vercelle; in Sardinia, where there was abundance of it; in several parts of Gaul; even in Britain; in Alsace, witness Strasburg, which took its name *Argentoratum*, as Colmar did *Argentaria*, from it; in Dalmatia and Pannonia, now called Hungary; and lastly, in Spain and Portugul, which produced the finest qualities.

What is most surprising in the mines of Spain, is, that the works, begun in them by Hannibal's orders,⁸ subsist in our days, says Pliny;⁹ that is to say, above three hundred years, and that they still retain the names of the first discoverers of them, who were all Carthaginians. One of these mines, amongst the rest, exists now, and is called *Bebulo*. It is the same from which Hannibal daily extracted three hundred pounds of silver, and has been extended fifteen hundred paces in length, and even through the mountains; by the Accitanian people;¹⁰ who, without suspending their operations either by night or day, and directed in their operations solely by the light of their lamps, have drawn off all the water from them. There are also veins of silver discovered in that country, almost upon the surface of the earth. For the rest, the ancients easily knew when they were come to the end of the vein, which was when they found alumi; after that they searched no farther: though lately [it is still Pliny who speaks] beyond the alumi, they have found a white vein of copper, which served the workmen as a new token that they were at the end of the vein of silver.

The discovery of the metals we have hitherto spoken of, is a wonder we can never sufficiently admire. There was nothing more hidden in nature than gold and silver. They were buried deep in the earth, mingled with the hardest stones, and in appearance perfectly useless; the parts of these precious metals were so confounded with foreign bodies, so imperceptible from that mixture, and so difficult to separate, that it did not seem possible to cleanse, collect, refine, and apply them to their uses. Man, however, has surmounted this difficulty, and by experiments has brought his first discoveries to such perfection, that one would imagine gold and silver were formed from the first in solid pieces, and were as easily distinguished as the flints which lie on the surface of the earth. But was man of himself capable of making such discoveries? Cicero says, in express terms, that God in vain had formed gold, silver, copper, and iron in the bowels of the earth, if he had not vouchsafed to teach man the means by which he might come at the veins that conceal those precious metals.¹¹

¹ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 1.

² This ore is the rude and mixed substance which contains the metal. It is commonly called the Marcassite stone, especially with relation to gold and silver.

³ When he went thither to besiege Saguntum.

⁴ Plin. l. xxxlii. c. 6.

⁵ The people of Murcia and Valentia, which were part of the district of new Carthage.

⁶ Aurum et argentum, as ferum frustrâ natura dignum gessisset, nisi eadem docuisset quemadmodum ad corum venas perveniretur. — De Dînat. l. i. n. 116.

¹ An. 7718.

² Strab. l. iv. p. 190.

³ Odys. l. iv. v. 71.

⁴ Lib. xxxiii. c. 3.

⁵ Бодогу.

SECTION V.—PRODUCT OF GOLD AND SILVER MINES, ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF THE RICHES OF THE ANCIENTS.

IT is easy to conceive that mines of gold and silver must have produced great profits to the private persons and princes who possessed them, if they took the least trouble to work them.

Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, had gold mines near Pydna, a city of Macedonia, from which he drew yearly a thousand talents, that is to say, three millions.¹ He had also other mines of gold and silver in Thessaly and Thrace; and it appears that these mines subsisted as long as the kingdom of Macedonia:² for the Romans, when they had conquered Perseus, prohibited the use and exercise of them to the Macedonians.³

The Athenians had silver mines not only at Laurium in Attica, but particularly in Thrace, from which they were great gainers. Xenophon mentions many citizens enriched by them.⁴ Hipponius had six hundred slaves; Nicias, who was killed in Sicily, had a thousand. The farmers of their mines paid daily to the first fifty livres, clear of all charges, allowing an obolus⁵ a-day for each slave; and as much in proportion to the second; which amounted to a considerable revenue.

Xenophon, in the treatise wherein he proposes several methods for augmenting the revenues of Athens, gives the Athenians excellent advice upon this head, and exhorts them above all, to make commerce honourable; to encourage and protect those who applied themselves to it, whether citizens or strangers; to advance money for their use, taking security for the payment; to supply them with ships for the transportation of merchandise; and to be assured that, with regard to trade, the opulence and strength of the state consisted in the wealth of individuals and of the people. He insists very much in relation to mines, and is earnest that the republic should work them, in its own name and for its own advantage, without being afraid of injuring private individuals by that conduct; because they sufficed for the enriching both the one and the other, and that mines were not wanting to workmen, but workmen to the mines.

But the produce of the mines of Attica and Thrace was nothing in comparison with that of the Spanish mines. The Tyrians had the first profits of them, the inhabitants of the country not knowing their value. The Carthaginians succeeded them; and as soon as they had set foot in Spain, perceived the mines would be an inexhaustible source of riches for them. Pliny informs us,⁶ that one of them alone supplied Hannibal daily with three hundred pounds of silver, which amounts to twelve thousand six hundred livres, as the same Pliny observes elsewhere. Polybius, cited by Strabo, says, that in his times there were forty thousand men employed in the mines in the neighbourhood of Carthagera, and that they paid daily twenty-five thousand drachmas to the Roman people; that is, twelve thousand five hundred livres.

History mentions private persons who had immense and incredible revenues. Varro speaks of one Ptolemy, a private person, who, in the time of Pompey, commanded in Syria, and maintained eight thousand horse at his own expenses; and had generally a thousand guests at his table, who had each a gold cup, which was changed at every course.⁷ This is nothing to Pythius of Bithynia, who made king Darius a present of the plantain and vine, so much extolled in history, both of massy gold, and feasted the whole army of Xerxes one day in a splendid manner, though it consisted of seventeen hundred thousand men; offering that prince five months' pay for that prodigious

host, and the necessary provisions for the whole time.⁸ From what source could such enormous treasures arise, if not principally from the mines of gold and silver possessed by these individuals? We are surprised to read in Plutarch the account of the sums carried to Rome, for the triumphs of Paulus Emilius, Lucullus, and many other victorious generals. But all this is inconsiderable to the endless millions amassed by David and Solomon, and employed in the building and ornaments of the temple of Jerusalem. Those immense riches, of which the recital astonishes us, was partly the fruits of the commerce established by David in Arabia, Persia, and Indostan, by the means of two ports⁹ he had caused to be built in Idumea, at the extremity of the Red Sea; which trade Solomon must have considerably augmented, as in one voyage only his fleet brought home four hundred and fifty talents of gold, which amount to above one hundred and thirty-five millions of livres.¹⁰ Judea was but a small country, and nevertheless the annual revenue of it, in the time of Solomon, without reckoning many other sums, amounted to six hundred and sixty-six talents of gold, which make near two hundred millions of livres.¹¹ Many mines must have been dug in those days, for supplying so incredible a quantity of gold, and those of Mexico and Peru were not then discovered.

SECTION VI.—OF COINS AND MEDALS

THOUGH commerce began by the exchange of commodities, as appears in Homer, experience soon made the inconvenience of that traffic evident, from the nature of the several merchandises, that could neither be divided nor cut, without considerable prejudice to their value; which obliged the dealers in them, by little and little, to have recourse to metals, which diminished neither in goodness nor fabric by division. Hence, from the time of Abraham, and without doubt before him, gold and silver were introduced in commerce, and perhaps copper also for the lesser wares. As frauds were committed in regard to the weight and quality of the metal, the civil government and public authority interposed, for establishing the security of commerce, and stamped metals with impressions to distinguish and authorize them. From thence came the various dies for money, the names of the coiners, the effigies of princes, the years of consulships, and the like marks.

The Greeks put enigmatical hieroglyphics upon their coins, which were peculiar to each province. The people of Delphos represented a dolphin upon theirs; this was a kind of speaking blazonry; the Athenians, the bird of their Minerva, the owl, the symbol of vigilance, even during the night; the Boeotians, a Bacchus, with a bunch of grapes and a large cup, to imply the plenty and deliciousness of their country; the Macedonians, a shield, in allusion to the force and valour of their soldiery; the Rhodians, the head of Apollo, or the sun, to whom they had dedicated their famous Colossus. In fine, every magistrate took pleasure to express in his money the glory of his province, or the advantages of his city.

The making bad money has been practised in all ages and nations. In the first payment made by the Carthaginians of the sum to which the Romans had condemned them at the end of the second Punic war, the money brought by their ambassadors was not of good alloy, and it was discovered, upon melting it, that the fourth part was bad.¹² They were obliged to make good the deficiency by borrowing money at Rome. Antony the Triumvir, at the time of his greatest necessity, caused iron to be mixed with money coined by his order.¹³ This bad coin was either made by a mixture of copper, or wanted more or less

¹ Diod. l. xvi.

² Justin. l. viii. c. 3. Strab. l. vii. p. 331.

³ Metallum quoque Macedonici, quod ingens vectigal erat, locationes tolli placebat. — *Liv.* l. xlv. n. 18.

⁴ Xenoph. de Ration. Redit.

⁵ Six oboli made one drachma, which was worth tenpence French; a hundred drachmas a mina, and sixty minae a talent.

⁶ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 6.

⁷ Var. apud Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10.

⁸ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Herod. l. vii. c. 37.

⁹ Elath and Asiongaber.

¹⁰ 2 Chron. viii. 18.

¹¹ 2 Chron. ix. 13.

¹² Carthaginiensibus eo anno argentum in stipendium positum primum Romanis adversum. Il quia probum non esse quærentes renouciaverant, ex percentibusque pars quarta decemata erat pecunia Romæ multa sumpta intermixta tam suppleverunt. — *Liv.* l. xxxii. n. 2.

¹³ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 9.

of its just weight. A pound of gold and silver ought to be, as Pliny observes, fourscore and sixteen, or an hundred drachmas in weight. Marius Gratiidianus, brother of the famous Marius, when he was prætor, suppressed several disorders at Rome, relating to the coin, by wise regulations. The people, always sensible of amendments of that kind, to express their gratitude, erected statues to him in all the quarters of that city. It was this Marius whom Sylla, to avenge the cruelties committed by his brother, ordered to have his hands cut off, his legs broke, and his eyes put out, by the ministration of Cataline.²

The inconveniences of exchanges were happily remedied by the coining of gold and silver moneys, that became the common price for all merchandise, of which the painful, and often useless carriage, was thereby saved. But the ancient commerce was still in want of another advantage, which has been since wisely contrived; I mean the method of remitting money from place to place, by bill directing the payment of it.

It is not easy to distinguish with certainty the difference between coins and medals, opinions differing very much upon that head. What seems most probable is, that a piece of metal ought to be called coin, when it has, on one side, the head of the reigning prince, or some divinity, and is always the same on the reverse. Because money being intended to be always current, the people ought to know it with ease, that they may not be ignorant of its value. Thus the head of Janus, with the beak of a galley on the reverse, was the first money of Rome.³ Servius Tullius, instead of the head of a ship, stamped that of a sheep or an ox on it; from whence came the word *pecunia*, because those animals were of the kind called *pecus*. For the head of Janus, a woman armed was afterwards substituted, with the inscription *Roma*; and on the other side, a chariot drawn by two or four horses, of which were the pieces of money called *Bigati* and *Quadrigati*. Victories were also put on them, *Victoriati*. All these different species are allowed to be coins, as are those which have certain marks on them; as an X, that is to say *Denarius*; an L, *Libra*; an S, *Semis*. These different marks explain the weight and value of the piece.

Medals are pieces of metal, which generally express on the reverse some considerable event. The parts of a medal are its two sides, of which the one is called the face or head, and the other the reverse. On each side of it there is a field, which is the middle of the medal; the circumference or border, and the exergue, which is the part at the bottom of the piece, upon which the figures represented by the medal are placed. Upon these two faces the type, and the inscription or legend, are distinguished. The figures represented are the type; the inscription or legend is the writing we see on it, and principally that upon the border or circumference of the medal.

To have some idea of the science of medals, it is necessary to know their origin and use; their division into ancient and modern, into Greek and Roman; what is meant by the medals of the early or later empire; of the great or small bronze; what a series is in the language of antiquarians. But this is not the proper place for explaining all these things. The book of father Joubert the Jesuit, on the knowledge of medals, contains what is necessary to be known, when a profound knowledge of them is not required.

I content myself with informing young persons, who are desirous to study history in all its extent, that the knowledge of medals is absolutely necessary to that kind of learning. For history is not to be learned in books only, which do not always tell the whole, or the truth of things. Recourse must therefore be had to pieces which support it; and which neither malice nor ignorance can injure or vary; and such are the monuments which we call medals. A

thousand things equally important and curious are to be learnt from them, which are not to be found elsewhere. The pious and learned Mr. Tillemont, author of the Memoirs upon the History of the Emperors, gives us a proof and model of the use which may be made of the knowledge of medals.

As much may be said of antique seals, and carved stones, which have this advantage of medals, that being of a harder substance, and representing the figures upon them in hollow, they preserve them perpetually in all their perfection; whereas medals are more subject to spoil, either by being rubbed, or by the corrosion of saline particles, to which they are always exposed. But to make amends, the latter, being all of them far more abundant than the former in their various species, they are of much greater use to the learned.

The royal academy of inscriptions and polite learning, established and renewed so successfully under the preceding reign, and which takes in all erudition, ancient and modern, for its object, will not a little contribute to preserve amongst us, not only a good taste for inscriptions and medals, which consists in a noble simplicity, but also a general taste for all works of art, that are principally founded upon ancient authors, whose writings this academy make their peculiar study. I dare not express here all that I think of a society, into which I am admitted, and of which I am a member. I was chosen into it upon its being revived, without making any interest for so honourable a place, and indeed without knowing any thing of it; an introduction, in my opinion, highly worthy of learned bodies. I could wish that I had merited it better, and had discharged the functions of a fellow of the academy with greater abilities.

SECTION VII.—OF PEARLS.

The pearl is a hard, white, clear substance, formed in the inside of a certain kind of oysters. The testaceous fish, in which the pearls are found, is three or four times as large as the common oyster. It is commonly called *pearl*, or *mother of pearl*. Each mother of pearl generally produces ten or twelve pearls. An author, however, who has treated of their production, pretends to have seen to the number of an hundred and fifty in one of them, but in various degrees of perfection. The most perfect always appear the first; the rest remain under the oyster, at the bottom of the shell.

Pearl-fishing amongst the ancients was followed principally in the Indian seas, as it still is, as well as in those of America and some parts of Europe. The divers, under whose arms a cord is tied, of which the end is made fast to the bark, go down into the sea several times successively, and after having torn the oysters from the rocks, and filled a basket with them, they come up again with great agility. This fishing is followed in a certain season of the year. The oysters are commonly put into the sand, where they corrupt by the extraordinary heat of the sun, and, opening of themselves, show their pearls, which after that need only to be cleaned and dried. The other precious stones are quite rough when taken from the rocks where they grow, and derive their lustre only from the industry of man. Nature alone furnishes the substance, which art must finish by cutting and polishing. But as to pearls, that clear and shining water, for which they are so much esteemed, comes into the world with them.⁴ They are found completely polished in the abysses of the sea, and nature puts the last hand to them before they are torn from their shells.

The perfection of pearls, according to Pliny, consists in their being of a glittering whiteness, large, round, smooth, and of a great weight, qualities seldom united in one subject.⁵ It is chimerical to ima-

¶ M. Mario cui vicatim populus status posuerat cui thure et vino Romanus Populus supplicabat, L. Sylla perfringi crura, oculos erui, amputari manus jussi; et quasi totiens occideret, quotiens vulnerabat, paulatim ei per singulos artus lacerauit.—*Senec. de Ira*, l. iii, c. 18.

¶ Flor. l. ii. c. 21.

¶ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. iiii.

⁴ In the terms of jewellers, they call the shining colour of pearls, *water*; from their being supposed to be made of water. Hence the pearl pendants of Cleopatra were said to be inestimable, both for their *water* and large size.

⁵ Dos omnis in candore, magnitudine orbe, lavore, pondere; haud promptis rebus.—*Plin.* l. ix. c. 35

gine that pearls take birth from dew-drops; that they are soft in the sea, and only harden when exposed to the air; that they waste and come to nothing when it thunders, as Pliny and several authors after him say.¹

Many things are highly prized only for being scarce, whose principal merit consists in the danger people are at to get them.² It is strange that men should set so small a value upon their lives, and should judge them of less worth than shells hidden in the sea. If it were necessary, for the acquiring of wisdom, to undergo all the pains taken to find some pearl of uncommon beauty and magnitude, (and as much may be said of gold, silver, and precious stones,) we ought not to hesitate a moment in resolving to venture life, and that often, for such inestimable treasure. Wisdom is the greatest of all fortunes; a pearl, the most frivolous of riches; men, however, do nothing for the former, and hazard every thing for the latter.

SECTION VIII.—PURPLE.

STUFFS dyed with purple were one of the most considerable branches of the commerce of the ancients, especially of Tyre, which by industry and extreme skill had carried that precious dye to the highest possible degree of perfection. The purple disputed value with gold itself in those remote times, and was the distinguishing marks of the greatest dignities of the universe, being principally appropriated to princes, kings, senators, consuls, dictators, emperors, and those to whom Rome granted the honour of a triumph.³

The purple is a colour, compounded between red and violet, taken from a sea-fish covered with a shell, called also the *purple*.⁴ Notwithstanding various treatises wrote by the moderns upon this colour so highly prized by the ancients, we are little acquainted with the nature of the liquor which produced it. Aristotle and Pliny have left many remarkable things upon this point, but such as are more proper to excite, than fully to satisfy curiosity.⁵ The latter, who has spoken the most at large upon the preparation of purple, has confined all he says of it to some few lines.⁶ These might suffice for the description of a known practice in those times; but it is too little to give a proper idea of it to ours, after the use of it has ceased for many ages.

Pliny divides the several species of shells, from which the purple dye is taken, into two kinds;⁷ the first of which includes the small kind of *buccinum*, so called from the resemblance between that fish's shell and a hunting horn; and the second, the shells called purple, from the dye they contain. It is believed that this latter kind were called also *murex*. Some authors affirm, that the Tyrians discovered the dye we speak of by accident.⁸ A hungry dog, it is alleged, having broke one of these shells with his teeth upon the sea-side, and devoured one of these fish, all around his mouth and throat were dyed by it with so fine a colour, that it surprised every body that saw it, and gave birth to the desire of making use of it.⁹ The purple of Getulia¹⁰ in Africa, and that of Laconia¹¹ in Europe, were in great estimation;¹² but the Tyrian in Asia was preferred to all others; and

that principally which was twice dipped, called for that reason *dibapha*. A pound of it was sold at Rome for a thousand denarii, that is, five hundred livres. The *buccinum* and *murex* scarce differed in any thing but the bigness of shell, and the preparation of them. The *murex* was fished for generally in the open sea; whereas the *buccinum* was taken from the stones and rocks, to which it adhered. I shall speak here only of the *buccinum*, and shall extract a small part of what I find upon it, in the learned dissertation of Monsieur Reaumur.¹³

The liquor could not be extracted from the *buccinum*, without employing a very considerable length of time for that purpose. It was first necessary to break the hard shell that covered them. This shell being broke at some distance from its opening, or the head of the *buccinum*, the broken pieces were taken away. A small vein then appeared, to use the expression of the ancients, or, with greater propriety of speech, a small reservoir, full of the proper liquor for dyeing purple. The colour of the liquor contained in this small reservoir made it very distinguishable, as it differed much from the flesh of the animal. Aristotle and Pliny say it is white; and it is indeed inclining to white, or between white and yellow. The little reservoir in which it is contained, is not of equal bigness in all the *buccina*; it is, however, commonly about a line, the twelfth part of an inch, in breadth, and two or three in length. It was this little reservoir the ancients were obliged to take from the *buccinum*, in order to separate the liquor contained in it. They were under the necessity of cutting it from each fish, which was a tedious work, at least with regard to what it held; for there is not above a large drop of liquor in each reservoir, from whence it is not surprising that fine purple should be of so high a price amongst them. Aristotle and Pliny say, indeed, that they did not take the pains to cut these little vessels from the smaller fish of this kind separately, but only pounded them in mortars, which was a means to shorten the work considerably. Vitruvius seems even to give this as the general preparation.¹⁴ It is, however, not easy to conceive how a fine purple colour could be attained by this means. The excrements of the animal must considerably change the purple colour, when heated together, after being put into the water; for that substance is itself of a brown greenish colour, which, no doubt, it communicated to the water, and must very much have changed the purple colour; the quantity of it being exceedingly greater than that of the liquor.

In the preparation of purple, the cutting out the small reservoir of liquor from each *buccinum*, was not the whole trouble. All those small vessels were afterwards thrown into a great quantity of water, which was set over a slow fire for the space of ten hours. As this mixture was left so long upon the fire, it was impossible for it not to take the purple colour: it took it much sooner, as I am well convinced, says Mr. Reaumur, by a great number of experiments. But it was necessary to separate the fleshy parts, or little vessels wherein the liquor was contained; which could not be done without losing much of the liquor, except by making those fleshy membranes dissolve in hot water, to the top of which they rose at length in scum, which was taken off with great care. This was one manner in which the ancients made the purple dye, that was not entirely lost, as is believed, or at least was discovered again about fifty years ago by the Royal Society of England. One species of the shells from which it is extracted, a kind of *buccinum*, is common on the coast of that country. The observations of an Englishman upon this new discovery, were printed in the journals of France in 1686. Another *buccinum*, which gives also the purple dye, and is evidently one of those described by Pliny, is found upon the coast of Poitou. The greatest shells of this kind are from twelve to thirteen lines (of an inch) in length, and from seven to eight in diameter in the thickest part of them.

¹ Plin. l. ix. c. 35.

² Animā hominis quāsitā maxime placent.—Plin. ibid.

³ Color nimio lepore vernans, obscuritas rubens, nigredo sanguinea regnante discernit, dominum consuepium facit, et prastat humano generi ne de conspectu principis possit errari.—Cassiod. l. i. Var. Ep. 2.

⁴ From thence purple habits are called in Latin, conchiliatæ vestes.

⁵ Arist. de Hist. Anim. l. v. c. 15. ⁶ Plin. l. ix. c. 38.

⁷ Plin. l. ix. c. 39. ⁸ Jul. Pollux. l. i. c. 4.

⁹ Cassiod. l. i. Var. Ep. 2.

¹⁰ Vestes Getulo murex tenetas.—Hor.

Robes with Getulian purple dy'd.

¹¹ Nec Laconicas mihi

Trahunt horæstæ purpuras clientæ.—Hor.

Nor do my noble clients' wives with care
Laconia's purple spin for me to wear.

¹² Plin. l. ix. c. 36—39.

VOL. II.—47

¹³ Memoirs of the Acad. of Sciences, an. 1711.

¹⁴ Architect. l. vii. c. 13.

They are a single shell turned spirally, like that of a garden snail, but somewhat longer.

In the Journal of the Learned for 1686, the various changes of colour through which the *buccinum*'s liquor passes are described. If, instead of taking out the vessel which contains it, according to the method of the ancients in making their purple, that vessel be only opened, and the liquor pressed out of it, the linen or other stuffs, either of silk or wool, that imbibe this liquor, will appear only of a yellowish colour. But the same linen or stuffs, exposed to a moderate heat of the sun, such as it is in summer mornings, in a few hours take very different colours. That yellow begins at first to incline a little to the green; thence it becomes of a lemon colour. To that succeeds a livelier green, which changes into a deep green; this terminates in a violet colour, and afterwards fixes in a very fine purple. Thus these linens or stuffs, from their first yellow, proceed to a fine purple through all the various degrees of green. I pass over many very curious observations of Monsieur Reaumur upon these changes, which do not immediately come into my subject. It seems surprising that Aristotle and Pliny, in speaking of the purple dye, and the shells of several countries from which it is extracted, should not say a word of the changes of colour, so worthy of remark, through which the dye passes before it attains the purple. Perhaps, not having sufficiently examined these shells themselves, and being acquainted with them only from accounts little exact, they make no mention of changes which did not happen in the ordinary preparation of purple; for, in that, the liquor being mingled in caldrons with a great quantity of water, it turned immediately red.

Mr. Reaumur, in the voyage he made in the year 1710, upon the coast of Poitou, in considering the shells called *buccinum*, which the sea in its ebb had left upon the shore; he found a new species of purple dye, which he did not search after; and which, according to all appearances, had never been known to the ancients, though of the same species with their own. He observed that the *buccina* generally thronged about certain stones and arched heaps of sand, in such great quantities that they might be taken up there by handfuls, though dispersed and single every where else. He perceived, at the same time, that those stones or heaps of sand were covered with certain grains, of which the form resembled that of a small oblong bowl. The length of these grains was somewhat more than three lines, (a quarter of an inch,) and their bigness something above one line. They seemed to him to contain a white liquor, inclining to yellow. He pressed out the juice of some of them upon his ruffle, which at first seemed only a little soiled with it; and he could perceive with difficulty only a small yellowish speck here and there in the spot. The different objects which diverted his attention made him forget what he had done, and he thought no farther of it, till, casting his eyes by accident upon the same ruffle about a quarter of an hour after, he was struck with an agreeable surprise to see a fine purple colour on the places where the grains had been squeezed. This adventure occasioned many experiments, which give a wonderful pleasure in the relation, and show what great advantage it is to a nation to produce men of a peculiar genius, born with a taste and natural disposition for making happy discoveries in the works of nature.

Mr. Reaumur remarks that the liquor was extracted from these grains, which he calls the *eggs of purple*, in an infinitely more commodious manner than that practised by the ancients for the liquor of the *buccinum*; for there was nothing more to do, after having gathered these eggs, than to have them well washed in the sea-water, to take off as much as possible the filth, which might change the purple colour by mixing with it; there was, I say, nothing more to do than to put them into clean cloths. The liquor was then pressed out, by twisting the ends of these cloths different ways, in the same manner almost that the juice is pressed out of gooseberries to make jelly. And to abridge this trouble still more, snail presses

might be used, which would immediately press out all the liquor. We have seen before, how much time and pains were necessary for extracting the liquor from the *buccina*.

The *coccus* or *coccum* supplied the ancients with the fine colour and dye we call scarlet, which in some measure disputed beauty and splendour with the purple.¹ Quintilian joins them together, where he complains that the parents of his times dressed their children, from their cradles, in scarlet and purple, and inspired them, at that early age, with a taste for luxury and magnificence.² Scarlet, according to Pliny,³ supplied men with more splendid garments than purple, and at the same time more innocent, because it was not necessary to hazard life in attaining it.

Scarlet is generally believed the seed of a tree, of the holm-tree kind. It has been discovered to be a small round excrescence, red, and of the bigness of a pea, which grows upon the leaves of a little shrub of the holm species, called *ilex aculeata cocciglandifera*. This excrescence is caused by the bite of an insect, which lays its eggs in it. The Arabians term this grain *kermes*; the Latins, *coccus* and *vermiculus*; from whence the words *vermillion*, and *cuscum* or *quisquium*, are derived. A great quantity of it is gathered in Provence and Languedoc. The water of the Gobelins's river is proper for dying scarlet.

There are two kinds of scarlet. The scarlet of France or of the Gobelins, which is made of the grain I have mentioned; and the scarlet of Holland, which derives itself from cochineal. This is a drug that comes from the East Indies. Authors do not agree upon the nature of cochineal. Some believe it a kind of worm; and others, that it is only the seed of a tree. The first kind is seldom used since the discovery of cochineal, which produces a much more beautiful and lively scarlet than that of the *kermes*, which is deeper, and comes nearer to the Roman purple. It has, however, one advantage of the cochineal-scarlet, which is, that it does not change colour when wet falls upon it, as the other dyes, which turns blackish immediately after.

SECTION IX.—OF SILKEN STUFFS.

SILK, as Monsieur Mahudal observes in the dissertation he has given us on this subject,⁴ of which I shall make great use in this place; silk, I say, is one of the things made use of for many ages almost throughout all Asia, in Africa, and many parts of Europe, without people's knowing what it was; whether it was that the people, amongst whom it grew, gave strangers little access to them; or that, jealous of an advantage peculiar to themselves, they apprehended being deprived of it by foreigners, is uncertain. It was undoubtedly from the difficulty of being informed of the origin of this precious thread, that so many singular opinions arose among the most ancient authors respecting it.

To judge of it after the manner Herodotus has described it, viz. as a kind of wool much subtler and more beautiful than the ordinary kind, and which, he says, was the growth of a tree in the Indies, (the most remote country known by the eastern people of his times to the eastward,) seems the first idea they had of silk.⁵ It was not extraordinary that the people sent into that country to make discoveries, seeing only the bags of the silk-worms hanging from the trees in a climate where those insects breed, feed upon the leaves, and naturally ascend the branches, should take those bags for lumps of wool.

It is likely that Theophrastus, upon the relation of those mistaken persons, might conceive these a real

¹ Plin. l. xxii. e. 2.

² Quid non adulus concupiscet, qui in purpuris reptat? Nondum prima verba exprimit, et jam coccum intelligit, jam conchylium possit.—Quintil. l. i. c. 1.

³ Transalpina Gallia herbis Tyrium atque conchylium tingit, omnesque alios colores. Nec quærit in profundis muries—ut inveniat per quod matrona adultero placeat, corruptor insidietur nuptæ. Stans et in siccio carpit, quo fruges modo.—Plin.

⁴ Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, vol. v.

⁵ Herod. l. iii. c. 106.

species of trees, and rank them in a particular class, which he enumerates, of trees bearing wool. There is good reason to believe Virgil of the same opinion:—

Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenui Seres.
Georg. l. ii. v. 121.

As India's sons

Comb the soft, slender fleeces of the bough.

Aristotle, though the most ancient of the naturalists, has given a description of an insect, that comes nearest the silk-worm.¹ It is where he speaks of the different species of the caterpillar, that he describes one which comes from a horned worm, to which he does not give the name of *εἰμυς* till it has shut itself up in a cod or bag, from whence, he says, it comes out a butterfly: it passes through these several changes, according to him, in six months. About four hundred years after Aristotle, Pliny, to whom that philosopher's history of animals was perfectly known, has repeated the same fact literally in his own.² He places also, under the name *bombyx*, not only this species of worm, which, as some report, produced the silk of Cos; but several other caterpillars found in the same island, and which he supposes to form there the cods or bags, from which, he says, the women of the country spin silk, and make stuffs of great fineness and beauty. Pausanias, who wrote some years after Pliny, informs us that this worm was of Indian extraction, and that the Greeks called it *Σέρης*, from whence it derived the name of *Seres*, the inhabitants of the Indies, amongst whom, we are since convinced, this insect was first found.³

The worm which produces silk is an insect still less wonderful for the precious matter it supplies for the making of different stuffs, than for the various forms it takes, either before or after its having wrapt itself up in the rich bag or cod it spins for itself. From the grain or egg it is at first, it becomes a worm of considerable size, and of a white colour, inclining to yellow. When it is grown large, it encloses itself within its bag, where it takes the form of a kind of grey bean, in which there seems neither life nor motion. It comes to life again to take the form of a butterfly, after having made itself an opening through its tomb of silk. At last, dying in reality, it prepares itself, by the egg or seed it leaves, a new life, which the fine weather and the heat of the summer are to assist it to resume. In the first volume of the *Spectacle de la Nature* may be seen a more extensive and more exact description of these various changes.

It is from this bag or cod, into which the worm shuts itself, that the different kinds of silken manufactures are made, which serve not only for the luxury and magnificence of the rich, but the subsistence of the poor, who spin, wind, and work them. Each bag or cod is found to contain more than nine hundred feet of thread; and this thread is double, and glued together throughout its whole length, which in consequence amounts to almost two thousand feet. How wonderful it is that out of a substance so slight and fine as almost to escape the eye, stuffs should be composed of such strength and duration, as those made of silk! But what lustre, beauty, and delicacy are there in those stuffs! It is not surprising that the commerce of the ancients consisted considerably in them, and that, as they were very scarce in those times, their price ran exceeding high. Vopiscus assures us, that the emperor Aurelian, for that reason, refused the empress his wife a habit of silk, which she earnestly solicited him to give her; and that he said to her, “the gods forbid that I should purchase silk at the price of its weight in gold;”⁴ for the price of a pound of silk was at that time a pound of gold.

It was not till very late that the use of silk was known and became common in Europe. The histo-

rian Procopius dates the era of it about the middle of the fifth century, under the emperor Justinian.⁵ He gives the honour of this discovery to two monks, who, soon after their arrival at Constantinople from the Indies, heard, in conversation, that Justinian was exceedingly solicitous about depriving the Persians of their silk trade with the Romans. They found means to be presented to him, and proposed a shorter way to deprive the Persians of that trade, than that of a commerce with the Ethiopians, which he had thoughts of setting on foot; and this was by teaching the Romans the art of making silks for themselves. The emperor, convinced by the account they gave him of the possibility of the means, sent them back to Serinda (the city where they had resided) to get the eggs of the insects, which they told him could not be brought alive. Those monks, after their second voyage, returning to Constantinople, hatched the eggs they had brought from Serinda in warm dung. When the worms came out of them, they fed them with white mulberry leaves, and demonstrated by the success of that experiment all the mechanism of silk, in which the emperor had desired to be informed. From that time the use of silk spread by degrees into several parts of Europe. Manufactures of it were set up at Athens, Thebes, and Corinth. It was not till about 1130, that Roger, king of Sicily, established one at Palermo. It was at that time, and in this island and Calabria, that workmen in silk were first seen, who were part of the booty that prince brought from the cities of Greece I have mentioned, which he conquered in his expedition to the Holy Land. In fine, the rest of Italy and Spain having learned of the Sicilians and Calabrians to breed the worms, and to spin and work their silk, the stuffs made of it began to be manufactured in France, especially in the south parts of that kingdom, where mulberry trees were raised with most ease. Louis XI. in 1470, established silk manufactures at Tours. The first workmen employed in them were brought from Genoa, Venice, Florence, and even from Greece. Works of silk were, however, so scarce even at court, that Henry II. was the first prince that wore silk stockings, which he did at the nuptials of his sister.

These insects are now become very common, but do not cease to be one of the most astonishing wonders of nature. Have the most skillful artificers been able hitherto to imitate the curious work of the silk-worm? Have they found the secret to form so fine, so strong, so even, so shining, and so extended a thread? Have they a more valuable substance for the fabric of the richest stuffs? Do they know in what manner this worm converts the juice of a leaf into threads of gold? Can they give a reason why a matter, liquid before the air comes to it, should condense and extend to infinitude afterwards? Can we explain how this worm comes to have sense to form itself a retreat for the winter, within the innumerable folds of the silk, of which itself is the principal; and to expect, in that rich tomb, a kind of resurrection, which supplies it with the wings its first birth had not given it? These are the reflections made by the author of the new commentary upon Job, upon account of these words: *Quis posuit in nentibus sapientiam?* “Who hath given wisdom to certain animals, that have the industry to spin?”⁶

CONCLUSION.

FROM what has been said hitherto, we may conclude commerce one of the parts of government capable of contributing the most to the riches and plenty of a state; and therefore that it merits the particular attention of princes and their ministers. It does not appear, indeed, that the Romans set any value upon it. Dazzled with the glory of arms, they would have believed it a disgrace to them to have applied their cares to the interest of trade, and in some measure

¹ Arist. l. v. Hist. Anim. c. 19. ² Plin. l. xi. c. 22, 23.

³ Pausan. l. vi. p. 394.

⁴ Vestem holuericam neque ipse in vestiario suo habuit, neque alteri utendum dedit. Et cum ab eo uxor sua peteret, ut unico pallio Serico uteretur, ille respondit: *Abist ut auro fila pensentur.* Libra enim auri tunc libra Serice fuit.—Vopisc. in Aurel.

⁵ Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. ii.

⁶ This, Mr. Rollin says in the margin, is the sense, according to the Hebrew of the 36th verse of the 38th chapter of Job; which in the English version is only “Who hath put wisdom in the inward parts?”

to have become merchants; they, who believed themselves intended by fate to govern mankind, and were solely intent upon the conquest of the universe. Neither does it seem possible that the spirit of conquest and the spirit of commerce should not mutually exclude each other in the same nation. The one necessarily introduces tumult, disorder, and desolation, and carries trouble and confusion along with it into all places; the other, on the contrary, breathes nothing but peace and tranquillity. I shall not examine in this place, whether the aversion of the Romans for commerce were founded in reason; or if a people, solely devoted to war, are thereby the happier. I only say, that a king who truly loves his subjects, and endeavours to plant abundance in his dominions, will spare no pains to make traffic flourish and succeed in them without difficulty. It has been often said, and it is a maxim generally received, that commerce demands only liberty and protection: liberty, within wise restrictions, in not tying down such as exercise it to the observance of inconvenient, burdensome, and frequently useless regulations; protection, in granting them all the supports they have occasion for. We have seen the vast expenses Ptolemy

Philadelphus was at, in making commerce flourish in Egypt; and how much glory the success of his measures acquired him. An intelligent and well-inclined prince will intermeddle only in commerce, to banish fraud and bad arts from it by severity, and will leave all the profits to his subjects, who have the trouble of it; well convinced that he shall find sufficient advantages from it, by the great riches it will bring into his dominions.

I am sensible that commerce has its inconveniences and dangers. Gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, rich stuffs, in which it consists in a great measure, contribute to support an infinity of pernicious arts, which tend only to enervate and corrupt a people's manners. It were to be desired, that the commerce might be removed from a Christian nation, which regards only such things as promote luxury, vanity, effeminacy, and idle expenses. But this is impossible. As long as bad desires shall have dominion over mankind, all things, even the best, will be abused by them. The abuse merits condemnation, but is no reason for abolishing uses, which are not bad in their own nature. This maxim will have its weight, with regard to all the sciences I shall treat of in the sequel of this work.

OF THE LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES.

INTRODUCTION.

WE come now to treat of the *arts* which are called *liberal*, in opposition to such as are *mechanical*, because the first are considered as the most noble, and more immediately dependent upon the understanding. These arts are principally architecture, sculpture, painting, and music.

The arts as well as sciences have had their happy ages, in which they have appeared with greater splendour, and cast a stronger light; but, as the historian observes, this light and splendour was soon obscured, and the duration of these times of perfection of no great continuance. They triumphed longer in Greece than in any other part of the world.¹ To begin the reign of the liberal arts no higher than the time of Pericles, and make it endure only to the death of Alexander's first successors, (and each of these eras may be extended both at their beginning and end,) the space will be at least two hundred years, during which appeared a multitude of persons illustrious for excelling in all the arts.

It is not to be doubted but rewards, honours, and emulation contributed very much in forming these great men. What ardour must the laudable custom have excited, which prevailed in many cities of Greece, of exhibiting in the shows such as succeeded best in the arts, of instituting public disputes between them, and of distributing prizes to the victors in the sight, and with the applauses of a whole people! Greece, as we shall soon see, thought herself obliged to render as much honour to the celebrated Polygnatus as she could have paid to Lycurgus and Solon; to prepare magnificent entries for him into the cities where he had finished some paintings; and to appoint, by a decree of the Amphictyons, that he should be maintained at the public expense in all the places to which he should go. What honours have not the greatest princes paid in all ages to such as distinguished themselves by the arts! We have seen Alexander the Great and Demetrius Poliorcetes forget their rank, to familiarize themselves with two illus-

trious painters, and come where they worked, to pay homage in some manner to the rare talents and superior merit of those extraordinary persons. One of the greatest emperors, Charles V., that reigned in the West since Charlemagne, showed the value he set upon painting, when he made Titian Count Palatine, and honoured him with the golden key and all the orders of knighthood.² Francis I., king of France, his illustrious rival as well in the actions of peace as those of war, outdid him much, when he said to the lords of his court, of Leonardo di Vinci, then expiring in his arms, "You are in the wrong to wonder at the honour I pay this great painter: I can make a great many such lords as you every day, but only God can make such a man as he I now lose."³ Princes who speak and act in this manner, do themselves at least as much honour as those whose merit they extol and respect. It is true, the arts, by the esteem kings profess for them, acquire a dignity and splendour that render them more illustrious and exalted; but the arts, in their turn, reflect a like lustre upon kings, and ennoble them also in some measure, in immortalizing their names and actions by works transmitted to the latest posterity.⁴

Patriculus, whom I have already cited when noticing the short duration of arts when they have attained their perfection, makes another very true remark, confirmed, not only by the experience of the remote, but latter ages; which is, that great men of every class in arts, sciences, policy, and war, are generally contemporaries.⁵

If we recal the times when Apelles, Praxiteles, Lysippus, and other excellent artists, flourished in Greece, we find her greatest poets, orators, and philosophers were then alive. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Thucydides, Xenophon, Æschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Me-

¹ Cav. Ridolphi in the Life of Titian.

² Vasari in the Life of Leonardo di Vinci.

³ De pictura, arte quondam nobili, tunc cum expeteretur a regibus popularique, et illos nobilitante, quos dignata esset posteris tradere.—*Plin.* l. xxxv. c. 1.

⁴ Quis abunde mirari potest, quod eminentissima cujusque professionis ingenia in eadem formam et in idem arcuati temporis congruunt spatium.—*Patere.* l. i. c. 16.

⁵ Sic Lysippus legit, pro congruens.

⁶ Hoc idem evenisse grammaticis plasticis, pictoribus, sculptoribus, quiquis temporum notis insisterit reperiet et eminentia cujusque; operis arctissimis temporum claustris circumdata.—*Patere.* l. i.

mander, and many others, lived all of them almost in the same age. What men, what generals, had Greece at the same time! Had ever the world any so consummate? The Augustan age had the same fate in every respect. In that of Louis XIV., what a number of great men lived of every kind, whose names, actions, and works, will celebrate that glorious reign for ever! It seems as if there were certain periods of time, in which I know not what spirit of perfection universally diffuses itself in the same country throughout all professions, without its being possible to assign how or why it should happen so. We may

say, however, that all arts and talents are allied in some manner to each other. The taste of perfection is the same in whatever depends upon genius. If cultivation be wanting, an infinity of talents lie buried. When true taste awakes, those talents deriving mutual aid from each other, shine out in a peculiar manner. The misfortune is, that this perfection itself, when arrived at its supreme degree, is the forerunner of the decline of arts and sciences, which are never nearer their ruin than when they appear the most remote from it: such are the instability and variation of all human things!

OF ARCHITECTURE.

ARTICLE I.

OF ARCHITECTURE IN GENERAL.

SECTION I.—RISE, PROGRESS, AND PERFECTION OF ARCHITECTURE.

It is not to be doubted but the care of building houses immediately succeeded that of cultivating lands, and that architecture is not of a much later date than agriculture. Hence Theodoretus calls the latter the eldest sister of architecture.¹ The excessive heats of summer, the severity of winter, the inconvenience of rain, and the violence of wind, soon instructed mankind to seek for shelter, and provide themselves retreats to defend them against the inclemencies of the weather. At first, these were only little huts, built very rudely with the branches of trees, and very indifferently covered.² In the time of Vitruvius, they showed at Athens, as curious remains of antiquity, the roof of the Areopagus, made of clay; and at Rome, in the temple of the capitol, the cottage of Romulus, thatched with straw. There were afterwards buildings of wood, which suggested the idea of columns and architraves. Those columns took their model from the trees which were used at first to support the roof, and the architrave is only the large beam, as its name implies, that was laid between the columns and the roof.

The workmen, in consequence of their application to building, became every day more industrious and expert. Instead of those slight huts with which they contented themselves at first, they began to erect walls of stone and brick upon solid foundations, and to cover them with boards and tiles. In process of time, their reflections, founded upon experience, led them on to the knowledge of the just rules of proportion; the taste of which is natural to man, the Author of his being having implanted in him the invariable principles of it, to make him sensible that he is born for order in all things. Hence it is, as St. Austin observes, that in a building, where all the parts have a mutual relation to each other, and are ranged each in its proper place, the symmetry catches the eye, and occasions pleasure; whereas, if the windows, for instance, are ill disposed, some large and others small, some placed higher and some lower, the irregularity offends the sight, and seems to do it a kind of injury, as St. Austin expresses it.³ It was, therefore, by degrees that architecture attained the height of perfection, to which the masters in the art have carried it. At first it confined itself to what was necessary to man in the uses of life, having nothing in view but solidity, healthfulness, and convenience. A

house should be durable, situated in a wholesome place, and have all the conveniences that can be desired. Architecture afterwards laboured to adorn buildings and make them more splendid, and for that reason called in other arts to its aid. At last came pomp, grandeur, and magnificence, highly laudable on many occasions, but soon strangely abused by luxury.

The holy scripture⁴ speaks of a city built by Cain, after God had cursed him for the murder of his brother Abel; which is the first mention of edifices in history. From thence we learn the time and place in which architecture had its origin. The descendants of Cain, to whom the same scripture ascribes the invention of almost all the arts, carried this, no doubt, to a considerable height of perfection. And it is certain, that after the deluge, men, before they separated from each other, and dispersed themselves into the different regions of the world, resolved to signalize themselves by a superb building, which again drew down the wrath of God upon them. Asia, therefore, was the cradle of architecture, where it had its birth, where it attained a great degree of perfection, and from whence it spread into the other parts of the world. Babylon and Nineveh, the largest and most magnificent cities mentioned in history, were built by Nimrod, Noah's great grandson, and the most ancient of conquerors. I do not believe that they were carried at first to that prodigious magnificence, which was afterwards the astonishment of the world; but certainly they were very great and extensive from thenceforth, as the names⁵ of several other cities, built in the same times after the model of the capital, testify.

The erection of the famous pyramids, the lake Moeris, the labyrinth, the considerable number of temples in Egypt, and the obelisks which are to this day the admiration and ornament of Rome, show with what ardour and success the Egyptians applied themselves to architecture. It is, however, neither to Asia nor Egypt that this art is indebted for that degree of perfection to which it attained; and there is reason to doubt whether the buildings so much boasted by both, were as estimable for their justness and regularity, as their enormous magnitude, in which perhaps their principal merit consisted. The designs which we have of the ruins of Persepolis, prove that the kings of Persia, of whose opulence ancient history says so much, had but indifferent artists in their pay. However this may be, it appears from the very names of the three principal orders of architecture, that the invention, if not perfection of them, is to be ascribed to Greece, and that it was she who prescribed the rules, and supplied the models of them. As much may be said with regard to all the other arts, and almost all the sciences. Not to speak in this place of

¹ Theodor. orat. 4. de Provid. p. 350. ² Vitruv. l. i. c. 1.
³ Itaque in hoc ipso edificio singula bene considerantes non possumus non offendere, quod unum ostium videmus in latere, alterum prope in medio, nec tamen in medio collocatum. Quippe in rebus fabricatis, nulla cogente necessitate, iniqua dimensio partium facere ipsi aspectui velut quidam videtur injuriam.—S. Augustin de ord. l. ii. c. 11. n. 31.

⁴ Gen. iv. 17.

⁵ Erec, the long city. Rehobot, the broad city. Reser, the great city. According to the Hebrew, Gen. x. 11, 12.

the great captains, philosophers of every sect, poets, orators, geometricians, painters, sculptors, architects, and, in general, of that pre-eminence in all that relates to the understanding, which Greece attained; whither we must still go as to the school of good taste in every kind, if we desire to excel.

It is a misfortune that there is nothing written by the Greeks upon architecture now extant.¹ The only books we have of theirs upon this subject, are the structures of those ancient masters still subsisting, whose beauty, universally acknowledged, has for almost two thousand years been the admiration of all good judges; works infinitely superior to all the precepts they could have left us; practice in all things being infinitely preferable to theory.² For want of Greeks, Vitruvius, a Latin author, will come in to my assistance. His being architect to Julius and Augustus Caesar (for according to the most received opinion he lived in their times), gives good reason to presume upon the excellence of his work and the merit of the author, and the critics accordingly place him in the first class of the great geniuses of antiquity. To this first claim on our confidence, may be added the character of the age in which he lived, when good taste prevailed universally, and the emperor Augustus piqued himself upon adorning Rome with buildings equal to the grandeur and majesty of the empire; which made him say, that he found the city of brick, but left it almost entirely of marble.³ I had great occasion for so excellent a guide as Vitruvius, in a subject entirely new to me. I shall make great use of the notes Mr. Perrault has annexed to his translation of this author, as well as of Mr. Chambray's reflections, in his work entitled *Ancient and Modern Architecture Compared*, which I know is in high esteem with the judges; and those of Mr. Felibien, in his book called *Of the Principles of Architecture*, &c.

The ancients had, as well as we, three sorts of architecture: the civil, the military, and the naval. The first lays down rules for all public and private buildings for the use of citizens in time of peace. The second treats of the fortification of places, and every thing of that kind relating to war. And the third, the building of ships, and whatever is consequential of or relates thereto. I shall speak here only of the first, intending to say something elsewhere of the two others; and shall begin by giving a general idea of the several orders of building.

SECTION II.—OF THE THREE ORDERS OF ARCHITECTURE OF THE GREEKS, AND THE TWO OTHERS WHICH HAVE BEEN ADDED TO THEM.

THE occasion there was for erecting different sorts of buildings, made artists also establish different proportions, in order to have such as were proper for every kind of structure, according to the magnitude, strength, splendour, and beauty they were directed to give them; and from these different proportions they composed different orders.

Order, as a term of architecture, signifies the different ornaments, measures, and proportions of the columns and pilasters, which support or adorn great buildings. There are three orders of the architecture of the Greeks; the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. They may with reason be called the supreme perfection of the orders, as they contain not only all that is fine, but all that is necessary in the art; there being

only three ways of building, the solid, the middle, and the delicate, which are all perfectly executed in these three orders. To these the Latins have added two others, the Tuscan and Composite orders, which are far below the former in value and excellency.

I.—THE DORIC ORDER.

The Doric order may be said to have been the first regular idea of architecture, and as the eldest son of this art, had the honour to be also the first in building temples and palaces. The antiquity of its origin is almost immemorial; Vitruvius,⁴ however, ascribes it, with probability enough, to a prince of Achaia, named Dorus, the same evidently who gave his name to the Dorians, and who, being sovereign of Peloponnesus, caused a magnificent temple to be erected in the city of Argos to the goddess Juno. That temple was the first model of this order; in imitation of which, the neighbouring people built several others. The most famous of these was that consecrated by the inhabitants of the city of Olympia to Jupiter, sur-named the Olympic.

The essential character and specific quality of the Doric order, is solidity. For this reason it ought principally to be used in great edifices and magnificent structures, as in the gates of citadels and cities, the outsides of temples, in public halls, and the like places, where delicacy of ornaments seem less consistent; whereas the bold and gigantic manner of this order has a wonderfully happy effect, and carries a certain manly and simple beauty, which forms properly what is called the grand manner.

II.—THE IONIC ORDER.

After the appearance of these regular buildings, and famous Doric temples, architecture did not confine itself long to these first essays: the emulation of the neighbouring people soon enlarged and carried it to its perfection.⁵ The Ionians were the first rivals of the Dorians; and as they had not the honour of the invention, they endeavoured to refine upon the authors. Considering, therefore, that the form of a man, such for example as Hercules was, from which the Doric order had been formed, was too robust and heavy to agree with sacred mansions, and the representation of heavenly things, they composed one after their own manner, and chose a model of a more delicate and elegant proportion, which was that of a woman, having more regard to the beauty than the solidity of the work, to which they added abundance of ornaments. Amongst the celebrated temples built by the people of Ionia, the most memorable, though the most ancient, is the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus, of which I shall soon speak.

III.—THE CORINTHIAN ORDER.

The Corinthian order, which is the highest degree of perfection architecture ever attained, was invented at Corinth. Though its antiquity be not exactly known, nor the precise time in which Callimachus lived, to whom Vitruvius gives the whole glory of it, we may judge, however, from the nobleness of its ornaments, that it was invented during the magnificence and splendour of Corinth, and soon after the Ionic, which it much resembles, except only in the capital or chapter. A kind of chance gave birth to it. Callimachus having seen, as he passed by a tomb, a basket which had been set upon a plant of acanthus or bearsfoot, was struck with the accidental symmetry and happy effect produced by the leaves of the plant growing through and encircling the basket; and though the basket with the acanthus had no natural relation to the capital of a column and a massy building, he imitated the manner of it in the columns he afterwards made at Corinth, establishing and regulating by this model the proportions and ornaments of the Corinthian order.⁶

This Callimachus was called by the Athenians, καλλιμαχός, expert and excellent in art, from his delicacy and address in cutting marble; and according to Pliny and Pausanias,⁷ he was also called καλλιθέτης, νοός,

¹ [Almost all the works of the ancients on the arts of design, which were familiar to them, are lost to us. It may be remarked, as a leading cause of this, that the Greek and Italian monks of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, (to whom we owe the preservation of the classics,) being incompetent to the imitation of the several embellishments with which they found MSS. on the subject of the arts frequently elucidated, laid them aside in despair; and by this neglect, they have perished. Vitruvius is preserved to us at the expense of the figures.]

² In omnibus fere minus valent præcepta, quam experientia.—*Quintil.*

³ Urhem neque pro majestate imperii ornatam, et inundationibus incendisque obnoxiam, excolunt adeo, ut jure sit gloriosius, marmoram se relinquere, quam latertiam accipisset.—*Sueton. in Aug. c. 23.*

⁴ Vitr. l. iv. c. 1.

⁵ Vitr. *ibid.*

⁶ Vitr. *ibid.*

⁷ Plin. l. xxiv. c. 9. Pausan. li. p. 43.

because he was never contented with himself, and was always re-touching his works, with which he was never entirely satisfied: full of superior ideas of the beautiful and the grand, he never found the execution sufficiently equal to them; *semper calumniator sui, nec finem habens diligentie*, says Pliny.

IV.—THE TUSCAN ORDER.

The Tuscan order, according to the general opinion, had its origin in Tuscany, of which it retains the name. Of all the orders it is the most simple, and has the fewest ornaments. It is even so gross, that it is seldom used except for some rustic building, wherein there is occasion only for a single order, or at best for some great edifice, as an amphitheatre, or other works of the like kind.

In Mr. Chambers's judgment, the Tuscan column, without any architrave, is the only one that deserves to be used; and to confirm his opinion of this order, he cites an example of it from Trajan's pillar, one of the most superb remains of Roman magnificence now in being, and which has more immortalized that emperor than all the pens of historians could have done. This mausoleum, if it may be called so, was erected to him by the senate and people of Rome, in acknowledgment of the great services he had done his country. And that the memory of them might subsist throughout all ages, and endure as long as the empire, they caused them to be engraved in marble, and in the richest style that ever was conceived. Architecture was the writer of this ingenious kind of history; and because she was to record a Roman, she did not make use of the Greek orders, though incomparably more perfect, and more used even in Italy than the two others of their own growth; lest the glory of that admirable monument should in some measure be divided, and to show, at the same time, that there is nothing so simple to which art cannot add perfection. She chose, therefore, the column of the Tuscan order, which till then had been only used in gross and rustic things, and made that rude mass bring forth the choicest and most noble masterpiece of art in the world, which time has spared and preserved entire down to us, amidst the infinity of ruins with which Rome abounds. And indeed it is a kind of wonder to see that the Coliseum, the theatre of Marcellus, the great circuses, the baths of Dioclesian, Caracalla, and Antoninus, the superb mole of Adrian's burying-place, the Septizonium of Severus, the Mausoleum of Augustus, and so many other structures, which seemed to be built for eternity, are now so defaced and ruinous, that their original form can scarce be discerned; whilst Trajan's pillar, of which the structure seemed far less durable, still subsists entire in all its parts.

V.—THE COMPOSITE ORDER.

The Composite order was added to the others by the Romans. It participates and is composed of the Ionic and Corinthian, which occasioned its being called the Composite; but it has still more ornaments than the Corinthian. Vitruvius, the father of the architects, says nothing of it. Mr. Chambers objects strongly against the bad taste of the modern Compositors, who, amidst so many examples of the incomparable architecture of the Greeks, which alone merits that name, abandoning the guidance of those great masters, take a quite different route, and blindly give into that bad taste of art, which has by their means crept into the orders, under the name of Compositæ.

GOthic ARCHITECTURE.

That which is remote from the ancient proportions, and is loaded with chimerical ornaments, is called the Gothic architecture, and was brought by the Goths from the north.

There are two species of Gothic architecture: the one ancient, the other modern. The ancient is that which the Goths brought from the north in the fifth century. The edifices built in the ancient Gothic manner were massy, heavy, and gross. The works of the modern Gothic style were more delicate, easy, light,

and of an astonishing boldness of workmanship. It was long in use, especially in Italy. It is surprising that Italy, abounding with monuments of so exquisite a taste, should quit its own noble architecture, established by antiquity, success, and possession, to adopt a barbarous, foreign, confused, irregular, and hideous manner. But it has made amends for that fault, by being the first to return to the ancient taste, which is now solely and universally practised. The modern Gothic continued from the thirteenth century till the re-establishment of the ancient architecture in the fourteenth. All the ancient cathedrals are of Gothic architecture. There are some very ancient churches built entirely in the Gothic taste, that want neither solidity nor beauty, and which are still admired by the greatest architects, upon account of some general proportions remarkable in them.

A plate of the five orders of architecture, of which I have spoken, will enable youth, whom I have always in view, to form some idea of them. I shall prefix to it an explanation of the terms of art, which Mr. Camus, fellow of the Academy of Sciences, and professor and secretary of the Academy of Architecture, was pleased to draw up expressly for my work. At my request he abridged it very much, which makes it less complete than it might otherwise have been.

SECTION III.—EXPLANATION OF THE TERMS OF ART, RELATING TO THE FIVE ORDERS OF ARCHITECTURE.

AMONGST the Greeks, an order was composed of columns and an entablature. The Romans added pedestals under the columns of most orders, to increase their height.

The *Column* is a round pillar, made either to support or adorn a building.

Every column except the Doric, to which the Romans give no base, is composed of a base, a shaft, and a capital or chapter.

The *Base* is that part of the column which is beneath the shaft, and upon the pedestal, when there is any. It has a plinth, of a flat and square form like a brick, called in Greek *πλινθος*, and mouldings, that represent rings, with which the bottoms of pillars were bound, to prevent their cleaving. These rings, when large, are called *Torus*, and when small *Astragals*. The *Tori* generally have hollow spaces cut round between them, called *Rundels*, *Scotia*, or *Trochylus*.

The *Shaft* of the column is the round and even part extending from the base to the capital. This part of the column is narrower at top than at bottom. Some architects are for giving the column a greater breadth at the third part of their height, than at the bottom of their shaft. But there is no instance of any such practice amongst the ancients. Others make the shaft of the same size from the bottom to the third, and then lessen it from the third to the top. And some are of opinion, that it should begin to lessen from the bottom.

The *Capital* is that upper part of the column which is placed immediately upon the shaft. The *Entablature* is the part of the order above the columns, and contains the architrave, the frieze, and the cornice. The *Architrave* represents a beam, and lies next immediately to the capitals of the columns. The Greeks call it *Epistyle*, *ἐπιστύλιον*. The *Frieze* is the space between the architrave and the cornice; it represents the ceiling of the building. The *Cornice* is the beginning of the whole order. It is composed of several mouldings, which, projecting over one another, serve to shelter the order from the waters of the roof. The *Pedestal* is the lowest part of the order. It is a square body, containing three parts: the *foot*, which stands on the area or pavement; the *die*, that lies upon the foot; and the *wave* (cymatium), which is the cornice of the pedestal, upon which the column is placed.

Architects do not agree among themselves about the proportion of the columns to the entablature and pedestals. In following that of Vignola, when an order with pedestals is to be made to a height given,

the height must be divided into nineteen equal parts, of which the column, with its base and capital, is to have twelve, the entablature three, and the pedestals four. But if the order is to have no pedestal, the height given must be divided into fifteen parts only, of which the column is to have twelve, and the entablature three. It is by the diameter of the bottom of the shaft of the columns, that all the parts of the orders are regulated. But this diameter has not the same proportion with the height of the column in all the orders. The semidiameter of the bottom of the shaft is called *module* or *model*. This model serves as a scale to measure the smaller parts of the orders. Many architects divide it into thirty parts, so that the whole diameter contains sixty, which may be called *minutes*.

The difference between the relation of the heights of columns to their diameters, and between their bases, capitals, and entablature, forms the difference between the five orders of architecture. But they are principally to be distinguished by their capitals; except the Tuscan, which might be confounded with the Doric, if only their capitals were considered. The Doric and Ionic pillars have in their capitals only mouldings in the form of rings, with a flat square stone over them, called *Plinth* or *Abacus*. But the Doric is easily distinguished from the Tuscan by the frieze. In the Tuscan order, the frieze is plain, and in the Doric adorned with *Triglyphs*, which are flat square rustics, not unlike the ends of several beams which project over the architrave to form a roof or ceiling. This ornament is affected by the Doric order, and is not to be found in the others. The Ionic capital is easily distinguished by its *volute*s, ears, or spiral rolls, projecting underneath the plinth or abacus. The Corinthian capital is adorned with two rows of eight leaves each, and with eight small volutes, which project between the leaves. And lastly, the Composite capital is compounded from the Corinthian and Ionic capitals. It has two rows of eight leaves and four great volutes, which seem to project under the abacus.

To relate at large all the particularities affected by the different orders, it would be necessary to expatiate upon particulars much more than is consistent with the plan of my work. Mr. Buache, fellow of the Academy of Sciences, has given himself the trouble to trace the plan of the five orders of architecture in the plate annexed.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE ARCHITECTS AND BUILDINGS MOST CELEBRATED BY THE ANCIENTS.

I CAN only touch very lightly upon this subject, which would require whole volumes to treat in its extent; and shall make choice of what seems most proper to inform the reader, and satisfy his just curiosity, without excluding what the Roman history may supply, as I have before observed.

The holy scripture,¹ in speaking of the building of the tabernacle, and afterwards of the temple of Jerusalem that succeeded it, tells us one circumstance highly to the honour of architecture, which is, that God vouchsafed to be the first architect of those two great works, and traced the plans of them himself with his own divine hand, which he afterwards gave to Moses and David, to be the models for the workmen employed in them. This was not all. That the execution might fully answer his designs, "he filled Bezaleel with the Spirit of God,"² whom he had appointed to preside in building the tabernacle; that is to say, in the express words of the scripture, "he had filled him with the Spirit of God in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship; to devise cunning works; to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass; and in cutting of stones to set them; and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship." And he joined Aholiab with him, "whom he had filled with

wisdom as well as all the other artizans, that they may make all that I have commanded thee." It is said in like manner, that Hiram, who was employed by Solomon in building the temple, "was filled with wisdom, and understanding, and cunning, to work in all works of brass."³ The words I have now quoted, especially those from Exodus, show that the knowledge, skill, and industry of the most excellent workmen is not their own, but the gift of God, of which they seldom know the origin, and make the use they ought. We must not expect to find such purity of sentiments amongst the Pagans, of whom we have to speak.

I shall pass over in silence the famous buildings of Babylonia and Egypt, that I have mentioned more than once elsewhere, and in which brick was used with so much success. I shall only insert here a remark from Vitruvius, that has some relation to them. This excellent architect observes,⁴ that the ancients in their buildings made most use of brick, because brick-work is far more durable than that of stone. Hence there were many cities in which both the public and private buildings, and even the royal palaces, were only of brick. Amongst many other examples, he cites that of Mausolus, king of Caria. In the city of Halicarnassus, says he, the palace of the potent king Mausolus is walled with brick, though universally adorned with the marble of Proconnesus; and those walls are still⁵ very fine and entire, cased over with a plaster as smooth as glass. It cannot, however, be said, that this king could not build walls of more costly materials, who was so powerful, and at the same time had so great a taste for fine architecture, as the superb buildings with which he adorned his capital sufficiently prove.

TEMPLE OF EPHEBUS.

The temple of Diana of Ephesus was deemed one of the seven wonders of the world.⁶ Ctesiphon or Chersiphron (for authors differ in the name) made himself very famous by building this temple. He traced the plans of it, which were partly executed under his own direction, and that of his son Metagenes; and the rest by other architects, who worked upon it after them for the space of two hundred and twenty years, which that superb edifice took up in building. Ctesiphon worked before the 60th Olympiad, A. M. 3464. Vitruvius says,⁷ that the form of this temple is *dipterick*; that is to say, that it was surrounded with two rows of columns in form of a double portico. It was almost one hundred and forty-two yards in length, and seventy-two in breadth. In this edifice there were an hundred and twenty-seven columns of marble, sixty feet high, given by as many kings. Thirty-six of these columns were carved by the most excellent artists of their times. Scopas, one of the most celebrated sculptors of Greece, finished one of them, which was the finest ornament of this magnificent structure. All Asia had contributed with incredible ardour to the erecting and adorning it.

Vitruvius relates the manner of getting the marble for this pile.⁸ Though the account seems a little fabulous, I shall, however, repeat it. A shepherd, named Pyxodorus, often drove his sheep to feed in the country about Ephesus, at the time when the Ephesians proposed to bring the marble that was necessary for building the temple of Diana from Paros, Proconnesus, and other places. One day, whilst he was with his flock, it happened, two rams that were fighting, missed each other in their career, and one of them hit his horns so violently against a rock, that he struck off a piece of it, which seemed so exquisitely white to the shepherd, that immediately leaving his flock upon the mountains, he ran with that splinter to Ephesus, at that time in great difficulty about the importation of marble. Great honours were instantly decreed him. His name Pyxodorus was changed into Evangelus, which signifies the mes-

¹ Exod. xxv. 8, 9. 1 Chron. xxviii. 19.

² Exod. xxxi. 3-6.

³ 1 Kings vii. 14.

⁴ Vitruv. l. ii. c. 8.

⁵ Vitruvius lived 350 years after Mausolus.

⁶ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 14.

⁷ Vitruv. l. iii. c. 1.

⁸ Ibid. l. x. c. 7.

senger of good news; and to this day, adds Vitruvius, the magistrate of the city goes every month to sacrifice upon the spot; and in case he fails to do so, is subject to a severe penalty.

It was not sufficient to have found marble; it was necessary to remove it into the temple, after being worked upon the spot, which could not be executed without difficulty and danger. Ctesiphon invented a machine, which very much facilitated the carriage of it.¹ His son Metagenes invented another for carrying the architraves. Vitruvius has left us the description of both these machines.

The same Vitruvius informs us,² that Demetrius, whom he calls the servant of Diana, *servus Dianæ*, and Pæonius the Ephesian, finished the building of this temple, which was of the Ionic order. He does not precisely mark the time when these two architects lived.

The frantic extravagance of a private man destroyed in one day the work of two hundred years. Every body knows that Herostratus, to immortalize his name, set fire to this famous temple, and consumed it to ashes. This happened on the day Alexander the Great was born; which suggested the frigid conceit to an historian, that Diana was so busy at the labour of Olympia, that she could not spare time to preserve her temple. The same Alexander, who was insatiably fond of every kind of glory, offered afterwards to supply the Ephesians with all the expenses necessary for the rebuilding of their temple, provided they would consent that he should have the sole honour of it, and that no other name should be added to his in the inscription upon it. The Ephesians did not approve this condition; but they covered their refusal with a flattery, with which that prince seemed satisfied, in answering him, That it was not consistent for one god to erect a monument to another. The temple was rebuilt with still greater magnificence than the first.

BUILDINGS ERECTED AT ATHENS,³ ESPECIALLY UNDER PERICLES.

I should never have done, if I undertook to describe all the famous buildings with which the city of

Athens was adorned. I shall place the Piræum at the head of the rest, because that port contributed most to the grandeur and power of Athens. Before Themistocles, it was a simple hamlet, the Athenians at that time having no port but Phalerus, which was very small and inconvenient.⁴ Themistocles, whose design was to make the whole force of Athens maritime, rightly observed, that to accomplish a design truly worthy of so great a man, it was necessary to provide a secure retreat for a very considerable number of ships. He cast his eyes upon the Piræum, which by its natural situation afforded three different ports within the same enclosure. He immediately caused it to be worked upon with the utmost despatch, took care to fortify it well, and soon put it into a condition to receive numerous fleets. This port was about two leagues (forty stadia) from the city: an advantageous situation, as Plutarch observed, for removing from the city the licentiousness which generally prevails in ports. The city might be supported by the Piræum, and the Piræum by the city, without prejudice to the good order it was necessary to observe in the city. Pausanias mentions a great number of temples which adorned this part of Athens, that in a manner formed a second city distinct from the first.

Pericles joined these two parts by the famous wall, that extended two leagues, and was the beauty and security of both the Piræum and the city: it was called the *long wall*. Demetrius Phaleræus, whilst he governed Athens, applied himself particularly in fortifying and embellishing the Piræum.⁵ The arsenal, built at that time, was looked upon as one of the finest pieces of work Greece ever had. Demetrius gave the direction of it to Philo, one of the most famous architects of his time. He discharged that commission with all the success which could be expected from a man of his reputation. When he gave an account of his conduct in the public assembly, he expressed himself with so much elegance, perspicuity, and precision, that the people of Athens, excellent judges in point of eloquence, conceived him as fine an orator as he was an architect, and admired no less his talent for speaking than his ability for building.⁶ The same philosopher was charged with the alterations it was thought proper to make in the magnificent temple of Ceres and Proserpine at Eleusis, of which I shall soon speak.⁷

To return to Pericles: it was under his equally long and glorious government that Athens, enriched with temples, porticoes, and statues, became the admiration of all the neighbouring states, and rendered herself almost as illustrious by the magnificence of her buildings, as she was for the glory of her military exploits.⁸ Pericles, finding her the depository and dispenser of the public treasures of Greece, that is to say, of the contributions paid by the several states for the support of troops and fleets, believed, after having sufficiently provided for the security of the country, that he could not employ the sums that remained to better purpose, than to adorn and improve a city, that was the honour and great defence of all the rest.

I do not examine here whether he were in the right

drian. The exterior contained about 120 columns, fluted, 60 feet in height, and 6 in diameter. The enclosure was about half a mile in circumference.

After all that time and barbarism have effected towards the devastation of Athens, her ruins still excite astonishment and admiration in every beholder. Of these, it would be impossible to give an adequate description in a limited note like the present; but we refer the reader particularly to Messrs. Stuart and Rivett's work, entitled "Antiquities of Athens," Lond. 1762, 4 vols. fol. which contains many magnificent plates, calculated to illustrate the descriptions.]

⁴ Cor. Nep. in Themist. c. vi. Plut. in Themist. p. 121. Thucyd. c. i. p. 62. Pausan. l. i. p. 1, &c.

⁵ Cic. l. i. de orat. n. 62.

⁶ Gloriantur Athenæ armamentario suo, nec sine causa: est enim illud opus et impensa et elegantia visendum. Cujus architectum Philonem ita facundæ rationem institutionis suæ in theatro reddidisse constat, ut disertissimus populus non minorem laudem eloquentiæ ejus, quam arti tribuerit. — Val. Max. l. viii. c. 12.

⁷ Vitruv. l. vii. in præfat.

⁸ Plut. in Peric. p. 158.

or not; for this conduct was imputed to him as a crime; nor whether this use of the public money was conformable to the intention of those who supplied it; I have said elsewhere what we ought to think of it; and content myself with observing, that a single man inspired the Athenians with a taste for all the arts; that he set all the able hands at work, and raised so lively an emulation amongst the most excellent workmen in every kind, that, solely intent upon immortalizing their names, they used their utmost endeavours, in all the works confided to their care, to surmount each other, and surpass the magnificence of the design by the beauty and spirit of the execution. One would have believed that there was not one of those buildings, but must have required a great number of years, and a long succession of men, to complete it; and yet, to the astonishment of every body, they were all carried to so supreme a degree of perfection during the government of one man; and that too in no considerable number of years, considering the difficulty and excellency of the workmanship.

Another consideration, which I have already touched upon elsewhere, still infinitely exalts their value: I only copy Plutarch in this place, and should be very glad if I could come near the energy and vivacity of his expressions. Facility and expedition do not generally communicate solid and lasting graces, nor perfect beauty to works; but time, united with labour, pays delay with usury, and gives the same works a force capable of preserving, and of making them triumph through all ages. This renders the works of Pericles the more admirable, which were finished in so short a time, and yet had so long a duration. For from the moment they came from the workman's hands, they had the beauty and spirit of antiques; and even now, says Plutarch, that is to say, about six hundred years after, they have the freshness of youth, as if but lately finished; so much do they still retain a bloom of grace and novelty, that prevents time itself from diminishing their beauty, as if they possessed within themselves a principle of immortal youth, and an animating spirit incapable of growing old.

Plutarch afterwards mentions several temples and superb edifices, in which the most excellent artists had been employed. Pericles had chosen Phidias to preside in erecting these structures. He was the most famous architect, and at the same time the most excellent sculptor and statuary, of his time. I shall speak of him presently, when I come to treat the article of sculpture.

THE MAUSOLÆUM.

The superb monument which Artemisia erected for her husband Mausolus, king of Caria, was one of the most famous buildings of antiquity, as it was thought worthy of being ranked amongst the seven wonders of the world. I shall cite, in the article upon sculpture, what Pliny says of it.

CITY AND LIGHT-HOUSE OF ALEXANDRIA.

It is natural to expect, that whatever derives itself from Alexander, must have something great, noble, and majestic in it; which are the characters of the city he caused to be built, and called after his name, in Egypt. He charged Dinocrates with the direction of this important undertaking. The history of that architect is very singular.

He was a Macedonian. Confiding in his genius and great ideas, he set out for the army of Alexander, with design to make himself known to the prince, and to propose views to him such as he conceived would suit his taste.¹ He got letters of recommendation from his relations and friends to the great officers and leading men at the court, in order to obtain a more easy access to the king. He was very well received by those to whom he applied, who promised to introduce him as soon as possible to Alexander. As they deferred doing it from day to day, under pretence of wanting a favourable opportunity, he took their delays to imply evasion, and resolved to present himself. His stature was advantageous, his visage agreeable, and his address spoke a person of condition. Relying, therefore, upon his good mien, he

stripped himself of his usual habit, anointed his whole body with oil, crowned himself with a wreath of poplar, and throwing a lion's skin over his shoulders, took a club in his hand, and in that equipage approached the throne, upon which the king sat dispensing justice. The novelty of the sight having opened his way through the crowd, he was perceived by Alexander, who, surprised at his appearance, ordered him to approach, and asked him who he was. He replied, "I am Dinocrates the Macedonian, an architect, who brings thoughts and designs to Alexander worthy his greatness." The king gave him the hearing. He told him that he had formed a design of cutting mount Athos into the form of a man, that should hold a great city in his left hand, and in his right a cup to receive all the rivers which ran from that mountain, and to pour them into the sea. Alexander relishing this gigantic design, asked him whether there were lands enough about this city to supply corn for its subsistence. And having been answered, that it would be necessary to bring that by sea, he told him that he applauded the boldness of the design, but could not approve the choice of the place he had pitched upon for the execution of it. He, however, retained him near his person, adding, that he would employ his ability in other undertakings.

Alexander accordingly, in the voyage he made into Egypt, having discovered a port there that was very well sheltered and of easy access, surrounded by a fertile country, and abounding with conveniences on account of its neighbourhood to the Nile, he commanded Dinocrates to build a city adjoining to it, which was called Alexandria after his name. The architect's skill and the prince's magnificence vied with each other in embellishing it, and seemed to exceed themselves in order to render it one of the greatest and most superb cities of the world. It was enclosed within a vast extent of walls, and fortified with towers.² It had a port, aqueducts, fountains, and canals of great beauty; an almost infinite number of houses for the inhabitants, squares, lofty edifices, public places for the celebration of games and shows; in a word, temples and palaces so spacious, and in so great a number, that they took up almost a third part of the whole city. I have observed elsewhere in what manner Alexandria became the centre of the commerce of the east and west.

A considerable structure, afterwards erected in the neighbourhood of this city, still rendered it more famous; I mean the light-house of the island of Pharos. Seaports were usually fortified with towers, as well for the defence, as to guide those who sailed in the night by means of fires kindled upon them. These towers were at first of a very simple species; but Ptolomæus Philadelphus caused one so great and magnificent to be erected in the island of Pharos, that some have ranked it amongst the wonders of the world; it cost eight hundred talents, or one million eight hundred thousand livres.

The isle of Pharos was about seven stadia, or something more than a quarter of a league, from the continent.³ It had a promontory or rock, against which the waves of the sea broke. It was upon this rock Ptolomæus Philadelphus built the tower of Pharos, of white stone, of surprising magnificence, with several arched stories, not unlike the tower of Babylon, which had eight such stories. He gave the direction of this work to a celebrated architect, called Sostratus, who cut this inscription upon the tower: "Sostratus of Knidos, son of Dexiphanes, to the gods preservers, in favour of those who go by sea." In the history of Philadelphus, the reader may see what has been said upon this inscription.

The Nubian geographer, who lived about six hundred years ago, speaks of the tower of Pharos as of an edifice subsisting in his time. The height of the tower, according to him, was three hundred cubits; that is to say, four hundred and fifty feet, or an hundred and fifty yards. A manuscript scholiast upon Lucian, cited by Isaac Vossius,⁴ affirms that, for its size,

² Strab. l. xvii. p. 791, &c.

³ Strab. l. xvii. p. 791, &c. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 13.

⁴ Is. Voss. ad. Pomp. Mel. p. 205.

it might be compared with the pyramids of Egypt; that it was square; that its sides were almost a stadium, near two hundred and eight yards; that its top might be described an hundred miles, or about thirty or forty leagues. This tower soon took the name of the island, and was called Pharos; which name was afterwards given to other towers erected for the same use. The isle on which it was built became a peninsula in process of time. Queen Cleopatra joined it to the main land by a mole, and a bridge from the mole to the island; a considerable work, in which Dexiphanes, a native of the isle of Cyprus, presided.¹ She gave him, by way of reward, a considerable office in her court, and the direction of all the buildings she afterwards caused to be erected.

We find, from more than one example, that expert architects were very much honoured and esteemed amongst the ancients. The inhabitants of Rhodes had settled a considerable pension upon Diognetus, one of their citizens, to reward him for the machines of war which he had made for them.² It happened that a foreign architect, who called himself Callias, had made a model in miniature of a machine capable, as he pretended, of lifting and removing any weight whatsoever, and thereby excelling all other machines. Diognetus, judging the thing absolutely impossible, was not ashamed to confess that it surpassed his skill. The pension of the latter was transferred to Callias, as far the more expert artist. When Demetrius Poliorcetes was preparing to make his terrible Helepolis approach the walls of Rhodes, which he besieged, the inhabitants called upon Callias to make use of his machine. He declared it to be too weak to remove so great a weight. The Rhodians then perceived the enormous fault they had committed, in treating a citizen to whom they had such great obligations with so much ingratitude. They beseeched Diognetus in the most earnest manner to assist his country, exposed to the utmost danger. He refused at first, and remained for some time inflexible to their entreaties. But when he saw the priests, and the most noble children of the city, bathed in their tears, come to implore his aid, he complied at last, and could not withstand so moving a spectacle. The question was to prevent the enemy's approaching their formidable machine to the wall. He effected it without much difficulty, having laid the land under water, over which the Helepolis was to pass, which rendered it absolutely useless, and obliged Demetrius to raise the siege, by an accommodation with the Rhodians. Diognetus was loaded with honours, and double his former pension settled upon him.

THE FOUR PRINCIPAL TEMPLES OF GREECE.

Vitruvius says³ that there were, amongst others, four temples in Greece, entirely built of marble, and adorned with such exquisite ornaments, that they were the admiration of all good judges, and became the rule and model of buildings in three orders of architecture. The first of these structures is the temple of Diana at Ephesus. The second that of Apollo in the city of Miletus: both of these were of the Ionic order. The third is the temple of Ceres and Proserpine at Eleusis, which Ictinus built in the Doric order, of extraordinary dimensions, capable of containing thirty thousand persons; for there were as many, and often more, at the celebrated procession of the feast of Eleusis.⁴ This temple at first had no columns without, in order to leave the more room for sacrifices. But Philo afterwards, when Demetrius Phalereus governed Athens, placed some pillars in front, to render the edifice more majestic. The fourth is the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, of the Corinthian order. Pisistratus had begun it, but it remained unfinished after his death, upon account of the troubles in which the republic was involved.⁵ More than three hundred years after, Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, took upon him to defray the expenses of which were necessary for finish-

ing the body of the temple, which was very large, and the columns of the portico.⁶ Cossutius a Roman citizen, who had made himself famous amongst the architects, was chosen to execute this great work. He acquired great honour by it, this pile being esteemed to have very few equal to it in magnificence. The same Cossutius was one of the first amongst the Romans who built in the Grecian taste. He gives me occasion to speak of several edifices at Rome, which often employed Greek architects, and thereby in some measure to resume my plan.

CELEBRATED BUILDINGS AT ROME.

The art of building was almost as soon known in Italy as Greece, if it be true that the Tuscans had not had any communication with the Greeks, when they invented the particular order which retains their name to this day. The tomb which Porsenna, king of Etruria, caused to be erected for himself during his lifetime, shows the great knowledge they had in those days of this art.⁷ This structure was of stone, and built almost in the same manner as the labyrinth of Dædalus, in the island of Crete, if the tomb were such as Varro has described it in a passage cited by Pliny.

Tarquinius Priscus had a little before erected very considerable works at Rome; for it was he who first enclosed that city with a wall of stone, and laid the foundations of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which his grandson Tarquinius Superbus finished at a great expense, having for that purpose called in the best workmen from Etruria. The Roman citizens were not dispensed with from sharing in that work, which, though very painful and laborious, being added to the fatigues of war, they did not think too heavy; so much joy they conceived, and so much honour they thought it, to build⁸ the temples of their gods with their own hands.

The same Tarquinius Priscus raised two other works, not so splendid, indeed, in outward appearance, but far more considerable in regard to labour and expense; works, says Livy, to which the magnificence of our days, in its most supreme degree, has scarce been capable of producing any thing comparable.⁹

One of these works was the subterraneous sewers and canals, that received all the dirt and filth of the city; the remains of which still raise admiration and astonishment from the boldness of the undertaking, and the greatness of the expense it must necessarily have cost to complete it. And, indeed, of what thickness and solidity must these vaulted water-courses have been, which ran from the extremity of the city as far as the Tiber, to support for so many ages, without ever giving way in the least, the enormous weight of the vast streets of Rome erected upon them, through which an infinity of carriages of immense weight were continually passing!

M. Scaurus, to adorn the stage of a theatre during his edileship, which was to continue only a month at most, had caused three hundred and sixty columns of marble to be prepared, many of which were thirty-eight feet high.¹⁰ When the time for the shows was expired, he had all those pillars carried into his own house. The undertaker for making good the common sewers obliged that edile to give him security for repairing the damage that the carriage of so many heavy pillars might occasion to those vaults, which from the time of Tarquinius Priscus, that is to say, for almost eight hundred years, had continued immovable; and still bore so excessive a load without giving way. Besides which, these subterraneous canals contributed exceedingly to the cleanliness of

¹ Liv. l. lxi. n. 20.

⁷ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 13.

⁸ Qui cum haud parvus et ipse militie addebat labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur, se templa deum edificare manibus suis.—*Liv.* l. i. n. 56.

⁹ Quæ (plebs) posthac et ad alia, ut specie minorâ, sic laboris aliquanto majoris, traderebant opera: foros in circo faciendas, cloacampque; maximam receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis sub terram agendam: quibus duobus operibus viva nova hæc magnificentia quicquam adæquare potuit.—*Liv.* *ibid.*

¹⁰ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 2.

¹ Tzetzes Chil. ii. hist. 33.

² Vit. l. x. c. 33.

³ *Ibid.* in præf. l. vii.

⁴ Her. l. iii. c. 65. Strab. l. ix. p. 395.

⁵ Vit. in præf. l. vii.

the houses and streets, as well as to the purity and wholesomeness of the air. The water of seven brooks, which had been united together, and which was frequently turned into these subterraneous beds, cleansed them entirely, and carried off along with them all the filth into the Tiber.

Works of this kind, though hid under the earth, and buried in darkness, will no doubt appear to every good judge more worthy of praise, than the most magnificent edifices, and most superb palaces. These suit the majesty of kings indeed, but do not exalt their merit, and, properly speaking, reflect no honour but on the skill of the architect: whereas the others argue princes, who know the true value of things; who do not suffer themselves to be dazzled by false splendour; who are more intent upon the public utility than their own glory; and who are studious to extend their services and beneficence to the latest posterity: objects worthy the ambition of a prince!

After the Tarquins were expelled Rome, the people having abolished monarchical government, and resumed the sovereign authority, were solely intent upon extending the bounds of their empire. When in process of time they came to have more commerce with the Greeks, they began to erect more superb and more regular buildings. For it was from the Greeks that the Romans learned to excel in architecture. Till then, their edifices had nothing to recommend them but their solidity and magnitude. Of all the orders they knew only the Tuscan. They were almost entirely ignorant of sculpture, and did not even use marble: at least they never knew how to polish it, nor make pillars and other works of it, that by their beauty and excellent workmanship might make a magnificent appearance when applied in proper places.¹

It was not, properly speaking, till towards the latter times of the republic, and under the emperors, that is to say, when luxury was grown to a great height at Rome, that architecture appeared there in all its splendour. What a multitude of superb buildings and magnificent works were erected, which still adorn Rome! The pantheon, the baths, the amphitheatre called the Coliseum, the aqueducts, the causeways, the pillars of Trajan and Antonine!—The famous bridge over the Danube, built by the order of Trajan, was a work which alone would have sufficed to have immortalized his name.² It had twenty piles to support the arches, each sixty feet thick, an hundred and fifty high, without including the foundations, and an hundred and seventy feet distant from one another, which makes in all a breadth of fifteen hundred fourscore and ten yards. This was, however, that part of the whole country in which the Danube was narrowest, but at the same time deepest and most rapid; which seemed an obstacle not to be surmounted by human industry. It was impossible to make dams in it for laying the foundation of the piles. Instead of which, it was necessary to throw into the bed of the river a prodigious quantity of different materials, and by that means to form a kind of bases equal to the height of the water, in order afterwards to erect the piles upon them, and the whole superstructure of the bridge. Trajan made this bridge with the view of using it against the barbarians. His successor Adrian, on the contrary, apprehended its being used by the barbarians against the Romans, and caused the arches of it to be demolished. Apollodorus of Damascus was the architect who presided in erecting this bridge: he had been employed in many other works by Trajan. His end was very unfortunate.

The emperor Adrian had caused a temple to be built in honour of Rome and of Venus, at the extremities of which they were placed, each sitting upon a throne: there is reason to believe that he had drawn the plan, and given the dimensions himself, because he piqued himself upon excelling in all arts and sciences.³ After it was built, Adrian sent the draught of it to Apollodorus. He remembered, that one day inclining to give his opinion upon a building Trajan

was discoursing about to Apollodorus, that architect had rejected what he said with contempt, as talking of what he did not understand. It was therefore by way of insult, and to show him that something great and perfect might be done without him, that he sent him the design of this temple, with express orders to let him know his opinion of it. Apollodorus was naturally no flatterer, and saw plainly the affront intended him. After having praised the beauty, delicacy, and magnificence of the building, he added, that since he was ordered to give his opinion of it, he could not deny but it had one fault; which was, that if the goddesses should have an inclination to rise up, they would be in danger of breaking their heads, because the arch of the roof was too confined, and the temple not high enough. The emperor was immediately sensible of the gross and irreparable fault he had committed, and was inconsolable upon it. But the architect paid for it, and his too great ingenuity, which was not perhaps sufficiently discreet and respectful, cost him his life.

I have not ranked, in the number of the magnificent buildings of Rome, the palace called the Golden House,⁴ which Nero caused to be erected there, though perhaps nothing like it was ever seen, either for the extent of its walls, the beauty of its gardens, the number and delicacy of its porticoes, the sumptuousness of its buildings, or the gold, pearls, jewels, and other precious materials, with which it glittered. I do not think it allowable to give the name of magnificence to a palace built with the spoils, and cemented with the blood of the Roman citizens. Whence, says Suetonius, the buildings of Nero were more destructive to the empire than all his other follies. *Non in alia re damnosior quam in edificando.* Cicero had passed a still more severe judgment upon it,⁵ who held no expenses to be really laudable, but such as had the public utility in view; as the walls of cities and citadels, arsenals, ports, aqueducts, causeways, and others, of a like nature. He carried his rigour so far as to condemn theatres, piazzas, and even new temples; and supported his opinion by the authority of Demetrius Phalæreus, who absolutely condemned the excessive expenses of Pericles in such structures.

The same Cicero makes excellent reflections⁶ upon the buildings of private persons: for there is certainly a difference to be made in this point, as well as all others, in regard to princes. He is for having persons of the first rank in the state lodged in an honourable manner, and that they should support their dignity by their habitations; but at the same time that their houses should not be their principal merit, and that the master should do honour to the dwelling, and not the dwelling to the master.⁷ He recommends to the great men that build, carefully to avoid the excessive expenses incurred by the magnificence of structures: expenses, which become of fatal and contagious example to a city; the generality not failing, and making it a merit, to imitate, and sometimes even to exceed, the great. Palaces thus multiplied are said to do honour to a city. They rather dishonour it, because they corrupt it, by rendering luxury and pomp continually

⁴ Suetonius (in Neron. c. xxxi.) gives some curious details of this enormous edifice. In the vestibule stood a colossal statue of Nero, 120 feet in height; there were three porticoes, each a mile in length, and supported by three rows of pillars: the garden seems to have resembled a park, and contained an immense piece of water, woods, vineyards, and pasture ground, herds, and even wild beasts. On the banks of the lake rose various edifices that resembled towns. In the palace itself the rooms were lined with gold, gems, and mother of pearl. The ceilings of the dining rooms were adorned with ivory panels, so contrived as to scatter flowers, and shower perfumes on the guests. The principal banqueting-room revolved upon itself, representing the motions of the heavens: the baths were supplied with salt water from the sea, and mineral water from the Albulæ, now Solfatara near Tiber.]

⁵ Cic. l. ii. de offic. n. 60.

⁶ Cic. l. i. offic. n. 139, 140.

⁷ *Ornanda est dignitas domo, non ex domo dignitas tota querenda: nec domo dominus, sed domino domus honestanda est—Cavendum est etiam, præsertim si ipse edifices ne extra modum sumptu et magnificentia prodeas. Quo in genere multum mali in exemplo est: studiosæ enim plerique; præsertim in hac parte, facta principum imitantur.*

¹ Plin. l. xxxv. c. 6.

² Dio. l. lxxvii. p. 776.

³ Dio. l. lxxi. pp. 739, 790.

necessary, by the costliness of furniture, and the other expensive ornaments, required in lofty buildings; which are, besides, often the cause of the ruin of families.

Cato, in his book upon rural life, gives very wise advice. When, says he, to build is the question, we should deliberate a great while, (and often not build at all,) but when to plant, we should not deliberate but plant directly.¹

In case we build, prudence requires our taking good precautions. "Formerly," says Vitruvius,² "there was a very severe but very just law at Ephesus, by which the architects who undertook a public building, were obliged to declare what it would cost, and to do it for the price they had demanded, for the performance of which their whole estate was bound. When the work was finished, they were publicly honoured and rewarded, if the expense was according to their estimate. If the expense exceeded the agreement only a fourth, the public paid the surplus. But if it went beyond that, the architect made good the deficiency. It were to be wished," continues Vitruvius, "that the Romans had such a regulation in regard to their buildings, as well public as private: it would prevent the ruin of many persons."

This is a very just reflection, and argues a very estimable character in Vitruvius, and a great fund of probity, which indeed distinguishes itself throughout his whole work, and does him no less honour than his great capacity. He followed his profession with a noble disinterestedness, very uncommon in those who practise it. Reputation, not gain, was his motive.³ He had learned from his masters, that an architect ought to stay till he is desired to undertake a work; and that he cannot, without shame, make a demand, that shows him interested in it; because every body knows people do not solicit others to do them good,

but to receive it from them. He requires in his profession an extent of knowledge, that occasions astonishment.⁴ According to him, an architect must be both ingenious and laborious: for capacity without application, and application without capacity, never make an excellent artist. He must therefore know how to design, understand geometry, not be ignorant of optics, have learned arithmetic, know much of history, have well studied philosophy, and have some knowledge of music, physic, civil law, and astronomy. He afterwards proceeds to show particularly, in what manner each of these branches of learning may be useful to an architect.

When he comes to philosophy, besides the knowledge necessary to his art to be derived from the physics, he considers it with regard to morals. "The study of philosophy," says he, "serves also to render the architect more complete, who ought to have a soul great and bold without arrogance, equitable and faithful, and what is still more important, entirely exempt from avarice: for it is utterly impossible ever to do any thing well, or to attain any excellence without fidelity and honour. He ought therefore to be disinterested, and to have less in view the acquiring of riches, than honour and reputation, by architecture; never doing any thing unworthy of so honourable a profession: for this is what philosophy prescribes."

Vitruvius has not thought fit to require in his architect the talent of eloquence, which it is often proper even to distrust, as a very happy saying Plutarch has preserved explains. It was occasioned by a considerable building that the Athenians intended to erect, for the execution of which two architects offered themselves to the people. The one, a fine speaker, but not very expert in his art, charmed and dazzled the whole assembly by the elegant manner in which he expressed himself in explaining the plan he proposed to follow. The other, as bad an orator as he was an excellent architect, contented himself with telling the Athenians:—"Men of Athens, I will do what he has said."⁵ I conceived, that I could not conclude this article upon architecture better, than with giving some idea of the ability and manners of him (Vitruvius,) who in the opinion of all good judges, practised and taught it with most reputation.

¹ Lib. i. c. 1.

² Ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖται, ὡς εὖτος εἰρήκεν ἐν τῷ ποίησθαι

OF SCULPTURE.

SECTION I.—OF THE DIFFERENT SPECIES OF SCULPTURE.

SCULPTURE is an art, which by the means of design or plan and solid matter, imitates the palpable objects of nature. Its matter is wood, stone, marble, ivory; different metals, as gold, silver, copper; precious stones, as agate, and the like. This art includes also casting or founding, which is subdivided into the art of making figures of wax, and that of casting them in all sorts of metals. By sculpture, I understand here, all these different species.

The sculptors and painters have often had great disputes amongst themselves upon the pre-eminence of their several professions; the first founding the preference upon the duration of their works, and the latter opposing them with the effects of the mixture and vivacity of colours. But without entering into a question not easy to decide, sculpture and painting may be considered as two sisters, that have but one origin, and whose advantages ought to be common; I might almost say as the same art, of which design is the soul and rule, but which work in a different manner, and upon different materials.

It is difficult and little important, to trace, through

the obscurity of remote ages, the first inventors of sculpture. Its origin may be dated with that of the world, and we may say that God was the first statuary, when having created all beings, he seemed to redouble his attention in forming the body of man, for the beauty and perfection of which he seems to have wrought with a kind of satisfaction and complacency. Long after he had finished this masterpiece of his all-powerful hands, he was willing to be honoured principally by the sculptor's application in building the ark of the covenant, of which himself gave the idea to the legislator of the Hebrews. But in what terms does he speak of the admirable artist he thought fit to employ in it? "I have chosen," says he to his prophet, "a man of the tribe of Judah, and I have filled him with the Spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stones, to set them, and in cutting of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship."¹ He speaks in the same manner in respect to the work-

¹ Exodus xxxi.

men that were to build and adorn the temple of Jerusalem.

Nothing could exalt the merit of sculpture so much as so noble a destination, if it had fulfilled it faithfully. But long before the building of the temple, and even the tabernacle, it had shamefully prostituted itself for hire to idolatry, which by its means filled the world with statues of false divinities, and exposed them for the adoration of the people. We find in the scripture, that one of the causes which had conducted most to the spreading of this impious worship, had been the extreme beauty which the workmen in emulation of each other had exerted themselves to give those statues.¹ The admiration excited by the view of these excellent works of art, was a kind of enchantment, which by strongly affecting the senses, conveyed the illusion to the mind, and drew in the multitude. It is against this universal delusion Jeremiah admonished the Israelites to beware, when they should see in Babylon the statues of gold and silver carried about in pomp upon the days of solemnity. At that time, says the prophet, when the whole multitude, filled with veneration and awe, shall prostrate themselves before idols, (for the captivity, in which the people of God were in a strange land, would not admit them to express themselves aloud) say within yourselves: IT IS ONLY THOU, O LORD, THAT OUGHT TO BE ADORED.² It must be owned also that sculpture did not contribute a little to the corruption of manners, by the nudity of the images, and representations contrary to modesty, as the Pagans themselves have confessed.³ I thought it proper to premise this remark, that in what I shall say hereafter in praise of sculpture, the reader may see I distinguish the excellency of the art in itself from the abuse which men have made of it.

The first sculptors made their works of earth, whether they were statues, or moulds and models. This made the statuary *Pasiteles* say, that the works which were either cast, or cut with a chisel or graver, owed their being to the art of making figures of earth, called *Plastice*. It is said that Demaratus, the father of Tarquinius Priscus, who took refuge from Corinth in Etruria, brought thither abundance of workmen with him who excelled in that art, and introduced the taste for it there, which afterwards communicated itself to the rest of Italy. The statues erected in that country to the gods, were at first only of earth, to which for their whole ornament, was added a red colour. We ought not to be ashamed of the men, says Pliny, who adored such gods.⁴ They set no value upon gold and silver either for themselves or their deities. Juvenal calls a statue, like that erected by Tarquinius Priscus in the temple of the father of the Gods:

Pictilis, et nullo violatus Jupiter auro.
A Jove of earth, nor yet by gold profan'd.

It was very late before they began to set up golden or gilt statues at Rome.⁵ This was first done in the consulship of P. Corn. Cethegus, and M. Bæbius Tamphilus, in the 571st or 573d year of Rome, A. M. 3820. Portraits were afterwards made also of plaster and wax, the invention of which is ascribed to Lysistratus of Sicyone, the brother of Lysippus.⁶

We find that the ancients made statues of almost all sorts of wood. There was an image of Apollo at

Sicyone made of box.⁷ At Ephesus, according to some writer, that of Diana was of cedar, as well as the roof of the temples. The lemon-tree, the cypress, the palm, the olive, the ebony, the vine, in a word, all trees not subject to rot, or to be worn-eaten, were used for statues.

Marble soon became the most usual, and the most esteemed material for works of sculpture.⁸ It is believed that Dipenex and Scyllis, both of Crete, were the first who used it at Sicyone, which was long, in a manner, the centre and school of arts: they lived about the 50th Olympiad, A. M. 3424, a little before Cyrus reigned in Persia. Bupalus and Anthernus, two brothers, made themselves famous for the art of carving marble, in the time of Hipponax, that is to say, in the 60th Olympiad, A. M. 3464. That poet had a very ugly face. They made his portrait in order to expose it to the laughter of spectators. Hipponax conceived a more than poetic fury against them, and made such virulent verses upon them, that, according to some, they hanged themselves through grief and shame. But this fact cannot be true, because there were works of their making after that time.

At first the artists used only white marble, brought from the isle of Paros.⁹ It was reported that in cutting these blocks of marble, they sometimes found natural figures of a Silenus, a good Pan, a whale, and other fishes. Jasper and spotted marble became afterwards the fashion. It was brought principally from the quarries of Chio; and soon was commonly found in almost all countries. It is believed, that the manner of cutting large blocks of marble into many thin pieces, to cover the walls of houses, was invented in Caria. The palace of king Mausolus at Halicarnassus is the most ancient house, that had these incrustations of marble, which were one of its greatest ornaments.

The use of ivory in works of sculpture was known from the earliest ages of Greece. Homer speaks of such sculptures, though he never mentions elephants.¹⁰

The art of casting gold and silver is of the greatest antiquity, and cannot be traced to its origin. The gods of Laban, which Rachel stole, seem to have been of this kind. The jewels offered to Rebecca were of cast gold. Before the Israelites left Egypt, they had seen cast statues, which they imitated in casting the golden calf, as they did afterwards in the brazen serpent. From that time all the nations of the east cast their gods, *deos conflantes*, and God forbade his people to imitate them upon pain of death. In the building of the tabernacle, the workmen did not invent the art of founding: God only directed their taste. It is said, that Solomon caused the figures used in the temple and elsewhere, to be cast near Jericho, because it was a clayey soil, *in argillosa terra*: which shows that they had even then the same manner of founding great masses as we have.

It were to be wished, that the Greek or Roman authors had informed us in what manner the ancients cast their metals in making figures. We find by what Pliny¹¹ writes upon that head, that they sometimes made use of stone moulds. Vitruvius speaks,¹² of a kind of stones found about the lake Volensun, and in other parts of Italy, which would bear the force of fire without breaking, and of which moulds were made for casting several sorts of works. The ancients had the art of mingling different metals in the mould, to express different passions and sentiments by the diversity of colours.¹³

There are several manners of carving metals and precious stones: for in both the one and the other they work in relief, and in hollow, which is called engraving. The ancients excelled in both ways. The basso relievos, which we have of theirs, are infinitely esteemed by good judges; and as to engraved stones, as the fine agates and crystals, of which there are abundance in the king of France's cabinet, it is generally said, that there is nothing so exquisite as those remains of the ancient masters.

¹ Also the singular diligence of the artificer did help to set forward the ignorant to more superstition. For he per-adventure willing to please one in authority, forced all his skill to make the resemblance of the best fashion. And so the multitude allured by the grace of the work, took him now for a god, whom a little before, was but honoured as a man. And this was an occasion to deceive the world.—Wisd. xiv. 18, 19, 20, 21.

² Baruch vi. 6.

³ Auxere et artem vitiorum irritamenta. *Plin. Proëm.* l. xxxiii.

⁴ He tum effigies deorum erant laudatissime. Nec paenitet nos illorum, qui tales deos colere. Aurum enim argentum ne diis quidem conficiebant. *Plin.*

⁵ Acilius Glabrio duumvir, statuam auratam, quæ prima omnium in Italia statua aurata est patri Glabroni posuit. *Liv.* l. xl. n. 34.

⁶ *Plin.* l. xxxv. c. 12.

⁷ Pausan. l. vi. *Plin.* l. xvi. c. 40.

⁸ *Plin.* l. xxxvi. c. 4.

⁹ *Odys.* Δ. v. 73.

¹⁰ *Vitruv.* l. ii. c. 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.* c. 6.

¹² *Plin.* l. xxxvii.

¹³ *Plin.* l. xxvii. c. 14.

Though they engraved upon almost all kinds of precious stones, the most finished figures, which we have of theirs, are cut upon onyxes, which is a kind of agate not transparent, or on cornelians, which they found more fit for engraving than any other stones, because they are more firm and even, and cut more neatly; and also because there are different colours that run one above the other in the onyx, by the means of which in rilievo the bottom continues of one colour, and the figures of another. To engrave upon gems and crystals they used, as now, the point of a diamond.¹

The ancients highly extolled the gem in the ring of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, which he threw into the sea, and which was brought back to him by a very extraordinary accident: in Pliny's time it was pretended to be at Rome.² It was, according to some, a sardonyx, to others an emerald. That of Pyrrhus was no less esteemed; upon which might be seen Apollo with his harp and the nine muses, each with their particular symbol: and all this not the effect of art, but of nature: *non arte, sed sponte natura*.

The art of sculpture was principally employed upon

¹ [It is probable that no stone of sufficient hardness was excluded from receiving the engravings of the ancients; but it has been doubted whether they were acquainted with the means of cutting the diamond, or sculpturing the emerald and topaz. The most favourite stones for engraving, as stated in the text, were the cornelian and onyx. The former is of different shades, from cherry red to flesh colour, and sometimes of a yellowish tinge or brownish colour; but exposed to moderate heat it becomes white. It was obtained from India, Arabia, and other parts of Asia, as well as the Mediterranean islands. The latter is considered a calcadony, the colours of which are disposed in alternate zones or strata. Generally they do not exceed two or three; five or six are extremely rare. The proper gems of onyx consist of parallel zones, as these only can be worked to advantage; but there are other two varieties with undulated zones, or concentric nuclei, resembling the eye of animals. It is not known where onyx was obtained by the ancients, but it is now found principally in Germany and Scotland. The largest onyx said to exist is an oval of eleven inches by nine, on which is sculptured the apotheosis of Augustus in four zones, two of which are brown and the others white. Several stones of the same species have attracted the particular notice of antiquaries: such is the Brunswick vase six inches in height, representing Ceres in quest of Proserpine; Venus on a marine animal surrounded by Cupids, engraved upon an onyx of two zones; Marcus Aurelius and Faustina in one of four zones, two of white and two of lilac. Engraved gems of two colours, as the onyx, are called *cameos*, a word of uncertain etymology—more usually, however, applied to such subjects as are in relief or elevated; while all hollow engravings are called *intaglios*, a name adopted from the Italian.]

The Egyptians had gems both in intaglio and relief, but more commonly the former; and those preserved are for the most part called *scarabei*, from the figure resembling a beetle being engraved upon them. The Jews perhaps learned engraving from the Egyptians among whom they dwelt; and some notices respecting it are preserved in sacred writ. In the book of Genesis, Bezaleel and Aholiab are mentioned as being professedly engravers, and are designated as "filled with wisdom of heart to work all manner of work with the graver, as well as to devise cunning works; to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stones, and to set them." Of the jewels which were in the ephod, Moses was directed to take two onyx stones and grave on them the names of the children of Israel, six of their names on one stone, and six on the other, according to their birth. "With the work of an engraver on stone, like the engravings of a signet, shalt thou engrave the two stones with the names of the children of Israel."

The art of die-sinking for stamping coins, though by no means of so early a date as the engraving of seals, was practised at a very early period. It is uncertain whether the coining of money was invented by the Greeks or Lydians, though some suppose that the art was brought from Hindostan. The first Greek money is supposed to have been struck by Phidon, king of the Argives, whose reign is fixed by the Arundelian marbles at about eight centuries before the Christian era, or soon after the age of Homer. Many of the early Greek and Sicilian coins are beautiful and in high relief: to this, however, the coins of Athens form a remarkable exception, being in a very inferior style of execution. This art seems to have been communicated to the Romans in the reign of Servius Tullius, about 400 years before the commencement of our era, by the Lydian colony settled in Etruria. The best of the Roman medals are the work of Greek artists, executed during the reign of Hadrian.]

² Plin. l. vii. c. 1.

cups used at feasts: these pieces were very rich and curious, as well as of the most costly materials.

One of the greatest advantages the art of making portraits ever received for the eternizing its works, is that of engraving upon wood and copper-plates, by the means of which a great number of prints are taken off, that multiply a design almost to infinity, and convey the artist's thought into different parts, which before could only be known from the single piece of his own work. There is reason to wonder, that the ancients, who engraved so many excellent things upon hard stones and crystals, did not discover so fine a secret, which indeed did not appear till after printing, and was, no doubt, an effect and imitation of it. For the impression of figures and cuts did not begin to be used till the end of the fourteenth century. The world is indebted for the invention of them to a goldsmith, that worked at Florence.³

After having related, by way of abridgment, the greatest part of what employed the sculpture of the ancients, it remains for me to give an account of some of those, who practised it with most success and reputation.

SECTION II.—SCULPTORS MOST CELEBRATED AMONGST THE ANCIENTS.

THOUGH sculpture had its birth in Asia and Egypt, it was from Greece, properly speaking, that it derived its lustre and perfection. Not to mention the first rude essays of this art, which always carry with them the marks of their infantile state, Greece produced, especially in the time of Pericles and after him, a multitude of excellent artists, who laboured in emulation of each other, to place sculpture in honour by an infinite number of works, which have been, and will be, the admiration of all ages.⁴ Attica, fertile in quarries of marble, and still more abundant in happy geniuses for the arts, was soon enriched with an infinite number of statues.⁵

I shall mention here only such of them as were most distinguished by their ability and reputation. The most celebrated are Phidias, Polycletus, Myron, Lysippus, Praxiteles, and Scopas. There is another still more illustrious than all I have named, but in a different way: this is the famous Socrates. I ought not to envy sculpture the honour she had of reckoning Socrates amongst her pupils. He was the son of a statuary, and was one himself before he commenced philosopher.⁶ The three graces, which were carefully preserved in the citadel of Athens, were generally ascribed to him. They were not naked, as it was usual to represent them, but covered: which shows what inclination he had at that time for virtue. He said, that this art had taught him the first precepts of philosophy; and that as sculpture gives form to its subjects by removing its superfluities, so that science introduces virtue into the heart of man, by gradually retrenching all his imperfections.

PHIDIAS.

PHIDIAS, for many reasons, deserves to be placed at the head of the sculptors. He was an Athenian, and

³ [Rollin here alludes to Thomasa Finiguerra, a goldsmith of Florence, who, about the year 1460, having engraved some figures on a silver plate which he intended to enamel, in order to try the effect of his work, poured upon the plate some liquid sulphur, and the dirt or black lodged in the crevices adhering to the sulphur, produced an impression like a pen drawing, and suggested to him the idea of an impression upon paper, in which he ultimately succeeded. Before this, however, the art of taking impressions upon paper from blocks of wood, by means of the printing or rolling press, was known to the Germans, and seems to have originated with the *brief maters*, or makers of playing cards, who at first coloured or illuminated their figures with the hand; but afterwards performed the operation in a much more expeditious manner by blocks cut for the purpose, each colour requiring a separate stamp.]

⁴ Multas artes ad animorum corporumque cultum nobis eruditissima omnium gens (Græcia) invenit. *Liv.* l. xxxix. n. 8.

⁵ Exornata eo genere operum eximie terra Attica, et copia domesticæ marmoris, et ingenio artificum. *Liv.* l. xxxi. n. 26. These marbles were dug in the Pentelic mountain, which was in Attica.

⁶ Diog. Laert. in Socr.

flourished in the 83d Olympiad, A. M. 3556, happy times, wherein, after the victories obtained over the Persians, abundance, the daughter of peace, and mother of arts, produced various talents by the protection Pericles afforded them. Phidias was not one of those artists, who only know how to handle the tools of their profession. He had a mind adorned with all the knowledge that could be useful to a man of his profession; history, poetry, fable, geometry, and optics. A fact not a little curious, will show in what manner the latter was useful to him. Alcámenes and he were each employed to make a statue of Minerva, in order that the finest of them might be chosen, and placed on a very high column. When the two statues were finished, they were exposed to the view of the public. The Minerva of Alcámenes, when seen near, seemed admirable, and carried all the voices. That of Phidias, on the contrary, was thought insupportable: a great open mouth, nostrils which seemed drawn in, and something rude and gross throughout the whole visage. Phidias and his statue were ridiculed. *Set them, said he, where they are to be placed:* which was accordingly done alternately. The Minerva of Alcámenes appeared then like nothing, whilst that of Phidias had a wonderful effect from its air of grandeur and majesty, which the people could never sufficiently admire. Phidias received the approbation his rival had before, who retired with shame and confusion, very much repenting that he had not learnt the rules of optics.

The statues so much extolled before the times we now speak of, were more estimable for their antiquity than merit. Phidias was the first who gave the Greeks a taste for the Fine in nature, and taught them to copy it. Hence, as soon as his works appeared, they were universally admired; and what is still more astonishing than that he made admirable statues, is, his making so many of them for their number, according to authors, seems incredible; and he perhaps is the only one that ever united so much facility with such perfection.

I believe he worked with great pleasure upon a block of marble, found in the Persian camp after the battle of Marathon, in which those barbarians were entirely defeated.² They had assured themselves of victory, and had brought that stone thither, in order to erect it as a trophy. Phidias made a Nemesis of it, the goddess whose function it is to humble and punish the insolent pride of men. The natural hatred of the Greeks for the barbarians, and the grateful pleasure of avenging their country, undoubtedly animated the sculptor's genius with new fire, and lent new force and address to his hands and chisel. At the price of the spoils taken from the same enemies, he made a statue of Minerva also for the Plateans.³ It was of wood, gilt. The face, as well as the hands and feet, were of Pentelic marble.

His talent lay principally in representing the gods. His imagination was great and noble: so that, according to Cicero, he did not copy their features and resemblance from any visible objects, but by the force of genius, formed an idea of true beauty, to which he continually applied himself, and which became his rule and model, and directed his art and execution.⁴ Hence Pericles, who had a higher opinion of him than of all the other architects, made him director, and a kind of superintendent of the buildings of the republic.

When the Parthenon, that magnificent temple of Minerva, was finished, of which some remains not ill preserved, still charm travellers, and it was to be dedicated, which consisted in setting up the statue of the goddess in it, Phidias was charged with the work, in which he excelled himself. He made a statue of gold and ivory, of twenty-six cubits (or thirty-nine feet)

high. The Athenians chose to have it of ivory which at that time, was much more scarce and valuable than the finest marble. How rich soever this prodigious statue was, the sculptor's art infinitely surpassed the materials of it.⁵ Phidias had carved upon the convex part of Minerva's shield, the battle of the Athenians with the Amazons; and upon the concave, that of the giants with the gods; upon the buskins of the goddess, he added the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ; on the pedestal the birth of Pandora, with all that fable says of it. Cicero, Pliny, Plutarch, Pausanias, and several other great writers of antiquity, all connoisseurs, and eye-witnesses of it, have spoke of this statue. Their testimony leaves no room to doubt its having been one of the finest pieces of workmanship that ever was in the world.

Some assure us, says Plutarch, that Phidias put his name upon the pedestal of his Minerva at Athens.⁶ Pausanias does not mention this circumstance, which Cicero entirely denies, who says expressly, that Phidias not being permitted to put his name to the statue, had cut his portrait upon the goddess' shield.⁷ Plutarch adds, that Phidias had represented himself in the form of an old man, quite bald, raising a large stone with both his hands; and had also represented Pericles fighting with an Amazon, but in such an attitude, that his hand which was extended to throw a javelin hid part of his face.

The most excellent artists have always affected to insert their names in their works, in order to partake of the immortality they gave others. Myron, that famous statuary, to immortalize his name, put it in characters almost imperceptible, upon one of the thighs of the statue of Apollo.⁸ Pliny relates, that two Lacedæmonian architects, Saurus and Batrachus, without accepting any reward, built some temples in a part of the city of Rome, which Octavia caused afterwards to be enclosed with galleries. They flattered themselves, that they should have liberty to set their names upon them, which indeed seems the least recompense due to their generous disinterestedness. But we find that in those days, the persons who employed the most able artists, took all possible precautions to avoid sharing the esteem and attention of posterity with simple workmen. These were absolutely refused their demand. Their address, however, supplied them with an amends. They threw in by way of ornaments, lizards and frogs upon the bases and capitals of all the columns. The name of Saurus was implied by the lizard, which the Greeks call *σαῦρος*, and that of Batrachus by the frog, which they call *βάτραχος*.

The prohibition I speak of was not general in Greece, of which we shall soon see a very extraordinary instance in relation to Phidias himself: it was perhaps peculiar to Athens. However it were, his having given the two portraits a place in the shield of Minerva was made criminal.⁹ Nor was that all; Menon, one of his pupils, demanded to be heard, and made himself his accuser. He alleged that he had applied to his own use part of the forty-four talents of gold, which were to have been used in the statue of Minerva.¹⁰ Pericles had foreseen what would happen, and by his advice, Phidias had used the gold in his Minerva in such a manner, that it could easily be taken out and weighed. It was weighed accordingly, and to the accuser's shame, found to amount to the forty-four talents. Phidias, who plainly saw that his innocence would not secure him against the malignant jealousy of those who envied him, and the intrigues of Pericles' enemies, who had hatched this affair against him, withdrew privately to Elis.

He there conceived thoughts of avenging himself

² Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

³ Plut. in Pericl. p. 160.

¹ Quinti Hortensii admodum adolescentis ingenium, ut Phidæ signum, simul aspectum et probatum est. Cic. de clar. Orat. n. 228.

² Pausan. in Attic. c. 62.

³ Id. in Bæot. c. 547.

⁴ Phidias, cum facere Jovis formam aut Minervæ, non contemplatur aliquem a quo similitudinem duceret: sed ipsius in mente insculpat species pulchritudinis eximia quadam, quam intus, in eaque defixus, ad illius similitudinem artem et animum dirigebat. Cic. in Orat. n. 9.

⁵ Phidias similem sui speciem inclusit in clypeo Minervæ, cum inscribere non liceret. Tuscul. l. i. n. 34.

⁶ Signum Apollinis pulcherrimum, cuius in femore Myronis minutis argenteis nomen inscriptum Myronis. Cic. Ferrin. de sign. n. 93.

⁷ Plut. in Pericl. p. 160.

⁸ In supposing the proportion of gold to silver as ten to one, forty-four talents of gold amounted to four hundred and forty talents, that is to say, to one million three hundred and twenty thousand livres; something less than sixty thousand pounds sterling.

in a manner pardonable and allowable in an artist, if ever revenge could be so, which was by employing his whole industry in making a statue for the Eleans, that might eclipse his Minerva, which the Athenians looked upon as his master-piece. This he effected. His Jupiter Olympius was a prodigy of art; and so perfectly such, that to set a just value upon it, it was thought that it deserved to be ranked amongst the seven wonders of the world. Nor had he forgot any thing that might conduce to its perfection. Before he had entirely finished it, he exposed it to the view and judgment of the public, hiding himself in a corner, whence he overheard all that was said of it.¹ One thought the nose too thick, another the face too long; and different persons found different faults. He made the best use he could of all the criticisms that seemed to have any just foundation; convinced, says Lucian, who relates this fact, that many eyes see better than one. An excellent reflection in every kind of work!

This statue of gold and ivory, sixty feet high, and of a proportionate magnitude, made all succeeding statues despair. None of them had the presumption even to imagine that they could imitate it: *Præter Jovem Olympium, quem nemo æmulatur*, says Pliny.² According to Quintilian,³ the majesty of the work equalled that of the god, and even added to the religion of all who saw it; *Ejus pulchritudo adjectis aliqual etiam receptæ religioni videtur, adeo majestas operis deum æquavit*. Those who beheld it, were struck with astonishment, and asked whether the god had descended from heaven to show himself to Phidias, or Phidias had been carried thither to contemplate the god. Phidias himself, upon being asked whence he had taken his idea of his Jupiter Olympius, repeated the three fine verses of Homer, in which the poet represents the majesty of that god in the most sublime terms; thereby signifying that the genius of Homer had inspired him with it.⁴

At the base of the statue was this inscription: PHIDIAS THE ATHENIAN, THE SON OF CHARMIDES, MADE ME.⁵ Jupiter seems here to glory in a manner that he is the work of Phidias, and to declare so by this inscription; tacitly to reproach the Athenians with their vicious delicacy, in not suffering that excellent artist to annex his name or portrait to the statue of Minerva. Pausanias, who had seen and carefully examined this statue of Jupiter Olympius, has left us a very long and very fine description of it. The Abbe Gedoy has inserted it in his dissertation upon Phidias, which he has read in the Academy of Inscriptions, and was pleased to communicate to me. I have made use of it in what I have related of this famous statue.

The statue of Jupiter Olympius raised the glory of Phidias to its highest degree, and established him a reputation which two thousand years have not obliterated. He finished his labours with this great master-piece. The shop where he worked, was preserved long after his death, and travellers used to visit it out of curiosity. The Eleans, in honour of his memory, instituted an office in favour of his descendants, the whole duty of which consisted in keeping this magnificent statue clean, and in preserving it from whatever might sully its beauty.⁶

POLYCLETUS.

POLYCLETUS was of Sicyone, a city of Peloponnesus, and lived in the 87th Olympiad.⁷ A. M. 3771. Ageladas was his master, and several very famous sculptors his disciples, of which number was Myron, of whom we shall soon speak. He made several statues of brass, which were highly esteemed. One of them represented a beautiful young man with a crown on his head, which was sold for an hundred talents, that is, an hundred thousand crowns. But what gave him most reputation was the statue of a Doryphorus,⁸ in which all the proportions of the human body were so happily united, that it was cal-

led *the Rule*; and the sculptors came from all parts to form in themselves, by studying this statue, a just idea of what they had to do, in order to excel in their art. Polycletus is universally admitted to have carried the art of sculpture to its highest perfection, as Phidias is for having been the first to place it in honour.¹⁰

Whilst he was at work upon a statue, by order of the people, he had the complaisance to hearken, to all the advice they thought fit to give him, to retouch his work, and to change and correct in it whatever displeased the Athenians.¹¹ But he made another in private, in which he followed only his own genius, and the rules of art. When they were exposed together to the view of the public, the people were unanimous in condemning the first, and admiring the other. *What you condemn*, says Polycletus to them, *is your work, what you admire, is mine*.

MYRON.

Little is known of this statuary. He was an Athenian, or at least passed for one, because the inhabitants of Eleutheria, the place of his nativity, had taken refuge at Athens, and were regarded as citizens of it. He lived in the 87th Olympiad, A. M. 3771. His works rendered him very famous, especially a heifer which he made in brass, and which gave occasion for abundance of fine Greek epigrams, inserted in the fourth book of the Anthologia, (*Florilega*.)

LYSIPPUS.

LYSIPPUS was a Sicyonian, and lived in the time of Alexander the Great, in the 114th Olympiad.¹² A. M. 3676. He followed at first the business of a locksmith; but his happy genius soon induced him to take up a profession more noble and more worthy of him. He used to say, that the Doryphorus of Polycletus had served him instead of a master.¹³ But the painter Eupompus directed him to a much better and more certain guide. For upon Lysippus' asking him, which of his predecessors in the art of sculpture it was best to propose to himself as a model and a master; *No man in particular*, replied he, *but nature herself*.¹⁴ He afterwards studied her solely, and made great improvements from her lessons.

He worked with so much ease, that of all the ancient none made so great a number of statues as himself; they are said to amount to six hundred.

He made amongst others the statue of a man rubbing himself after bathing, of exquisite beauty. Agrippa set it up in Rome before his baths. Tiberius, who was charmed with it, having attained the empire, could not resist his desire to possess it, though in the first years of his reign, in which he was sufficiently master of himself to moderate his passions: so that he removed the statue into his own chamber, and caused another very fine one to be put up in the same place.¹⁵ The people, who feared Tiberius, could not, however, refrain from crying out in the full theatre, that they desired the statue might be replaced: with which the emperor, how fond soever he was of the statue, was obliged to comply, in order to appease the tumult.

Lysippus had made several statues of Alexander, according to his several ages, having began at his infancy. It is well known, that prince had forbade all statues but Lysippus to make his statue, as he had done all painters but Apelles to draw his picture;¹⁶

Fecit ex quem canona artifices vocant, lineamenta artis ex eo potentes velut a lego quædam; solumque hominum artem ipse fecisse artis opere judicatur. *Plin.*

¹⁰ Hic consummasse hanc scientiam judicatur, et toreuticæ sic erudisse, ut Phidias aperuisse. *Plin.*

¹¹ *Ælian.* l. xiv. c. 8. ¹² *Plin.* l. xiv. c. 8.

¹³ Polycleti Doryphorum sibi Lysippus aiebat magistrum fuisse. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 296.

¹⁴ Eum interrogatum quem sequeretur præcedentium, dixisse, demonstrata hominum multitudine, naturam ipsam imitandum esse, non artificem. *Plin.*

¹⁵ Mire gratum Tiberio principi, qui non quivit temperare sibi in eo, quamquam imperiosus sui inter initia principatus, transtulitque; in cubiculum, alio ibi signo substituto. *Plin.*

¹⁶ Edicto vetuit nequis sibi præter Apellem pingeret, aut alius Lysippo diceret æra furtis Alexandri vultum simulantia. *Hor. l. ii. Epist. ad Aug.*

¹ Lucian in imaginib. p. 31.

² *Plin.* l. xxxiv. c. 8.

³ Quintil. l. xii. c. 10.

⁴ Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7.

⁵ Pausan. l. v. p. 303.

⁶ Paus. l. v. p. 313.

⁷ *Plin.* l. xxxiv. c. 8.

⁸ So the guards of the king of Persia were called.

rightly judging, says Cicero, that the skill of those two great masters in perpetuating their own names, would also immortalize his: for it was not to please them he published that edict, but with a view to his own glory.¹

Amongst these statues, there was one of exquisite beauty, upon which Nero set a high value, and was particularly fond of. But as it was only of copper, that prince, who had no taste, and was struck with nothing but glare, thought fit to have it gilt.² This new decoration, costly as it was, made it lose all its value, by covering the delicacy of the art! All this gaudy supplement was obliged to be taken off, by which means the statue recovered part of its original beauty and value, notwithstanding the traces and scars the putting on and taking off the gold had left upon it. In the bad taste of Nero methinks I see that of some people, who industriously substitute the tinsel of conceits and witticism to the precious and inestimable simplicity of the ancients.

Lysippus is said to have added much to the perfection of statuary, in expressing the hair better than those who preceded him, and in making the heads less, and the bodies not so large; upon which he said of himself, that others represented men in their statues as they were; but he, as they appeared; that is to say, if I mistake not, in the manner that was most proper to make them appear with all their beauty.³ The chief point in sculpture as well as in painting, is to follow and imitate nature: Lysippus we see made it his guide and rule. But art does not stop there. Without ever departing from nature it throws in strokes and graces, which do not change, but only embellish it, and catch the eye in a more lively and agreeable manner. Demetrius, otherwise an excellent statuary, was reproached with confining himself too scrupulously to truth, and for being more studious of likeness than beauty in his works.⁴ This Lysippus avoided.

PRAXITELES.

PRAXITELES lived in the 104th Olympiad, A. M. 8640. We must not confound him with another Praxiteles, who made himself famous in the time of Pompey by excellent works in the goldsmith's art. Him we speak of is of the first rank amongst the staturaries. He worked chiefly in marble, and with extraordinary success.

Amongst the great number of statues made by him, it would have been hard to know which to prefer, unless himself had informed us: which he does in a manner that has something singular enough in it. Phryne, the celebrated courtesan, was much in his favour. She had often pressed him to make her a present of one of the best of his works, and that which he believed the best finished; and he could not refuse it. But when he was to judge which it was, he deferred doing so from day to day; either because he found it difficult to determine himself, or rather strove to evade her warm and earnest solicitations, by protracting the affair. Persons of Phryne's profession seldom want industry and address. She found a means to get the secret out of Praxiteles, in spite of himself. One day when he was with her, she made his own servant, whom she had gained to her purpose, come running to tell him: "Your workhouse is on fire, and part of your works already spoiled: which of them shall I save?" The master quite out of his senses, cried out, "I am ruined and undone,

if the flames have not spared my Satyr and my Cupid." "Be in no pain, Praxiteles," resumed Phryne immediately, "there is nothing burned: but now I know what I wanted." Praxiteles could hold out no longer. She chose the Cupid, which she afterwards set up at Thespia, a city of Boeotia, where she was born, and whither people went long after to see it out of curiosity. When Mummius took several statues from Thespia to send them to Rome, he paid some regard to this, because consecrated to a god. The Cupid of Verres, mentioned by Cicero, was also done by Praxiteles, though not the same with this.

It is undoubtedly of the first that mention is made in Mr. De Thou's memoirs. The fact is very curious, wherefore I shall transcribe it as related there. Mr. De Thou when young, went into Italy with Mr. De Foix, whom the court sent thither. They were then at Pavia. Amongst other rarities which Isabella of Este, the Duke of Mantua's grandmother, had disposed with great care and order in a magnificent cabinet, Mr. De Thou was shown an admirable piece of sculpture; this was a Cupid sleeping, made of the fine marble of Spezzia, upon the coast of Genoa, by the celebrated Michael Angelo Buonarrotti, who revived the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, which had long been neglected before him. De Foix, upon the account given him of this masterpiece, went to see it. All his train, and De Thou himself, who had a very exquisite taste for works of this kind, after having attentively considered it on all sides, declared unanimously, that it was infinitely above all praise that could be given it.

When they had admired it for some time, another Cupid was shown them, that had been wrapt up in a piece of silk. This monument of antiquity, such as the many epigrams written by Greece⁶ of old in its praise represent it, was still soiled with the earth out of which it had been taken. Upon comparing the one with the other, the whole company were ashamed of having judged so much to the advantage of the first, and agreed that the ancient Cupid seemed instinct with life, and the modern a mere block of marble without expression. Some persons of the house then assured them, that Michael Angelo, who was more sincere than great artists generally are, had earnestly requested the countess Isabella, after having made her a present of his Cupid, and seen the other, that the ancient one should be shown last; that the connoisseurs might judge on seeing them both, how much the ancients excelled the moderns in works of this kind.

But the most judicious are sometimes mistaken, as the same Michael Angelo himself has given us a proof.⁷ Having made the figure of a Cupid, he carried it to Rome; and having broken off one of its arms which he kept, he buried the rest in a place which he knew was to be dug. This figure being found, it was admired by the connoisseurs, and sold for an antique to the cardinal San Gregorio. Michael Angelo soon undeceived them, by producing the arm he had kept. There is something very extraordinary in having ability enough to imitate the ancients so perfectly, as to deceive the eyes of the best judges; and at the same time so much modesty, as to confess ingenuously a great superiority on their side, as we see Michael Angelo did.

Something like this is related on a different occasion. Joseph Scaliger, the most learned critic of his times, boasted that it was impossible for him to be deceived in regard to the style of the ancients. Six verses were sent abroad as lately discovered; they are,

Here, si querelis, ejulatu, fletibus
Medicini fieret miseris mortuorum,
Auro parandæ lacrum & contra forem.
Nunc hæc ad minuenda mala non magis valent,
Quam Nænia Præfixæ ad excitandos mortuos,
Res turbidæ consilium non fletum expetunt.

These verses, which are admirable, and have all

¹ Neque enim Alexander gratiæ causâ ab Apelle potissimum pingi, et a Lysippo fingi volebat, sed quod illorum artem cum ipsis, tum etiam sibi, gloriæ fore putabat. Cic. ad fam. l. v. Epist. 12.

² Quam statim inaurari jussit Nero princeps, delectatus edmoctum illa. Dein, cum pretio perisset gratia artis, detractum est aurum; pretiosiorque; talis existimatur, etiam cicatricibus operis atque; consensuris, in quibus aurum læserat, remanentibus. Plin.

³ Valgo dicebat ab illis (veteribus) factos, quales essent homines; a se quales viderentur esse.

⁴ Demetrius tanquam nimis in ea (veritate) reprehenditur; et fuit similitudinis quam pulchritudinis anantior. Quintil. l. i. c. 10.

⁵ Pausan. l. i. p. 34.

⁶ There are two and twenty epigrams upon this Cupid in the fourth book of the Anthologia.

⁷ Mr. de Piles' life of M. Angelo.

the air of antiquity, deceived Scaliger so effectually, that he cited them in his commentary upon Varro, as a fragment from Trabea, not long since discovered in an ancient manuscript. Trabea was a comic poet, and lived six hundred years after the foundation of Rome. They were, however, made by Moretus, who played Scaliger, his rival and competitor, this trick.

We may believe that Praxiteles, abandoned as he was to Phryne, did not fail to employ the work of his hands for her, who had made herself the mistress of his heart.¹ One of Phryne's statues was placed afterwards in Delphos itself, between those of Archidamus king of Sparta, and Philip king of Macedon. How infamous this! If riches were a title to a place in that temple, she might well pretend to it: for hers were immense. She had the impudence (for by what other name can I call the fact I am going to relate?) to engage to rebuild the city of Thebes at her own expense, provided this inscription were placed on it: ALEXANDER DESTROYED, AND PHRYNE REBUILT THEBES.

The inhabitants of the Isle of Cos, had demanded a statue of Venus from Praxiteles.² He made two, of which he gave them their choice at the same price. The one was naked, the other covered; but the first was infinitely the most beautiful: *immensa differentia fuma*. The people of Cos had the wisdom to give the preference to the latter; convinced that decency, politeness, and modesty did not admit them to introduce an image into their city, that might be of infinite prejudice to their manners: *Severum id ac pudicum arbitantes*. How many Christians does this chaste conduct disgrace? The Cnidians were less attentive in point of morals. They bought the rejected Venus with joy, which afterwards became the glory of their city; whither people went from remote parts to see that statue, which was deemed the most finished work of Praxiteles. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, set so high a value upon it, that he offered to release all the debts the Cnidians owed him, which were very considerable, provided they would give it him. They thought it would dishonour, and even impoverish them to sell for any price whatsoever, a statue, which they considered as their glory and riches.

SCOPAS.

SCOPAS was both an excellent architect and an excellent sculptor.³ He was of the Island of Paros, and flourished in the 87th Olympiad, A. M. 3572. Amongst all his works, his Venus held the first rank. It was even pretended, that it was superior to the so much renowned one of Praxiteles. It was carried to Rome; but, says Pliny, the number and excellency of the works which abound in this city obscured its lustre; besides which, the employments and affairs that engross people here, scarce afford them time to amuse themselves with these curiosities; to consider and admire the beauties of which, require persons of leisure, and such as have no business, as well as places quiet and remote from noise.⁴

I have observed elsewhere that the pillar which he made for the temple of Diana at Ephesus, was reputed the finest in that building. He also very much contributed to the beauty and ornament of the famous Mausoleum, erected by queen Artemisa, to the memory of her husband Mausolus, in the city of Halicarnassus, which was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, as well for its magnitude and loftiness of architecture, as the quantity and excellence of the works of sculpture, with which it was enriched.⁵ Several illustrious competitors divided the glory of this structure with Scopas. I purposely referred to this place the description Pliny has left us of part of

this superb pile, because it relates more to sculpture than architecture.

The extent of this Mausoleum was sixty-three feet from north to south. The fronts not quite so broad, and the circumference four hundred and eleven feet.⁶ It was thirty-six feet and a half high, and had thirty-six pillars around it. Scopas undertook the east side. Timotheus had the south, Leochares the west, and Briaix the north. These were the most famous sculptors of those times. Artemisa died before they had finished the work: but they believed it not for their honour to leave it imperfect. It is doubted to this day, says Pliny, which of the four succeeded best. *Hodieque certant manus*. Pythis joined them, and added a pyramid to the top of the Mausoleum, upon which he placed a chariot of marble drawn by four horses. Anaxagoras of Clazomena said coldly when he saw it, Here's a great deal of money turned into stone.⁷

I ought not to conclude this article, without mentioning a very singular dispute, in which two of the most celebrated statuarys I have spoke of were engaged: these were Phidias and Polyclethus.⁸ I have observed above, that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was not finished till after a long series of years. The question was, at a time Pliny does not fix, to place in it some statues of Amazons, very probably to the number of four. Several had been done by the greatest masters both dead and living. The majesty of the temple required, that none should be admitted which were not exquisitely finished. It was necessary, upon this occasion, to consult the most accomplished sculptors in being, how interested soever they might be in the dispute. Each gave himself the first place, and afterwards named those they believed to have succeeded best; and it was the sculptors who had the majority of these latter suffrages, that were declared victorious. Polyclethus had the first place, Phidias the second, and Ctesilas and Cylon the two others.⁹ Something of the same nature had happened long before, but on a different occasion. After the battle of Salamis, the Grecian captains, according to a custom observed in those times, were to set down on a paper him they believed to have distinguished himself most in the action. Each named himself first, and Themistocles second; which was in reality giving him the first place.

It is plain, that in the short enumeration I have made of the ancient statuarys, I have chosen only the very flower of the most famous.¹⁰ There are many others, and of great reputation, which I am obliged to omit, to avoid enlarging my work too much. Cicero highly extols the statue of Sappho in copper, done by the celebrated statuary Silanion.¹¹ Nothing was more perfect than this statue: Verres had taken it from the Prytanæum of Syracuse. Pliny relates,¹² that the same Silanion had cast the statue of Apollodorus, his brother sculptor, in brass, who was a passionate man, and violent against himself; and who often, in the heat of his disgust, broke his own works to pieces, because he could not carry them to that supreme degree of perfection, of which he had the idea in his thoughts. Silanion represented this furious humour in so lively a manner, that it did not seem so much to express Apollodorus, as rage itself personified. *Hoc in eo expressit, nec hominem ex ære fecit, sed iracundiam*.

The same Pliny also very much extols a Laocoon,¹³ which was in the palace of Titus, and gives it the preference to all other works of painting and sculpture. Three excellent artists, Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, Rhodians, had joined in executing it, and had made out of one stone Laocoon, his children, and the serpents in all their different folds. The work

¹ Athen. l. xiii. p. 591.

² Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

³ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

⁴ Romæ quidem magnitudo operum eam (Venerem) obliat, ac magni officiorum negotiorumque; acervi omnes a contemplatione talium operum abducunt, quoniam otiosorum est in magno loci silentii apta admiratio talis est. Plin.

⁵ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5. Vitruv. præfat. l. vii.

⁶ There was apparently a wall round the Mausoleum, and some void space between it and that wall; which seems necessary to make up the extent of the circumference mentioned here.

⁷ Diog. Lært. in Anaxag.

⁸ Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 2.

⁹ Plut in Themist. p. 120.

¹⁰ Florem hominum libantibus.

¹¹ Cic. in Verr. de sign. n. 125. 127.

¹² Plin. l. 34. c. 8.

¹³ Plin. l. 36. c. 6.

must have been admirable, if equal to the beautiful description of this fact in Virgil,¹ or indeed if it came near it.

It remains for me to draw the character of those illustrious artists, who excelled so much in representing the gods and men naturally. I shall do it after Quintilian and Cicero, two admirable painters of characters and portraits, but who generally cannot be copied without being spoiled.

The first having enumerated the different manners in painting, he continues thus: "There is the same difference also in sculpture. For the first statues of whom we have any account, Calon and Egesias, worked in a rude manner, and almost in the Tuscan taste. Calamis came next, and his works had less constraint in them. Those of Myron afterwards had still a more natural and easy air. Polyclethus added regularity and gracefulness to them. The first place is generally given to him; however, as there is nothing entirely perfect, his statues are said to want a little more force. And indeed he represented men with infinite graces, and better than they are: but he did not entirely come up to the majesty of the gods. It is even said, that the manly age confounded his skillful hands, for which reason he scarce ever expressed any thing but tender youth. But what Polyclethus wanted, fell to the share of Phidias and Alcamenes. However, Phidias was judged to have represented the gods better than men. Never did artist use ivory with so much success, if we only consider his Minerva of Athens, and his Jupiter Olympius, the beauty of which seemed to improve the religion of the beholders, so much did the work express the majesty of the god. Lysippus and Praxiteles were reckoned to have copied nature best. For, as to Demetrius, he is blamed for having carried that care to excess, and for having confined himself more to resemblance than beauty."²

The passage of Cicero is shorter, in which he also mentions several of the ancients very little known. "I observe," says he, "that Canachus, in his statues, has something dry and rude. Calamis, rude as he is, has not so much of that character as Canachus. Myron does not come near enough to the just; though, strictly speaking, whatever comes from his hands is fine. Polyclethus is much above them in all, and in my opinion has attained perfection."³

I have already observed more than once, that sculpture is indebted to Greece for the supreme perfection to which it attained. The grandeur of Rome, which was to erect itself upon the ruins of that of Alexander's successors, long retained the rustic simplicity of its dictators and consuls, who neither esteemed, nor practised, any arts but those which were subservient to war and the occasions of life. They did not begin to have a taste for statues and the other works of sculpture, till after Marcellus, Scipio, Flaminius, Paulus Emilius, and Mummius, had exposed to the view of the Romans whatever Syracuse, Asia, Macedonia, Corinth, Achaia, and Bœotia, possessed in works of art. Rome saw with admiration the paintings and sculpture in brass and marble, with all that serves for the ornament of temples and public places. The people piqued themselves upon studying their

beauties, discerning their excellencies, and knowing their value; and this kind of science became a new merit, but at the same time the occasion of an abuse fatal to the republic. We have seen, that Mummius, after the taking of Corinth, in directing the persons who had undertaken the carriage of a great number of statues and paintings of the greatest masters to Rome, threatened them, if they lost or spoiled any of them upon the way, that they should make them good at their own costs and charges. Is not this gross ignorance, says an historian, infinitely preferable to the pretended knowledge which soon succeeded it? Strange weakness of human nature! Is innocence then inseparable from ignorance; and cannot knowledge, and a taste estimable in itself, be attained without the manners suffering thereby through an abuse, which sometimes, though unjustly, reflects reproach and disgrace upon the arts themselves?"⁴

This new taste for extraordinary pieces was soon carried to an excess. They seemed to contend, who should adorn their houses in town and country with most magnificence. The government of conquered countries supplied them with occasions of doing this. As long as their manners remained uncorrupted, the governors were not permitted to purchase any thing from the people they were set over; because, says Cicero,⁵ when the seller is not at liberty to sell things at the price they are worth, it is not a sale on his side, but a violence done to him: *Quod putabant creptionem esse non emptiorem, cum venditori suo arbitrato vendere non liceret*. It is well known, that these wonders of art, performed by the greatest masters, were very often without price;⁶ nor indeed have they any other, than what the imagination, passion, and to use Seneca's expression, the phrenzy of certain people set upon them.⁷ The governors of provinces bought what was highly esteemed for little or nothing; and these were very moderate; for most of them made their collections by force and violence.

History gives us instances of this in the persons of Verres, prætor of Sicily; who was not the only one that acted in this manner. He indeed carried his impudence in this point to an inconceivable excess, which Cicero knew not by what term to express; passion, phrenzy, folly, robbery!⁸ He could find no name strong enough to convey the idea of it. Neither decency, sense of honour, nor fear of the laws, could restrain him. He reckoned himself in Sicily as in a conquered country. No statue, great or small, of any value or reputation, escaped his rapacious hands. In a word, Cicero affirms, that the curiosity of Verres had cost Syracuse more gods, than the victory of Marcellus had cost it men.⁹

¹ Non, puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro rep. fuerit. manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantam ea intelligi; et qui hac prudentia illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. *Vell. Patere*. l. i. c. 23.

² Verr. de sign. n. 10.

³ Qui modus es in his rebus cupiditatis, idem est æstimationis. Difficile est enim finem facere pretio, nisi libidini feceris. *Verr. de sign.* n. 14.

⁴ Corinthia paucorum furore pretiosa. *De brev. vit.* c. 12.

⁵ Venio nunc ad istius, quemadmodum ipse appellat, studium; ut amici ejus, morbum et insaniam; ut Siculi, latrocinium. Ego, quo nomine appellem, nescio. *Ibid.* n. 1.

⁶ Sic habetote, plures esse a Syracusanis istius adventu deos, quam victoria Marcelli homines, desideratos. *Ibid.* n. 131.

¹ Æneid. l. 2.

² Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.

³ Cic. in Brut. n. 70.

OF PAINTING.

ARTICLE I.

OF PAINTING IN GENERAL.

SECTION I.—ORIGIN OF PAINTING.

PAINTING, like all other arts, was very gross and imperfect in its beginnings. The shadow of a man marked by the outlines gave birth to it, as well as to sculpture. The first manner of painting, therefore, derived its origin from a shadow, and consisted only in some strokes, which multiplying by degrees, formed design. Colour was afterwards added. There was no more than one colour at first in each draught, without any mixture; which manner of painting was called *Monochromaton*, that is to say, of one colour. The art at length improving every day, the mixture of only four colours was introduced; of which we shall speak in its place.

I do not examine here the antiquity of painting. The Egyptians boast themselves the inventors of it; which is very possible; but it was not they who placed it in honour and estimation. Pliny, in his long enumeration of excellent artists in every kind, and of masterpieces of art, does not mention one Egyptian. It was therefore in Greece, whether at Corinth, Sicione, Athens, or in the other cities, that painting attained its perfection. It is believed to be of later date than sculpture, because Homer, who often speaks of statues, relievos, and carved works, never mentions any piece of painting or portrait.¹

These two arts have many things common to both of them, but attain their end, which is the imitation of nature, by different means: sculpture by moulding substance; painting by laying colours upon a flat superficies; and it must be confessed that the chisel, in the hands of a man of genius, effects almost as much as the pencil. But without pretending to establish the precedence between these two arts, or to give one the preference to the other, how wonderful is it to see, that the artist's hand, by the strokes of a chisel, can animate marble and brass; and by running over a canvass with a pencil and colours, imitate by lines, lights, and shades, all the objects of nature! If Phidias forms the image of Jove, says Seneca, the god seems about to dart his thunder: if he represents Minerva, one would say that she was going to instruct the beholders, and that the goddess of wisdom was only silent out of modesty.² Charming delusion, grateful imposture, which delude without inducing error, and deceive the senses only to enlighten the soul!

SECTION II.—OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF PAINTING. OF THE JUST IN PAINTING.

PAINTING is an art, which by lines and colours represents upon a smooth and even surface all visible objects. The image it gives of them, whether of many figures together, or only one, is called a picture, in which three things are to be considered, the COMPOSITION, the DESIGN, and the COLOURS, or COLOURING; which are the three essential parts in forming a good painter.

1. COMPOSITION, which is the first part of painting, consists of two things: invention and disposition.

Invention is the choice of the objects, which are to enter into the composition of the subject the painter intends to treat. It is either simply historical, or allegorical. Historical invention is the choice of objects, which simply and of themselves repre-

sent the subject. It takes in not only true or fabulous history, but includes the portraits of persons, the representation of countries, and all the productions of art and nature. Allegorical invention is the choice of objects to represent in a picture, either in whole or in part, something different from what they are in reality. Such, for instance, was the picture of Apelles, that represented Caluniny, which Lucian has described in a passage I shall repeat in the sequel. Such was the moral piece representing Hercules between Venus and Minerva, in which these pagan divinities are only introduced, to imply the attractions of pleasure opposed to those of virtue.

Disposition very much contributes to the perfection and value of a piece of painting. For how advantageous soever the subject may be, the invention however ingenious, and the imitation of the objects chosen by the painter however just, if they are not well disposed, the work will not be generally approved. Economy and good order gives the whole its best effect, attracts the attention, and engages the mind, by an elegant and prudent disposition of all the figures into their natural places. And this economy and distribution is called disposition.

2. The DESIGN, considered as a point of painting, is taken for the outlines of objects, for the measures and proportions of exterior forms. It regards painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, and all artists in general, whose works require beauty and proportion. Several things are considered in the design: correctness, good taste, elegance, character, diversity, expression, and perspective. My design is to treat the principles of painting only so far as they may be necessary to the reader's understanding what I shall relate of the painting of the ancients, and to his judging of it with some discernment and propriety.

Correctness is a term by which the painters generally express the condition of a design, when exempt from faults in its measures. This correctness depends upon the justness of proportions, and the knowledge of anatomy.

Taste is an idea either proceeding from the natural genius of the painter, or formed in him by education. Each school has its peculiar taste of design; and since the revival of the polite arts in Europe, that of Rome has always been esteemed the best, because formed upon the antique. The antique is therefore the best taste of design.

Elegance of design is a manner of being that embellishes without destroying the justness of objects. This part, which is of great importance, will be treated more at large in the sequel.

Character is that proper and peculiar mark, that distinguishes and characterizes every species of object, which all require different strokes to express the spirit of their character.

Diversity consists in giving every person in a picture their proper air and attitude. The skillful painter has the penetration to discern the character of nature, which varies in all men. Hence the countenances and gestures of the persons he paints continually vary. A great painter, for instance, has an infinity of different joys and sorrows, which he knows how to diversify still more by the ages, humours, and characters of nations and persons, and a thousand other different means. The most worn-out subject becomes a new one under his pencil.

The word *Expression* is generally confounded in the language of painting with that of *Passion*. They are however different. Expression is a general term, which signifies the representation of an object according to its character in nature; and the use the painter designs to make of it in conformity to the plan of his work. And *Passion*, in painting, is a certain gesture of the body attended with the lineaments of the face, which together denote emotion

¹ Plin. l. xxxv. c.

² Non vidit Phidias Jovem, fecit tamen velut tonantem: nec stetit ante oculos ejus Minerva, dignus tamen illa arte animus, et concepit deos, et exhibuit. Senec. Controv. l. v. c. 31.

Verecundè admodum silenti, ut hinc responsurus paulo minus vocis præstoleris. Lactant.

of the soul. So that every passion is an expression, but not every expression a passion.

Perspective is the art of representing the objects in a plan, according to the difference their distance may occasion, either with respect to figure or colour. Perspective therefore is distinguished into two sorts, the lineal and the aerial. The lineal perspective consists in the just contraction or abridgment of lines; the aerial in the just decrease or gradation of colours. This *gradual decrease*, in painting, is the management of the strong and faint, in lights, shades, and tints, according to the different degrees of distance or remoteness. Mr. Perrault, out of a blind zeal for the moderns, pretended, that perspective was absolutely unknown to the ancients; and founded his opinion upon the want of perspective in the column of Trajan. The Abbe Salier, in a brief but elegant dissertation upon this subject,¹ proves in many passages, that perspective was not unknown to the ancients, and that it was this industrious artifice, which taught them to impose so happily on the senses in their performances, by the modification of magnitudes, figures, and colours, of which they knew how to increase or diminish the boldness and lustre. As to the column of Trajan, if perspective be not exactly observed in it, it is not through ignorance of the rules of art, but because the greatest masters depart from, and even set themselves above, all rule, for the more certain attainment of their end. Mr. de Piles owns, that the defect of gradual decrease or gradation in that pillar is to be ascribed solely to the workman's design, who, superior to the rules of his art, to assist the sight, purposely made the objects stronger and more palpable.

3. The *COLORIS* or *COLOURING*, is different from colour. The latter renders the objects sensible to the eye. The coloris or colouring is one of the essential parts of painting, by which the painter knows how to imitate the colour of all natural objects, by a judicious mixture of the simple colours upon his pallet. This is a very important part. It teaches the manner in which colours are to be used, for producing those fine effects of the *Chiaro-oscuro* (*light and shade*), which add boldness and a kind of relief to the figures, and show the remoter objects in their just light.

Pliny explains it with sufficient extent. After having spoke of the very simple and gross beginnings of painting, he adds, that by the help of time and experience, it gradually threw off its defects: 2 that it discovered light and shade with the difference of the colours which set off each other; and that it made use of the *chiaro-oscuro*, the shadowing, as the most exquisite degree and perfection of the coloris. For this *chiaro-oscuro* (light and shade, or shadowing,) is not properly light, but the mean between the lights and shades in the composition of a subject. And from thence the Greeks called it *TONOS*, that is, the tone of painting: to signify, that as in music, there are a thousand different tones from the insensible union of which the harmony results: so in painting, there is an almost imperceptible force and gradation of light, which still vary, according to the proper or local colours of the different objects upon which they fall. It is by this enchanting distribution of lights and shades, and, if I may be allowed to say it, by the delusion of this kind of magic, that the painters impose upon the senses, and deceive the eyes of spectators. They employ, with an art never to be sufficiently admired, all the various alloys or diminutions of colour gradually to soften and enforce the colour of objects. The progression of shade is not more exact in nature, than in their paintings.

It is this insinuating charm that strikes and attracts all mankind: the ignorant, the connoisseurs, and even painters themselves. It suffers nobody to pass by a painting that has this character with indif-

ference, without being in a manner surprised, and without stopping to enjoy the pleasure of that surprise for some time. True painting therefore is that which in a manner calls us to it by surprising us: it is only by the force of the effect it produces, that we cannot help going to it, as if to know something it had to say to us. And when we approach it, we really find that it delights us by the fine choice and novelty of the things it presents to our view; by the history and fable it makes us call to mind; and the ingenious inventions and allegories, of which we take pleasure either to discover the sense, or criticise the obscurity. It does more, as Aristotle observes in his Poetics. Monsters, and dead or dying men, which we should be afraid to look upon, or should see with horror, we behold with pleasure imitated in the works of the painters. The better the likeness, the fonder we are to gaze upon them. One would think, that the murder of the Innocents should leave the most offensive ideas in the imagination of those, who actually see the furious soldiers butchering infants in the bosoms of their mothers covered with their blood. Le Brun's picture, in which we see that tragical event represented, affects us sensibly, and softens the heart, whilst it leaves no painful idea in the mind. The painter afflicts us no more than we are pleased he should; and the grief he gives us, which is but superficial, vanishes with the painting; whereas, had we been struck with the real object, we should not have been capable of giving bounds, either to the violence or duration of our sentiments.

But what ought absolutely to reign in painting, and constitutes its supreme excellency, is the *True*.³ Nothing is good, nothing pleases but the True. All the arts, which have imitation for their object, are solely intended to instruct and divert mankind by a faithful representation of nature. I shall insert here some reflections upon this subject, which I hope will be agreeable to the reader. I have extracted them from a little treatise of Mr. de Piles,⁴ upon the *True in painting*; and still more, from a letter of Mr. du Guet, annexed to it, which was written to a lady who had desired his opinion of that short tract.

OF THE TRUE IN PAINTING.

Though painting is only an imitation, and the object in the picture but feigned, it is however called *True*, when it perfectly represents the character of its model.

The true in painting is distinguished into three kinds:—the simple, the ideal, and the compound or perfect True.

The Simple, which is called the first True, is a simple imitation of the expressive movements (*or affections*) of nature, and of the objects, such as they really are and present themselves immediately to the eye, which the painter has chosen for his model: so that the carnations or naked parts of a human body appear to be real flesh, and the draperies real habits, according to their diversity, and each particular object retains the true character it has in nature.

The Ideal True is the choice of various perfections, which are never to be found in a single model, but are taken from several, and generally from the antique.

The third, or Compound True, which is compounded or formed of the simple and ideal True, constitutes in that union, the highest excellency of the art, and the perfect imitation of the *Fine Nature*. Painters may be said to excel according to the degree in which they are masters of the first and second True, and the happy facility they have acquired of forming out of both a good composite or compound True.

This union reconciles two things which seem opposite: to imitate nature, and not confine one's self to that imitation; to add to its beauties, and yet correct it to express it the better.

The Simple True supplies the movements (*affec-*

¹ Memoirs of the Acad. of Inscript. vol. viii.

² Tandem se ars ipsa distinxit et invenit lumen atque umbras, differentia colorum alterna vice sese excitante: postea deinde adjectus est SPLENDOR, alius hic quam lumen; quem quia inter hoc et umbram esset, appellaverunt TONOS. Plin. L. xxxv. c. 5.

³ Picturæ probari non debent quæ non sunt similes veritati. Vitruv. l. vii. c. 5.

⁴ M. de Piles's Cours de Peinture. Paris edit.

tions or passions) and the life. The Ideal chooses with art whatever may embellish it, and render it more striking; but does not depart from the Simple, which, though poor in certain parts, is rich in its whole.

If the second True does not suppose the first, if it suppresses or prevents it from making itself more sensible than any thing the second adds to it, the art departs from nature; it shows itself instead of her; it assumes her place instead of representing her; it deceives the expectation of the spectator and not his eyes; it apprizes him of the snare, and does not know how to prepare it for him.

If, on the contrary, the first True, which has all the real of affection and life, but not always the dignity, exactitude, and graces to be found elsewhere, remains without the support of the second True, which is always grand and perfect, it pleases only so far as it is agreeable and finished, and the picture loses every thing that was wanting in its model.

The use therefore of the second True consists in supplying in each subject what it had not, but what it might have had, and what nature has dispersed in several others; and in thus uniting what she almost always divides. This second True, strictly speaking, is almost as real as the first: for it invents nothing, but collects universally. It studies whatever can please, instruct, and affect. Nothing in it is the result of chance, even when it seems to be so. It determines by the design what it suffers to appear but once; and enriches itself with a thousand different beauties in order to be always regular, and to avoid falling into repetitions. It is for this reason that the union of the Simple and Ideal True have so surprising an effect. For that union forms a perfect imitation of whatever is most animated, most affecting, and most perfect in nature. All then is probable, because all is true; but all is surprising, because all is curious and extraordinary. All makes impression, because all has been called in that was capable of doing so; but nothing appears forced or affected, because the Natural has been chosen in choosing the wonderful and the perfect. It is this fine Probable, which often appears more true than truth itself: because in this union the first True strikes the spectator, avoids various defects, and exhibits itself without seeming to do so. This third True (or union) is an end to which none ever perfectly attained. It can only be said, that those who have come nearest to it, have most excelled.

What I have said hitherto of the essential parts of painting, will facilitate the understanding of what I shall soon add of the painters themselves, in the brief account I shall give of them. The greatest masters agree, that there never was a painter who entirely excelled in all the parts of his art. Some are happy in Invention, others in the Design: some in the Colours, others in Expression: and some paint with abundance of grace and beauty. No one ever possessed all these excellencies together. These talents, and many others which I omit, have always been divided: the most excellent painter is he, who possesses the most of them. To know the bent of nature is the most important concern. Men come into the world with a genius determined not only to a certain art, but to certain parts of that art, in which only they are capable of any eminent success. If they quit their sphere, they fall below even mediocrity in their profession. Art adds much to natural endowments, but does not supply them where they are wanting.¹ Every thing depends on genius. The aptitude a man has received from nature to do certain things well and with ease, which others cannot do but very ill though they take great pains, is called genius. A painter often pleases without observing rules; whilst another displeases, though he does observe them, because the latter has not the happiness to be born with a genius.² This genius is that fire,

which exalts painters above themselves, imparts a kind of soul to their figures, and is to them what is called spirit, rapture, or enthusiasm in poetry.

For the rest, though a painter does not excel in all the parts of his art, it does not follow, that most of the works of the great masters should not be considered as perfect in their kind, according to the measure of perfection of which human weakness is capable. The certain proof of their excellency is the sudden impression they make alike upon all spectators ignorant and skilful; with this sole difference, that the first only feel pleasure in seeing them, and the latter know why they are pleased.³ In regard to works of poetry or painting, the impression they have upon us, is a judgment not to be despised. We weep at a tragedy, or at the sight of a picture, before we reflect whether the object exhibited by the poet or painter be capable of moving us, or well imitated. The impression has told us that, before we think of such an inquiry. The same instinct, which at first sight would draw a sigh from us, on meeting a mother following her son to the grave, has a like effect, when the stage or a painting shows us a faithful representation of a like event. The public therefore is capable of judging aright of verses and painting; because, as Cicero observes, all men, by the sense implanted in them by nature, know, without the help of rules, whether the productions of art be well or ill executed.⁴

The reader will not be surprised that I make a parallel here between painting and poetry. All the world knows the saying of Simonides, *A picture is a silent poem, and a poem a speaking picture*. I do not examine which, of the two succeeds best in representing an object and painting an image. That question would carry me too far. It has been very well treated by the author of the critical reflections upon poetry and painting, from whom I have borrowed many things on this point. I content myself with observing, that as a picture, which represents an action, shows us only the instant of its duration, the painter cannot express many affecting circumstances, which precede or follow that instant, and still less make us sensible of the passions and discourse which very much exalt their spirit and force: whereas the poet has it in his power to do both at his leisure, and to give them their due extent.

It only remains for me, before I proceed to the history of the painters, to give a brief idea of the several species of painting.

SECTION III.—DIFFERENT SPECIES OF PAINTING.

BEFORE the secret of painting in oil was discovered, all the painters worked either in fresco or water colours.⁵

³ Docti rationem artis intelligunt, indocti voluptatem. *Quintil.* l. ix. c. 4.

⁴ Illud ne quis admiretur quoniam modo hæc vulgus imperitorum nolet, cum in omni genere, tum in hoc ipso, magna quedam est vis incredibilis naturæ. Omnes enim tacito quodam sensu, sine ulla arte aut ratione, quæ sint in artibus sæ rationibus recta ac prava dijudicant. *Cic.* l. iii. de orat., n. 195.

⁵ [Of the various modes of painting, consisting of oil, fresco, water colours, both body and transparent, mosaic, enamel, glass, porcelain, tapestry, and what the French call pastel and camayeux, there is but the first which is peculiar to modern practice: although even with regard to it, there is reason to suspect that the varnish used by Apelles and his successors was not very different from oil painting. Until the seventh century before the Christian era, the Greeks seem to have been confined to the simple operation of designing with only one colour, to which the colour of the ground formed a relief. This was called by them monochromatic, and is styled camayeux by the French. Some of the Egyptian hieroglyphics are executed in this manner; the Etruscan vases also furnish abundant examples of it, consisting of a simple coloured back ground of black or orange, upon which the figures are drawn in contrast with the ground colour. When the ancients began to introduce more colours into their works, it was looked upon as degrading the art, and was confined at least to the use of a very few, in which case it was called polychromatic. We find Pliny and Cicero lamenting the corruption of taste in their day, by the introduction of a gaudy mode of painting abounding in variety of colours, more than grace and purity of taste.]

¹ Ut verè dictum esse caput esse artis, docere quod facias: ita id neque sine arte esse; neque totum arte tradi potest. *Quintil.* l. xi. c. 3.

² In quibusdam virtutes non habent gratiam, in quibusdam vicia ipsa debentur. *Ibid.*

Fresco is a kind of painting upon fresh plaster with colours mixed with water.¹ This work was done either upon walls or arched roofs. The painting in fresco incorporating with the plaster, decayed and mouldered only with it. The walls of the Dioscuri² at Athens had been painted in fresco by Polygnotus and Diogenes during the Peloponnesian war. Pausanias observes, that these paintings had been well preserved to his time, that is, almost six hundred years after Polygnotus. The good painters, however, according to Pliny, seldom painted in fresco. They did not think it proper to confine their works to private houses, nor to leave their irretrievable master-pieces at the mercy of the flames. They fixed upon portable pieces which, in case of accident, might be saved from the fire, by being carried from place to place. All the monuments of those great painters, in a manner kept guard in palaces, temples, and cities, in order to be ready to quit them upon the first alarm; and a great painter, to speak properly, was a common and public treasure, to which all the world had a right.³

Painting in water colours is a kind performed with colours, diluted only with water, and size or gum.

The invention of *painting in oil* was not known to the ancients. It was a Flemish painter named John Van Eyck, but better known by the name of John of Bruges, who discovered this secret, and used it in the fifteenth century. This invention, which had been so long unknown, consists however only in grinding the colours with oil of walnuts or linseed. It has been of great service to painting, because all the colours mingling better together, make the colours or colouring more soft, delicate, and agreeable; and give a smoothness and mellowness to the whole work, which it could not have in the other methods. Paintings in oil are done upon wall, wood, canvass, stones, and all sorts of metals. It is said that the ancient painters painted only upon tables of wood, whitened with chalk, from whence came the word *tabula*, a picture; and that even the use of canvass amongst the moderns is of no great standing.⁴

Pliny, after having made a long enumeration of all the colours used in painting in his time, adds, "Upon the sight of so great a variety of colours, I cannot forbear admiring the wisdom and economy of the ancients. For with only the four simple and primitive colours, the painters of antiquity executed their immortal works, which are to this day our admiration: the *white* of Melos, the *yellow* of Athens, the *red* of Sinope, and the common *black*.⁵ These are all they used, and yet it was with these four colours well managed, that an Apelles, and a Melanthus, the

greatest painters that ever lived, produced those wonderful pieces, of which only one was of such value, that the whole wealth of a great city were scarce sufficient to purchase it." It is probable that their works would have been still more perfect, if to these four colours two more had been added, which are the most general and the most amiable in nature; the *blue* which represents the heavens, and the *green* which so agreeably clothes and adorns the whole earth.⁶

The ancients had a manner of painting much in use even in Pliny's time, which they called *Caustick*.⁷ It was a kind of painting in wax, in which the pencil had little or no part.⁸ The whole art consisted in preparing wax of different colours, and applying them upon wood or ivory by the means of fire.⁹

MINIATURE is a kind of painting done with simple and very fine colours, mixed with water and gum without oil. It is distinguished from other paintings by its being more delicate, requiring a nearer view, not being easily performed except in little compass, and only upon vellum, or tablets of ivory.

Paintings upon glass are done in the same manner as upon jasper and other fine stones: but the best manner of executing it is by painting under the glass, that the colours may be seen through it. The art of incorporating the colours with the glass was known in former days, as may be seen at La Sainte Chapelle, (*our Lincoln's-Inn chapel*.) and in abundance of other churches. This secret is said to be lost.

Enamel painting. Enamel is a kind of glass coloured. Its principal substance is tin and lead in equal quantities, calcined in the fire; to which are added separately such metallic colours as it is to have. The painting and work performed with mineral colours by the heat of the fire, is called *Enamelling*. China, Delft, and pots varnished or glazed with earth, are so many different kinds of *Enamel*. The use of *Enamelling* upon earth is very ancient, as vessels enamelled with various figures were made in the time and dominions of Porseuna king of the Tuscans.

Mosaic work ¹⁰ is composed of many little pieces

⁶ [See a preceding Note.]

⁷ This word is derived from καυστήρ, which signifies to burn.

⁸ Ceris pingere, ac picturam inurere quis primus excogitavit, non constat. Plin.

⁹ [Our information of the encaustic mode of painting practised by the ancients is very limited, as no specimens of that kind have reached our day, and ancient writers have left no particular account regarding it. According to Pliny, it would appear that the colours mixed with wax were made up into crayons, and melted as used on the picture, upon which the subject was previously traced with a metal point; when the picture was finished, a waxen varnish was spread over all, in a melted state. By this means the colours obtained great brilliancy, and the work became protected from the injuries of the weather. The surface, after it was sufficiently dry, was well polished. Various attempts have been made in modern times to revive this art, but as yet without perfect success. Indeed, the introduction of the more perfect system of oil-painting seems to supersede altogether the occasion for its re-discovery, except to gratify antiquarian curiosity. The ancients made use of encaustic painting in ornamenting their ships.]

¹⁰ [This species of painting, like other branches of the fine arts, seems to have originated in the east, to have been perfected in Greece, and thence transferred to Rome. It became so prevalent in both of these latter countries, as a favourite mode of ornamenting their buildings, that remains of it are discovered wherever any vestiges of ancient towns appear. The name *Mosaicum* was only applied to it about the fourteenth century. The words *pavimenta Lithostrata, sectilia, secta, or tessellata*, were used to denote mosaics properly so understood by the ancients. Isidorus* designs real mosaic very distinctly by *lithostrata parvulis crustis ac tessellis junctis in varios colores*. Athenæus† speaks of the rich pavements in the palace of Demetrius Phalerius; and Hiero, king of Syracuse is said, by the same author, to have had an extraordinary ship constructed, in which the tessellated pavements of the cabins represented the whole fable of the Iliad. Suetonius mentions, that Julius Cæsar had such pavements carried every where along with him, to exclude the damps of the northern climates which he visited. There were several kinds of mosaic; one where the morsels of marble used were pretty

¹ [Of the ancient stucco or fresco paintings, we have examples still preserved in the relics of Herculæum, in which no particular is more remarkable than the very great ease of the flowing outline, which, though deeply marked, possesses all the spirit of a masterly sketch. Many fine examples are also preserved at Pompeii, besides what were discovered in the ancient baths of Rome. The plaster was prepared with great care, for which various articles were selected, and laid on in different coats: volcanic ashes, or terra pozzulana, was the first, and upon this a coat of calcareous matter, finely prepared, followed. The plaster was generally allowed to dry before the paint was applied, usually consisting of black, red, or white, if brilliancy was required, to serve as a ground colour. The colours were mixed with a very strong glue. The arabesque paintings seem to have been the favourite subject of the ancient frescos, representing capricious compositions of every variety, and generally displaying very considerable elegance and taste, as well as fertility of invention. Raphael was much captivated by the merit of these ancient performances, and not only revived that mode of ornamental work, but made very great use of it, as his immortal works in the lodges of the Vatican testify.]

² Castor and Pollux were so called, because the sons of Jupiter.

³ Omnis enim ars uribus excubabat, pictorque recommanis terrarum erat.

⁴ Nero princeps jussit colosseum se pingi 120 pedum in linteo, incognitum ad hoc tempus. Plin. l. xxxv. c. 7.

⁵ Quatuor coloribus solis immortalia illa opera fecere Apelles, Melanthius—clarissimi pictores, cum tabularum singulæ oppidorum varent opibus. Plin. l. xxxv. c. 11.

* De Origin. lib. xv. cap. 8.

† Lib. xiii. § 60. and lib. v. § 41.

inlaid, and diversified with colours and figures cemented together upon a bottom of plaster of Paris.¹ At first compartments were made of it to adorn ceilings and floors. The painters afterwards undertook to cover walls with it, and to make various figures, with which they adorned their temples and many other edifices. They used glass and enamel in these works, which they cut into an infinity of little pieces of different sizes and colours: these having an admirable lustre and polish, had all the effect at a distance that could be desired, and endured the inclemencies of the weather as well as marble. This work had the advantage in this point of every kind of painting, which time effaces and consumes; whereas it embellishes the mosaic, which subsists so long, that its duration may almost be said to have no end. There are several fragments of the antique mosaic to be seen at Rome, and in several other parts of Italy. We should form an ill judgment of the pencil of the ancients, if we were to find it upon these works. It is impossible to imitate, with the stones and bits of glass used in this kind of painting, all the beauties and graces the pencil of an able master gives a picture.

large, which was called *sextile*; and one where the cubes were very small, which was called *tessellated* pavement.—The art of colouring glass practised in the age of Augustus greatly promoted the use of mosaic; it became so common that we find Seneca² complaining of the luxury of his contemporaries, in seeming unwilling to tread, unless upon precious stones: “*Eo deliciarum pervenimus, ut nisi gemas calcare nolumus.*” Mosaic painting began to decline about the fifth and sixth centuries, and is supposed to have been almost totally lost, until Andrea Taffi learned it from a Greek artist, Apollonius, who was employed on the church of St. Mark at Venice, in the thirteenth century. This is to be viewed as the source of the modern mosaic, which has attained a much greater perfection than that of the ancients.

One of the finest ancient mosaic pavements extant, supposed to have been constructed anterior to the reign of Domitian, was discovered at a village near Seville in Spain, towards the close of the last century, at the depth of three feet and a half from the surface, from a description of which the nature of others may be comprehended. It extends above 40 feet in length, by nearly 30 in breadth, and contains a representation of the circus games in a parallelogram in the centre, three sides of which are surrounded by circular compartments, containing portraits of the Muses, interspersed with the figures of animals, and some imaginary subjects. In the race course are seen a chariot overturned, the charioteer thrown out of his seat, horsemen dismounted, fractious steeds, and broken harness. The charioteer, having been injured by his fall, is supported by two men belonging to a different faction or party, as may be ascertained by their costume, which, in all the figures, is well represented. The horses are of a deep brown colour; they have a cut tail, like our modern fashion, and are apparently full of spirit. Various persons interested in the games appear in other portions of the course and beyond it; but part of the whole pavement has been destroyed by the waste of time, and the injury of the workmen by whom it was discovered. A double row of circular compartments bound the sides of the course, some of which are very entire. Each is about three feet and a half in diameter, ornamented by a broad circular border as a frame. The whole plan is finished by an exterior border, highly embellished. Nine of these compartments are occupied by busts of the nine Muses, arranged after the manner prescribed by Hesiod, and in the order of the books of Herodotus, but alternately, so that a compartment containing a mask, or an animal, or some other subject, is always interposed between two. The floor also between the different compartments exhibits various birds, fruits, and flowers.

Another fine mosaic pavement, ascribed to the first century of the Christian era, was discovered at Lyons in 1806. Its subject is similar to that of the preceding, but it is of smaller dimensions. Another valuable specimen, is the exquisite little picture of the four pigeons at the Museum of the capital of Rome. The pigeons are represented on the edge of a basin filled with water, out of which one of them is drinking. It is a work of singular truth and elegance, and has been frequently copied. It was found at Hadrian's villa of Tivoli, and was bought by Pope Clement XIII. for 13,000 crowns. The ordinary subjects of mosaics seem to have been the Circensian games, theatrical scenes, marine deities, tritons, and nereids. Many of them were devoted to the embellishments of halls and baths, and exhibited lively representations; but with the decay of the Roman empire, they were employed in the decoration of churches, and their subjects altered to those of a grave character.

¹ Or stucco, a composition of lime and white marble powdered.

² Ep. lxxvi.

ARTICLE II.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MOST FAMOUS PAINTERS OF GREECE.

I propose to speak only in this place of the most celebrated painters, without examining who were the first that used the pencil. Pliny, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters of the thirty-fifth book of his *Natural History*, will supply me with a great part of what I have to say. I shall content myself with observing this once for all, and shall cite him but seldom any more.

PHIDIAS AND PANENUS.

PHIDIAS, who flourished in the 24th Olympiad, A. M. 3560, was a painter before he was a sculptor. He painted at Athens the famous Pericles, surnamed the Olympic, from the majesty and thunders of his eloquence. I have spoken at large of Phidias in the article of sculpture. Panenus his brother distinguished himself also amongst the painters of his time. He painted the famous battle of Marathon, in which the Athenians defeated the whole army of the Persians in a pitched battle. The principal officers on both sides were represented in this piece as large as the life, and with exact likeness.

POLYGNOTUS.

POLYGNOTUS, the son and disciple of Aglaophon, was of Thasos, an island in the north of the Egean sea. He appeared before the 90th Olympiad, A. M. 3592. He was the first that gave some grace to his figures; and contributed very much to the improvement of the art. Before him no great progress had been made in that part which regards expression. He at first cast some statues; but at length returned to the pencil, and distinguished himself by it in different manners.

But the painting which did him the most honour in all respects, was that which he performed at Athens in the Πρωϊλας,² in which he represented the principal events of the Trojan war. However important and valuable this work was, he refused to be paid for it, out of a generosity the more estimable as uncommon in persons who make money of their arts. The council of the Amphictyons, who represented the states of Greece, returned him their thanks by a solemn decree, in the name of the whole nation, and ordained, that in all the cities to which he should go, he should be lodged and maintained at the public expense. Mycon, another painter, who worked upon the same portico, but on a different side, less generous, and perhaps not so rich as Polygnotus, took money, and by that contrast augmented the glory of the latter.

APOLLODORUS.

This painter was of Athens, and lived in the 93d Olympiad, A. M. 3596. It was he that at last discovered the secret of representing to the life, and in their greatest beauty, the various objects of nature, not only by the correctness of design, but principally by the perfection of the coloris, and the distribution of shades, lights, and chiaro-oscuro; in which he carried painting to a degree of force and delicacy it had never been able to attain before. Pliny observes, that before him there was no painting which in a manner called upon and seized the spectator: *Næque ante eum tabula ullius ostenditur, quæ teneat oculos.* The effect every excellent painting ought to produce is to fix the eyes of the spectator, and to attract and keep them in admiration. Pliny the younger, after having described in a very lively manner a Corinthian antique, which he had bought, and which represented an old man standing, concludes that admirable description with these words: “In fine, every thing in it is of a force to engage the eyes of artists, and to delight those of the unskilful.” *Talia denique omnia, ut possint artificum oculos tenere, delectare imperitorum.* Plin. Ep. 6. l. 3.

² This was a portico, so called from the variety of the paintings and ornaments with which it was embellished.

ZEUXIS.

ZEUXIS was a native of Heraclea,¹ and learnt the first elements of painting about the 85th Olympiad, A. M. 3564. Pliny says,² that having found the door of painting opened by the pains and industry of his master Apollodorus, he entered without difficulty, and even raised the pencil, which already began to assume a lofty air, to a very distinguished height of glory. *The gate of the art* means here the excellency of colouring, and the practice of the chiaro-oscuro, light and shade, which was the last perfection painting wanted. But as those who invent do not always bring their inventions to perfection, Zeuxis, improving upon his master's discoveries, carried those two excellent parts still farther than him. Hence it was, that Apollodorus, exasperated against his disciple, for this species of robbery so honourable to him, could not forbear reproaching him with it very sharply by a satire in verse, in which he treated him as a thief, who, not content with having robbed him of his art, presumed to adorn himself with it in all places as his lawful right. All these complaints had no effect upon the imitator, and only served to induce him to make new efforts to excel himself, after having excelled his master. He succeeded entirely in his endeavours, by the admirable works he performed, which at the same time acquired him great reputation, and great riches. His wealth is not the happiest part of his character. He made a puerile ostentation of it. He was fond of appearing and giving himself great airs, especially on the most public occasions, as in the Olympic games, where he showed himself to all Greece dressed in a robe of purple, with his name embroidered upon it in letters of gold.

When he became very rich, he began to give away his works liberally, without taking any thing for them. He gave one reason for this conduct, which does no great honour to his modesty. *If, says he, I gave my works away for nothing, it was because they were above all price.*³ I should have been better pleased if he had let others say so. An inscription which he affixed to one of his pieces does not argue more modesty. It was the figure of an ATHLETA, or Wrestler, which he could not forbear admiring, and extolling as an inimitable masterpiece. He wrote at the bottom of it a Greek verse of which the sense is:

Al'aspect de l'acteur, dans lequel je m'admire,
En vain tous mes rivaux voudront se tourmenter ;
Ils pourront peut-être en médire
Sans pouvoir jamais l'imiter.

My Wrestler, when my rivals see,
They hate its wondrous charms and me ;
A thousand things perhaps they blame ;
But ne'er could imitate the same :

The Greek verse is in Plutarch,⁴ but applied to the works of Apollodorus. It is:

Μωμήσται τις μάλλον, ἢ μιμήσται.

This is more easy to criticise than imitate.

Zeuxis had several rivals, of whom the most illustrious were Timanthes and Parrhasius. The latter was competitor with him in a public dispute, for the prizes of painting. Zeuxis, in his piece, had represented grapes in so lively a manner, that as soon as it was exposed, the birds came to peck at them. Upon which, in a transport of joy, and highly elated at the declaration of such faithful and undeniable judges in

his favour, he called upon Parrhasius to produce immediately what he had to oppose to his picture. Parrhasius obeyed, and showed a painting seemingly covered with a fine piece of stuff in form of a curtain. Remove your curtain, added Zeuxis, and let us see this masterpiece. That curtain was the picture itself, and Zeuxis confessed himself conquered. *For, says he, I only deceived the birds, but Parrhasius has deceived me, who am myself a painter.*⁵ The same Zeuxis, sometime after, painted a young man carrying a basket of grapes: and seeing that the birds came also to peck at them, he owned, with the same frankness, that if the grapes were well painted, the figure must be done very ill, because the birds were not afraid of it.

Quintilian informs us that the ancient painters used to give their gods and heroes the same features and characters as Zeuxis gave them, from whence he was called the Legislator.⁶ Festus relates, that the last painting of this master was the picture of an old woman, which work made him laugh so excessively, that he died of it. It is surprising that no author should mention this fact but Verrius Flaccus, cited by Festus. Though it is hard to believe it, says Mr. de Piles, the thing is not without example.

PARRHASIUS.

PARRHASIUS was a native of Ephesus, the son and disciple of Evenor, and, as we have seen, the rival of Zeuxis. They were both esteemed the most excellent painters of their time, which was the most glorious age of painting; and Quintilian says, they carried it to a high degree of perfection, Parrhasius for design, and Zeuxis for the colouring.⁷

Pliny gives us the character and praise of Parrhasius at large. If we may believe him, the exact observation of symmetry was owing to that master; and also the expressive, delicate and passionate airs of the head; the elegant disposition of the hair; the beauty and dignity of features and person; and by the consent of the greatest artists, that finishing and boldness of the figures, in which he surpassed all that went before, and equalled all that succeeded him. Pliny considers this as the most difficult and most important part of painting. For, says he, though it be always a great addition to paint the middle of bodies well, it is however what few have succeeded in. But to trace the contours, give them their due decrease, and by the means of those insensible weakenings, to make the figure seem as going to show what it conceals; in these certainly the perfection of the art consists.⁸ Parrhasius had been formed for painting by Socrates, to whom such a disciple did no little honour.

Xenophon has preserved a conversation, short indeed, but rich in sense, wherein that philosopher, who had been a sculptor in his youth, gives Parrhasius such lessons, as show, that he had a perfect knowledge of all the rules of painting.

It is agreed, that Parrhasius excelled in what regards the characters and passions of the soul, which appeared in one of his pictures, that made abundance of noise, and acquired him great reputation. It was a faithful representation of the PEOPLE OR GENIUS OF ATHENS, which shone with a thousand elegant and surprising beauties, and argued an inexhaustible fund of imagination in the painter. For intending to forget nothing in the character of that state, he represented it, on one side capricious, rascible, unjust and inconstant; on the other, humane, merciful and compassionate; and with all this, proud, haughty, vainglorious, fierce and sometimes even base, tim-

¹ It is not known which Heraclea authors mean, for there were several cities of that name. Some seem to suppose it Heraclea in Macedonia, or that in Italy near Crotona.

² Ab hoc (Apollodoro) fores apertas Zeuxis Heracleotes intravit—audientemque jam aliquid penicillum ad magnam gloriam perduxit.

³ Postea donare opera sua instituit, quod eo nullo satis digno pretio permutari posse diceret. Plin.

⁴ These verses are by the author of L'Histoire de la Peinture Ancienne, extracted from the 35th book of Pliny's Natural History, which he has translated, or rather paraphrased, with the Latin text. This book was printed at London in 1725. There are excellent reflections in it, of which I have made great use.

⁵ Plut. de Glor. Athen. p. 346.

⁶ Hæc vero ita circumscriptis omnia, ut eum legum latorem vocent, quia decorum et heroum effigies, quales ab eo sunt traditæ, cæteri, tanquam ita necesse sit, sequuntur. Quintil. l. vii. c. 10.

⁷ Zeuxis atque Parrhasius—plurimum arti addiderunt. Quorum prior luminum umbrarumque invenisse rationem, secundus, examinasse subtilius lineas tradidit. Ibid.

⁸ Ambire enim debet extremitas ipsa, ac sic desinere, ut promittat alia post se, ostendatque etiam quæ occultat.

orous, and cowardly.¹ This picture was certainly a lively sketch of nature. But in what manner could the pencil describe and group so many different images? There lay the Wonderful of the art. It was undoubtedly an allegorical painting.

Different authors have also drawn our painter to the life. He was an artist of a vast genius and infinite fertility of invention, but one to whom none ever came near in point of presumption, or rather in that kind of arrogance, which a glory justly acquired, but ill sustained, inspires sometimes in the best artificers.² He dressed himself in purple, wore a crown of gold; had a very rich cane, gold clasps in his shoes, and magnificent buskins; in short, every thing about him was in the same lofty style. He bestowed upon himself abundantly the finest epithets, and most exalted names, which he was not ashamed to inscribe at the bottom of his pictures; *the delicate, the polite, the elegant Parrhasius, the man who carried the art to its perfection, originally descended from Apollo, and born to paint the gods themselves.* He added, that in regard to his Hercules, *he had represented him exactly, feature for feature, such as he had often appeared to him in his dreams.* With all this show and vanity he gave himself out for *a man of virtue*, less delicate in this point than Mr. Boileau, who called himself

Ami de la vertu, plutot que vertueux.

The friend of virtue, rather than virtuous.

The event of his dispute with Timanthes, in the city of Samos, must have humbled him extremely, and not a little mortified his self-love. He that succeeded best in a subject was to have a prize. This subject was an Ajax enraged against the Greeks for having adjudged the arms of Achilles to Ulysses. Upon this occasion, by the majority of the best judges, Timanthes was declared victor. Parrhasius covered his shame, and comforted himself for his defeat, with a smart saying, which seems to savour a little of *rodonontade*. *Alas poor hero! said he, his fate affects me more than my own. He is a second time overcome by one of less merit than himself.*

PAMPHILUS.

PAMPHILUS was a native of Amphipolis, upon the borders of Macedonia and Thrace. He was the first that united erudition with painting. He confined himself to mathematics, and more especially to arithmetic and geometry; maintaining strongly, that without their aid it was impossible to carry painting to its perfection. It is easy to believe that such a master would not make his art cheap. He took no disciple under ten talents (ten thousand crowns) for so many years, and it was at that price Melanthus and Apelles became his scholars. He obtained, at first at Sicyone, and afterwards throughout all Greece, the establishment of a kind of Academy, in which the children of free condition, that were inclined to the polite arts, were carefully educated and instructed. And lest painting should come to degenerate, and grow into contempt, he obtained farther from the states of Greece a severe edict to prohibit the use of it to slaves. The excessive price paid by disciples to their masters, and the institution of academies for free persons, with the exclusion of slaves, shows how highly this art was esteemed, with what emulation they applied to it, and with what success and expedition it must have attained its perfection. Zeuxis, Parrhasius, Melanthus, and Pamphilus were contemporaries and lived about the 95th Olympiad, A. M. 3604.

TIMANTHES.

TIMANTHES, according to some, was of Sicyone, and according to others, of Cythnus, one of the Cy-

clades. His peculiar character was invention.³ This part, so rare and difficult, is acquired neither by industry nor the advice and precepts of masters: it is the effect of a happy genius, a lively imagination, and that noble fire which animates painters as well as poets with a kind of enthusiasm.

The Iphigenia of Timanthes, celebrated by so many writers,⁴ was looked upon as a masterpiece of the art in its kind, and occasioned its being said, that his works made those who saw them conceive more than they expressed, and that though art in them rose to its highest degree of perfection, genius still transcended it.⁵ The subject was fine, grand, tender, and entirely proper for painting: but the execution gave it all its value. This piece represented Iphigenia standing before the altar, as a young and innocent princess, upon the point of being sacrificed for the preservation of her country. She was surrounded by several persons, all of them strongly interested in this sacrifice, though in different degrees. The painter has represented the priest Calchas in great affliction, Ulysses much more sad, and Menelaus the victim's uncle, with all the grief it was possible for a countenance to express: Agamemnon, the princess' father, still remained. All the lineaments of sorrow were however exhausted.⁶ Nature was called in to the support of art. It is not natural for a father to see his daughter's throat cut: it sufficed for him to obey the gods who required it, and he was at liberty to abandon himself to all the excess of sorrow. The painter not being able to express that of the father, chose to throw a veil over his face, leaving the spectators to judge of what passed in his heart: *Velavit ejus caput, et suo cuique animo dedit astimandum.*

This idea is finely conceived, and does Timanthes great honour. It is not known, however, whether he was the real author of it, and it is probable that the Iphigenia of Euripides supplied him with it. The passage says: *When Agamemnon saw his daughter led into the grove to be sacrificed, he groaned, and turning away his head wept, and covered his face with his robe.*

One of our own illustrious painters, Le Poussin, has happily imitated the same circumstance, in his picture of the death of Germanicus. After having treated the different kinds of affliction of the other persons, as passions capable of being expressed, he places on the side of Germanicus' bed, a woman remarkable for her mien and habit, who hides her face with her hands, whilst her whole attitude expresses the most excessive grief, and clearly intimates that she is the wife of the prince whose death they are lamenting.

I cannot help adding in this place a very curious fact in relation to allegorical painting. A picture, in which a fiction and an emblem are used to express a real action, is so called. The prince of Conde had the history of his father, known in Europe by the name of the Great Conde, painted in his gallery at Chantilly. There was a great inconvenience to get over in the execution of this project. The hero, during his youth, had been engaged in interest with the enemies of the state, and had done great part of his exploits, whilst he did not carry arms for his country. It seemed necessary therefore not to display this part of his warlike actions in the gallery of Chantilly. But, on the other side, some of his actions, as the relief of Cambray, and the retreat before Arras, were so glorious, that it must have been a great mortification to a son so passionate for his father's renown, to have suppressed them in

² Timanthi plurimum adfuit ingenii. *Plin.*

⁴ *Plin. l. xxxv. Quinctil. l. ii. c. 13. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 11.*

⁵ In omnibus ejus operibus intelligitur plus semper, quam pingitur; et cum ars summa sit, ingenium tamen ultra artem est. *Plin. l. xxxv. c. 10.*

⁶ Cum in Iphigenie immolatione pinxisset tristem Colcham, tristorem Ulysses addidisset Menelaum, quem summam poterat ars efficere mororem; consumptis affectibus, non reperiens quo dignè modo patris vultum posset exprimere, velavit ejus caput, et suo cuique animo dedit astimandum. *Quinctil. l. ii. c. 13.*

¹ Pinxit et DEMONA ATHENIENSIS, argumento quoque ingenioso, Volebat namque varium, iracundum, injustum inconstantem; eundem vero exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque et omnia pariter ostendere. *Plin.*

² Facundus artifex, sed quo nemo insolentius et arrogantius sit usus gloriæ artis. *Plin.*

the monument he erected to the memory of that hero. The prince himself discovered an happy evasion: for he was not only the prince, but the man of his time, to whom nature had given the most lively conceptions, and the most shining imaginations. He therefore caused the muse of history to be designed, an allegoric but well known person, holding a book, upon the back of which was written, *Life of the Prince of Conde*. That muse tore leaves out of the book which she threw upon the ground, and on those leaves were inscribed, *Relief of Cambray, relief of Valenciennes, retreat before Arras*; in short, the title of all the great actions of the prince of Conde, during his stay in the Netherlands; all very shining exploits, with no other exception than the service in which they were done. The piece unhappily was not executed according to so elegant and simple an idea. The prince, who had conceived so noble a plan, had, upon this occasion, an excess of complaisance, and paying too great a deference to art, permitted the painter to alter the elegance and simplicity of his thought by figures, which render the painting more uniform, but make it convey nothing more than he had already designed in so sublime a manner. I have extracted this account from the critical reflections upon poetry and painting.

APELLES.

APELLES, whom fame has placed above all other painters, appeared at length in the 112th Olympiad, A. M. 3672. He was the son of Pithius, of the island of Cos,¹ and the disciple of Pamphilus. He is sometimes called an Ephesian, because he settled at Ephesus, where, without doubt, a man of his merit soon obtained the freedom of the city. He had the glory of contributing more in his own person than all the other painters together, to the perfection of the art, not only by his excellent works, but by his writings, having composed three volumes upon the principal secrets of painting, which subsisted in the time of Pliny, but unfortunately have not come down to us.

His chief excellency lay in the GRACES, that is to say, something free, noble, and at the same time beautiful, which moves the heart, whilst it informs the mind. When he praised and admired the works of others, which he did very willingly, after having owned, that they excelled in all the other parts, he added, that they wanted grace; but that as to himself, that quality had fallen to his share; which praise nobody could dispute with him. A pardonable ingenuity in men of real merit, when not proceeding from pride and arrogance.

The manner in which he became acquainted and contracted a friendship with Protogenes, a celebrated painter of his time, is curious enough, and worth relating. Protogenes lived at Rhodes, known only to Apelles by reputation and the fame of his works. The latter, desiring to be assured of their beauty by his own eyes, made a voyage expressly to Rhodes. When he came to Protogenes' house, he found nobody at home, but an old woman who took care of the place where he worked, and a canvass on the easel, on which there was nothing painted. Upon the old woman's asking his name, I am going to set it down, says he: and taking a pencil with colour, he designed something in a most exquisite taste. Protogenes, on his return, being informed of what had passed by the servant, and considering with admiration what he saw designed, was not long before he guessed the author. *This is Apelles*, cried he; *there is no man in the world capable of so fine and delicate a design beside himself*. Taking another colour, he drew a contour upon the same lines still more correct and admirable, and bade his house-keeper, if the stranger returned, show him what he had done, and tell him that it was the work of the man he came to inquire for. Apelles came again soon after; but being ashamed to see himself excelled by his rival, he took a third colour, and amongst the strokes already done, introduced others of so

sublime and wonderful a nature, as entirely exhausted all that was most refined and exquisite in the art. When Protogenes perceived these last strokes. *I am overcome*, said he, *and fly to embrace my conqueror*. Accordingly he ran to the port, where finding Apelles, they contracted a strict friendship, which continued ever after: a circumstance something extraordinary between persons of the greatest merit in the same way. They agreed between them, in regard to the painting in which they had tried their skill with each other, to leave it to posterity as it was, without touching it any more, rightly foreseeing what really came to pass, that it would one day prove the admiration of the whole world, and particularly of the connoisseurs and masters of the art. But this precious monument of the two greatest painters of antiquity was reduced to ashes, when the house of Augustus, in the Palatium, was first burnt; where it was exposed to the curiosity of spectators, always surprised, in the midst of a multitude of other most exquisite and finished paintings, to find in this only a kind of void space by so much the more admirable, as it had only the outlines of three designs in it of the most perfect beauty, scarce visible owing to their smallness, and for that reason still the more valuable and the more attractive to the most judicious eyes. It is almost in this sense the passage of Pliny is to be understood, where he says, *arreplo penicillo lineam ex colore duxit summa tenuitatis per tabulam*; by lineam he does not mean a simple geometrical line, but a stroke of the pencil in an exquisite taste. The other notion is contrary to common sense, says Mr. de Piles, and shocks every body that has the least idea of painting.

Though Apelles was very exact in his works, he knew how far it was necessary to take pains without tiring his genius, and did not carry his exactitude to the utmost scruple. He said one day of Protogenes, that he confessed that rival might equal, or even excel him in every thing else, but *did not know when to take off the pencil*, (that is to say, to have done;) and that he often spoiled the fine things he did, by endeavouring to give them a higher degree of perfection.² A reflection worth noting, says Pliny, and which shows that a too scrupulous exactitude often becomes prejudicial.

Apelles did not say this because he approved negligence in those who applied themselves to painting. He was of a quite different opinion, both with regard to himself and others. He passed no day of his life, whatever other affairs he might have to transact, without exercising himself either in crayons, with the pen, or the brush, as well to preserve the freedom and facility of his hand, as to improve his perfection in all the refinements of an art, that has no bounds.

One of his disciples showing him a draught for his opinion of it, and telling him, that he had done it very fast, and in a certain space of time: *I see that very plain*, says he, *without your telling it me, and am surprised that in so short a time you did no more of this kind*.

Another painter showing him a picture of an Helen, which he had drawn with care, and adorned with abundance of jewels, he told him: *My friend, not being able to make her beautiful, you were resolved at least to make her rich*.

If he spoke his own opinion with simplicity, he took that of others in the same manner. His custom was, when he had finished a work, to expose it to the eyes of such as passed by, and to hear what was said of it behind a curtain, with design to correct the faults they observed in it. A shoemaker having perceived something wanting in a sandal, said so freely; and the criticism was just. The next day passing the same way he saw the fault corrected. Proud of the good success of his remark, he thought

² Idem et aliam gloriam usurpavit cum Protogenis opus immensi laboris ac curæ supra modum exilis mutaretur. Dixit enim omnia sibi cum illo paria, aut illi meliora: sed uno se prestare, quod manum ille de tabula non sciret tollere; memorabili præcepto, nocere sæpe nimium diligentiam. Plin.

¹ An isle in the Ægean sea.

fit to censure also a leg, to which there was nothing to object: the painter then came from behind the scree, and bade the shoemaker keep to his trade and his sandals: which gave birth to the proverb, *ne sutor ultra crepidam*; that is,

Let not the cobbler go beyond his last.

Apelles took pleasure in doing justice to the merit of great masters, and was not ashamed to prefer them to himself in some qualities. Thus he confessed ingenuously that Amphion excelled him in disposition, and Asclepiodorus in the regularity of design.

We have seen his judgment in favour of Protogenes. Nor did he confine himself to mere words. That excellent painter was in no great esteem with his own country. Whilst Apelles was with him at Rhodes, he asked him what he would take for his works when finished, and the other having set a very moderate price upon them: *and for me*, replied Apelles, *I offer you fifty talents¹ for each of them, and will take them all at that price*; adding, that he should easily get them off, and would sell them all as his own. This offer, which he made in earnest, opened the eyes of the Rhodians to the merit of their painter; who on his side made the best of it, and would not sell any more of his pictures but at a very considerable price.

His supreme excellency in painting was not the only merit of Apelles. Polite learning, knowledge of the world, and his affable, insinuating, elegant behaviour, made him highly agreeable to Alexander the Great, who did not disdain to go often to the painter's house, as well to enjoy the charms of his conversation, as to see him work, and to be the first witness of the wonders performed by his pencil. This affection for a painter, who was polite, agreeable, and full of wit, is not a matter of wonder. A young monarch easily grows fond of a genius of this kind, who, with the goodness of his heart, unites the beauty of his mind, and the delicacy of his pencil. This sort of familiarity between heroes of different characters, is not uncommon, and does honour to the greatest princes. Alexander had so high an idea of Apelles, that he published an edict to declare, that it was his will that no other person should paint his portrait; and by the same edict granted permission to none but Pyrgoteles to cut the dies for his medals, and Lysippus to represent him in cast metals.

It happened that one of the principal Alexander's courtiers being one day with Apelles, whilst he was painting, he vented abundance of injudicious questions and reflections upon painting, as is common with those who talk of what they are ignorant.² Apelles, who had no reason to apprehend any thing from explaining himself freely to the greatest lords, said to him, "Do you see those boys that are grinding my colours? Whilst you were silent they admired you, dazzled with the splendour of the purple and gold with which your habits glitter. But ever since you began to talk of what you don't understand, they have done nothing but laugh." Plutarch relates this. According to Pliny,³ Apelles ventured to reprove Alexander himself in this manner, though in softer terms, advising him only to express himself with more reserve before his workmen: such an ascendant had the witty painter acquired over a prince, who was at that time the terror and admiration of the world, and naturally very warm. Alexander gave him still more extraordinary proofs of his affection and regard.

The simple and open character of Apelles was not equally agreeable to all the generals of that young monarch. Ptolemy, one of them, to whom Egypt was afterwards allotted, was not of the number of those that affected our painter most; for what reason history does not say. However it was, Apelles having embarked, sometime after the death of Alexander, for a city of Greece, was unfortunately thrown by a tempest upon the coast of Alexandria, where

the new king gave him no reception. Besides this mortification, which he expected, there were some persons, that envied him, malicious enough to endeavour to embroil him much more. With this view, they engaged one of the officers of the court to invite him to sup with the king, as from himself; not doubting but such a liberty, which he would seem to take of himself, would draw upon him the indignation of a prince, who did not love him, and knew nothing of this little knavish trick. Accordingly, Apelles went to supper out of deference, and the king highly offended at his presumption, asked him freely, which of his officers had invited him to his table? and showing him his usual inviters, he added, that he would know which of them had occasioned him to take such a liberty. The painter, without any emotion, extricated himself from this difficulty like a man of wit, and a consummate designer. He immediately took a piece of charcoal out of a chafingdish, in the room, and with three or four strokes upon the wall, sketched the person that had invited him, to the great astonishment of Ptolemy, who from the first lines knew the face of the impostor. This adventure reconciled him with the king of Egypt, who afterwards loaded him with wealth and honours.

But this did not deliver him from envy, which only became the more violent against him. He was accused, some time after, before that prince, of having entered with Theodotus into the conspiracy formed against him in the city of Tyre.⁴ The accuser was another painter of reputation, named Antiphilus. There was not the least probability in the charge. Apelles had not been at Tyre; had never seen Theodotus; and was neither of a character nor profession to be concerned in such affairs: the accuser, who was also a painter, though very inferior to Apelles in merit and reputation, might, without injury, be suspected of jealousy in point of art. But the prince, without hearing or examining any thing, as is too common, taking it for granted that Apelles was criminal, reproached him warmly with his ingratitude, and badness of heart; and he would have been carried to execution, but for the voluntary confession of one of the accomplices; who, touched with compassion upon seeing an innocent man upon the point of being put to death, confessed his own guilt, and declared that Apelles had no share in the conspiracy. The king, ashamed of having given ear to calumny so hastily, reinstated him in his friendship, gave him an hundred talents,⁵ to make him amends for the wrong he had done him, with Antiphilus to be his slave.

Apelles, on his return to Ephesus, revenged himself upon all his enemies by an excellent picture of *Calumny*, disposed in this manner. Upon the right of the piece sat a man of considerable authority with great ears, not unlike those of Midas, holding out his hand to *Calumny*, to invite her to approach him. On each side of him stood a woman, one of whom represented *Ignorance*, and the other *Suspicion*.⁶ *Calumny* seems to advance in the form of a woman of exquisite beauty. There is however to be discerned in her aspect and mien an air of violence and fierceness, like one actuated by anger and fury. In one hand she holds a torch to kindle the fire of discord and division; and with the other she drags a young man by the hair, holding up his hands to heaven, and imploring the assistance of the gods. Before her goes a man with a pale face, a withered lean body, and piercing eyes, who seems to lead the band: this was *Envy*.⁷ *Calumny* is attended by two other women, who excite, animate, and busy themselves about her, to exalt his charms and adjust her attire. By their wary and composed air these are easily conjectured to be *Fraud* and *Treachery*. At a distance behind all the rest follows *Repentance*, clothed in a black torn habit, who looking back with abundance of confusion and tears, sees afar off *Truth* advancing

¹ Fifty thousand crowns. This sum seems exorbitant. It is common enough to meet with errors in ciphers.

² Plut. de amic. et adulat. p. 53.

³ Plin. l. xxv. c. 10.

⁴ Lucian de Calum. p. 563—585. Lucian is taxed with a very gross anachronism in regard to this fact.

⁵ An hundred thousand crowns.

⁶ $\epsilon\upsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$.

⁷ Envy, in the Greek, is masculine: $\phi\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$.

surrounded with light. Such was the useful and ingenious revenge of this great man. I do not believe it would have been safe for him, during his stay in Egypt, to have drawn, or at least exposed, such a painting. Those great ears, that hand extended to invite the approach of Caluniny, and the like strokes, do no honour to the principal character, and express a prince suspicious, credulous, open to fraud, who seems to invite accusers.

Pliny makes a long enumeration of the paintings of Apelles. That of Antigonus is one of the most famous.¹ This prince had but one eye, wherefore he drew him turning sideways, to hide that deformity.

He drew a great many pictures of Alexander, one of which was looked upon as the most finished of his works. He was represented in it with thunder in his hand. This picture was done for the temple of Diana at Ephesus. The hero's hand with the thunder in it, says Pliny, who had seen it, seems actually projected from the piece. And that prince himself said, that he reckoned two Alexanders, the one of Philip, who was invincible; the other of Apelles, that was imitable.

Pliny mentions one of his paintings, which must have been of singular beauty. He made it for a public dispute between the painters: the subject given them to work upon was a mare. Perceiving that intrigue was upon the point of adjudging the prize to one of his rivals, he appealed from the judgment of men to that of mute animals, more just than men.² He caused the pictures of the other painters to be set before horses brought thither for that purpose; they continued without motion to all the other pieces, and did not begin to neigh till that of Apelles appeared.

His Venus, called *Anadyomene*, that is to say, rising from the sea, was his masterpiece. Pliny says, that this piece was celebrated by the verses of the greatest poets, and that if the painting was excelled by the poetry, it was also made illustrious by it.³ Apelles had made another at Cos, his native country, which in his own opinion, and that of all judges, would have excelled the first; but invidious death put a stop to the work when half executed.⁴ Nobody afterwards would presume to put pencil to it. It is not known, whether it was this second Venus, or the first, that Augustus bought of the people of Cos, by discharging them of the tribute of an hundred talents⁵ laid on them by the Roman republic. If it were the second, as is very likely, it had as bad a fate, and still worse than the first. In the time of Augustus, the damp had begun to spoil the lower part of it. Inquiry was made by that prince's order for somebody to retouch it; but there were none bold enough to undertake it, which augmented the glory of the Greek painter, and the reputation of the work itself.⁶ This fine Venus, which no one dared to retouch out of veneration and awe, was insulted by the worms, that got into the wood and devoured it. Nero, who reigned then, caused another to be set up in its place, done by *Dorotheus*, a painter of little note. Pliny observes to the reader, that all these wonderful paintings, which were the admiration of all mankind, were painted only with the four primitive colours, of which we have spoke.

Apelles brought up several disciples, to whom his inventions were of great advantage: but, says Pliny, he had one secret which nobody could ever discover, and that was the composition of a certain varnish, which he applied to his paintings, to preserve them during a long series of ages, in all their freshness and spirit. There were three advantages in the use of this varnish: 1. It gave a lustre to every kind of colour, and made them more mellow, smooth, and

tender: which is now the effect of oil. 2. It preserved his works from dirt and dust. 3. It helped the sight of the spectator which is apt to dazzle, in softening the strength of the most lively colours, by the interposition of this varnish, which served instead of glasses to his works.⁷

ARISTIDES.

ONE of the most famous cotemporaries of Apelles was Aristides the Theban. He did not indeed possess the elegance and graces in so high a degree as Apelles: but was the first, that by genius and application established unerring rules for expressing the soul, that is to say, the inmost workings of the mind.⁸ He excelled as well in the strong and vehement, as the soft and tender passion: but his colouring had something harsh and severe in it.

The admirable piece was his, (still in Pliny's words) in which, in the storming of a town, a MOTHER is represented expiring by a wound she has received in her bosom, and an INFANT creeping to suck at her breast.⁹ In the visage of this woman, though dying, there appears the warmest sentiments, and the most passionate solicitude of the maternal tenderness. She seems to be sensible of her child's danger, and at the same time to be afraid, that instead of her milk he should find only blood. One would think Pliny had the pencil in his hand, he paints all he describes in such lively colours. Alexander, who was so fond of whatever was fine, was so enamoured of this piece, that he caused it to be taken from Thebes, where it was, and carried to Pella, the place of his birth, at least so reputed.

The same person painted also the battle of the Greeks with the Persians, wherein, within a single frame, he introduced an hundred persons at a thousand drachmas¹⁰ (about twenty-four pounds) each figure, by an agreement made between him and the tyrant Mæson, who reigned at that time at Elatea in Phocis. I have spoken elsewhere of a Bacchus, which was reckoned the masterpiece of Aristides, and was found at Corinth when that city was taken by Mummius.

He was so excellent in expressing the languor of the body or mind, that Attalus, who was a great connoisseur in things of this kind, made no scruple to give an hundred talents¹¹ for one of his paintings, wherein only something of this nature was expressed: only riches as immense as those of Attalus, which became a proverb, (*Attalus Conditionibus*) could make so exorbitant a price for a single picture probable.

PROTOGENES.

PROTOGENES was of the city of Caunus, which depended on the city of Rhodes, and was situated upon the southern coast of the island of that name. He employed himself at first only in painting ships, and lived a great while in extreme poverty. Perhaps that might be of no prejudice to him; for poverty often induces men to take pains, and is the sister, or rather mother of invention and capacity.¹² By the works he was employed to do at Athens, he became the admiration of the most discerning people in the world.

The most famous of his paintings was the JALYSOS, who was a hunter, and reputed the son or grandson of the Sun, and founder of Rhodes. What was most admired in this piece was the froth at the dog's mouth.¹³

¹ Ne claritas colorum, oculorum aciem offenderet — et eadem res minis floridis coloribus austeritatem occulte daret. *Plin.*

² Is omnium primus animum pinxit et sensus omnes expressit. *Plin.*

³ Hujus pictura est, opido captio ad matris morientis e vulnere mammam adrepens infans; intelligiturque sentire mater et timere, ne, emortuo lacte sanguinem lambat.

⁴ The text says, ten mine. The mina is worth an hundred drachmas, and the drachma ten sols.

⁵ A hundred thousand crowns.

⁶ Nescio quomodo bonæ mentis soror est paupertas. *Petr.*

⁷ *Plin. l. xxxv. c. 10. Aul. Cell. l. xv. c. 31. Plut. in Demetr. p. 698.*

¹ Habet in pictura speciem tota facies. Apelles tamen imaginem Antigoni latere tantum unaltero ostendit, ut amissa oculi deformitas lateret. *Quintil. l. ii. c. 13.*

² Quo judicio ad mutas quadrupedes provocavit ab hominibus.

³ Versibus Græcis tali opere, dum laudatur, victo, sed illustrato.

⁴ Strab. l. xiv. p. 657.

⁵ An hundred thousand crowns.

⁶ Ipsa injuria cessit in gloriam artificis.

I have related this circumstance at length, in speaking of the siege of Rhodes.

Another very celebrated picture of Protogenes, was the satyr leaning against a pillar. He executed it at the very time Rhodes was besieged: wherefore it was said to have been *painted under the sword*. At first there was a partridge perched upon the pillar.¹ But because the people of the place, when it was first exposed, bestowed all their attention and admiration upon the partridge, and said nothing of the satyr, which was much more admirable; and the tame partridges, brought where it was, called upon the sight of that upon the pillar, as if it had been a real one; the painter, offended at that bad taste, which in his opinion was an injury to his reputation, desired leave of the directors of the temple, to which the painting was consecrated, to retouch his work; which being granted, he struck out the partridge.

He also painted the mother of Aristotle, his good friend. That celebrated philosopher, who during his whole life cultivated the polite arts and sciences, highly esteemed the talents of Protogenes. He even wished, that he had applied them better than in painting hunters or satyrs, or in making portraits. And accordingly he proposed to him, as a subject for his pencil, the battles and conquests of Alexander, as very proper for painting, from the grandeur of ideas, elevation of circumstances, variety of events, and immortality of facts. But a certain peculiar taste, a natural inclination for more calm and grateful subjects, determined him to works of the kind I have mentioned. All that the philosopher could obtain of the painter at last, was the portrait of Alexander, but without a battle. It is dangerous to make excellent artists quit their taste and natural talent.

PAUSIAS.

PAUSIAS was of Sicyone. He distinguished himself particularly by that kind of painting called *Cautick*, from the colours being made to adhere either upon wood or ivory, by the means of fire. Pamphilus was his master in this art, whom he far excelled in it. He was the first that adorned arches and ceilings with paintings of this kind. There were many considerable works of his doing. Pausanias speaks of a DRUNKENNESS, so well painted, says he, that all the features of her ruddy face may be distinguished through a large glass she is swilling.

The courtesan Glycera, of Sicyone also, excelled in the art of making wreaths, and was looked upon to be the inventress of them. Pausias, to please and imitate her, applied himself also in painting flowers.² A fine dispute arose betwixt art and nature, each using their utmost endeavours to carry the prize from their competitor, without its being possible to adjudge the victory to either.

Pausias passed the greater part of his life at Sicyone his country, which was in a manner the nursing mother of painters and painting. It is true, that this city being so much indebted in the latter times, that all the public and private paintings were pledged for large sums of money, M. Scaurus, Sylla's son-in-law by his mother Metella, with design to immortalize his edileship, paid all the creditors, and took out of their hands all the paintings of the most famous masters, and amongst the rest those of Pausias, carried them to Rome, and set them up in the famous theatre, which he caused to be erected to the height of three stories, all supported by magnificent pillars of thirty feet high, to the number of three hundred and sixty, and embellished with statues of marble and bronze, and with antique pieces of the greatest painters. This theatre was to continue only during the celebration of the games. Pliny says of this edileship, that it completed the subversion of the manners of the Roman citizens. *Cujus (M. Scauri) nescio an Ædi-*

litas maxime prostraverit mores civiles; and he goes so far as to add, that it did more prejudice to the republic than the bloody proscription of his father-in-law Sylla, that cut off so many thousand Roman citizens.

NICIAS of Athens distinguished himself very much amongst the painters. There were abundance of his pictures in exceeding estimation; amongst others, that wherein he had drawn Ulysses's descent into hell, called *nyctas*. Attalus, or rather according to Plutarch, Ptolemy, offered him for this picture sixty talents (sixty thousand crowns) which seems almost incredible: but he refused them and made it a present to his country. He laboured upon this piece with such application, that he often forgot the time of the day, and would ask his servant, *Have I dined?* When Praxiteles was asked upon which of his works of marble he set the highest value; he answered, *That to which Nicias has set his hand.*³ He meant by that the excellent varnish added by that painter to his marble statues, which exalted their beauty.

I shall not mention abundance of other great painters, not so well known, nor so illustrious as those I have spoken of, who did so much honour to Greece. It is very unfortunate that none of their works have come to us, and that we are not capable of judging of their merit by our own eyes. We have it in our power to compare the antique sculpture of the Greeks with our own, because we are certain that we still have masterpieces of it, that is to say, the finest works of that kind antiquity produced. The Romans, in the age of their greatest splendour, which was that of Augustus, disputed with the Greeks only ability in the art of government. They acknowledged them their masters in all others, and expressly in that of sculpture.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra
Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus.
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt artes. *Virg. Æneid. l. vi.*

What I have related of Michael Angelo, who preferred the Cupid of Praxiteles so much to his own, is an evident proof, that the modern can no more than the ancient Rome, dispute sculpture with the Greeks.

We cannot judge in the same manner of the excellency of the ancient painters. That question is not to be decided from mere relations. To understand that, it were necessary to have their pieces to compare with each other, and with ours. These we want. There are still some antique Mosaic paintings at Rome; but few done with the pencil, and those in bad condition. Besides which, what remains, and was painted at Rome, upon the walls, were not done till long after the death of the celebrated painters of Greece. It must however be owned, that, every thing considered, the prejudices are extremely in favour of antiquity, even in regard to painting. In the time of Crassus, whom Cicero introduces as a speaker, in his books *de Oratore*, people could never sufficiently admire the works of the ancient painters, and were soon tired with those of the moderns: because in the former there was a taste of design and expression, that perpetuated the raptures of the connoisseurs, and in the latter scarce any thing to be found, but the variety of the colouring. "I do not know," says Crassus, "how it happens, that things which strike us at first view by their vivacity, and which even give us pleasure by that surprise, almost as soon disgust and satiate us. Let us for instance, consider our modern paintings. Can any thing be more splendid and lively? What beauty, what variety of colours! How superior are they in this point to those of the ancients! However, all these new pieces, which charm us at first sight, have no long impression; whilst, on the contrary, we are never tired with contemplating the others, notwithstanding all their simplicity, and even the grossness of

¹ Strab. l. xiv. p. 652.

² Amavit in juvenia Glyceram municipem suam inventicem coronarum: certandoque imitatione ejus, ad numerosissimam florum varietatem perduxit artem illam—cum opera ejus pictura imitaretur, et illa provocans variaret, esæque certamen artis ac naturæ. *Plin. l. xxxv. c. 11. et l. xxi. c. 3.*

³ Ille est Nicias, de quo dicebat Praxiteles interrogatus quæ maxime opera sua probaret in marmoribus: Quibus Nicias manum admovisset; tantum circumlocutioni ejus tribuebat. *Plin. l. xxxv. c. 11.*

their colouring."¹ Cicero gives no reason for these effects: but Dionysius Halicarnassensis,² who lived also in the time of Augustus, does. "The ancients," says he, "were great designers, and understood perfectly all the grace and force of expression, though their colouring was simple and little various. But the modern painters, who excel in colouring and shades, are vastly far from designing so well, and do not treat the passions with the same success." This double testimony shows us, that the ancients had succeeded no less in painting than in sculpture: and their superiority in the latter nobody ever contested. It appears, at least, without carrying any thing to extremes, that the ancients rose as high in the parts of design, chiaro-oscuro, (*light and shade*) expression and composition, as the most excellent moderns can have done; but as to colouring, that they were much inferior to the latter.

I cannot conclude what regards painting and sculpture, without deploring the abuse made of it, even by those who have most excelled in it: I speak equally of the ancients and moderns. All the arts in general, but especially the two we are now upon, so estimable in themselves, so worthy of admiration, which produce such amazing effects, that by the strokes of the chisel animate marble and brass; and by the mixture of colours, represent all the objects of nature to the life: these arts, I say, owe a particular homage to virtue; to the honour and advancement of which, the original author of all arts, that is to say, the Divinity himself, has peculiarly allotted them. This is the use which even the Pagans believed themselves obliged to make of sculpture and painting, by consecrating them to the memory of great men, and the expression of their glorious actions. Fabius, Scipio, and the other illustrious persons of Rome, confessed, that upon seeing the images of their predecessors, they found themselves animated to virtue in an extraordinary manner.³ It was not the wax of which those figures were formed, nor the figures themselves, that produced such strong impressions in their minds; but the sight of the great men, and the great actions of which they renewed and perpetuated the remembrance, and inspired at the same time an ardent desire to imitate them. Polybius⁴ observes, that these images, that is to say, the busts of wax, which were exposed on the days of solemnity in the halls of the Roman magistrates, and were carried with pomp at their funerals, kindled an incredible ardour in the minds of the young men, as if those great men had quitted their tombs, and returned from the dead, to animate them in person to follow their example.

Agrippa, Augustus's son-in-law, in a magnificent harangue, worthy of the first and greatest citizen of Rome, shows, by several reasons, says Pliny,⁵ how useful it would be to the state to expose publicly the finest pieces of antiquity in every kind, in exciting a noble emulation in the youth: which, no doubt, adds he, would be much better than to banish them into the country, to the gardens and other places of pleasure of private men. Accordingly Aristotle says, that

¹ Difficile dictu est, quam causa sit cur ea, quæ maximè sensus nostros impellunt voluptate et specie prima acerrime commovent, ab his celeritè fastidio quodam et satietate abalienantur. Quænto colorum pulchritudine in variatè floridiora sunt in picturis novis peraque quam et veteribus! quæ tamen, etiamsi primo aspectu nos ceperunt, diutius non delectant: cum iidem nos, in antiquis tabulis, illo ipsa horrido obsoletoque teneant. Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 98.

² Dion. Halicarn. Orig. p. 104.

³ Sæpe audiui Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum majorem imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè sibi animum ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram, tantum vim in sese habere: sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. Sallust in præfat. bel. Jugurth.

⁴ Polyb. l. vi. pp. 495, 496.

⁵ Extat ejus (Agrippæ) oratio magnifica, et maximo civium digna, de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis quod fieri satius fuisset, quam in villarum exilia pelli. Plin. l. xxxv. c. 4.

sculptors and painters instruct men to form their manners by a much shorter and more effectual method than that of the philosophers; and that there are paintings as capable of making the most vicious reflect within themselves, as the finest precepts of morality. St. Gregory Nazianzen relates a story of a courtesan, who, in a place where she did not come to make serious reflections, cast her eyes by accident on the picture of Polæmon, a philosopher famous for a change of life, that had something prodigious in it; which occasioned her to reflect seriously, and brought her to a due sense of herself. Cedrenus tells us, that a picture of the last judgment contributed very much to the conversion of a king of the Bulgarians. The sense of seeing is far more lively than that of hearing; and an image which represents an object in a lively manner, strikes us quite otherwise than a discourse.⁶ St. Grigory of Nyssa declares, that he was touched, even to shedding of tears, at the sight of a painting.

This effect of painting is still more instantaneous in regard to bad than good. Virtue is foreign, vice natural to us.⁷ Without the help of guides or examples, (and those we meet with every where) an easy propensity leads us to the latter, or rather hurries us on to it. What then must we expect, when sculpture, with all the delicacy of art, and painting, with all the vivacity of colours, unite to inflame a passion already but too apt to break out, and too ardent of itself? What loose ideas do not those naked parts of young persons suggest to the imagination, which sculptors and painters so commonly take the liberty to exhibit? They may do honour to the art, but never to the artists.⁸ Without speaking of Christianity in this respect, which abhors all licentious sculptures and paintings, the sages of the Pagan world, blind as they were, condemn them almost with equal severity. Aristotle in his books *De re publica*, recommends it to magistrates, as one of the most essential parts of their duty, to be attentive in preventing statues and paintings of this kind from appearing in cities, as they are capable of teaching vice, and corrupting all the youth of a state.⁹ Seneca degrades painting and sculpture, and denies them the name of liberal arts, whenever they tend to promote vice.¹⁰ Pliny the naturalist, all enthusiasm as he is, for the beauty of the antique works, treats as dishonourable and criminal the behaviour of a painter in this point, who was otherwise very famous: *Fuit Arellius Romæ celebris, nisi FLAGITIO INSIGNI corruptisset artem.* Plin. l. xxxv. c. 10. He expresses a just indignation against the sculptors, who carved obscene images upon cups and goblets, that people might not drink, in some measure, without obscenity; as if, says he, drunkenness did not sufficiently induce debauchery, and it were necessary to excite it by new attractions. *Vasa adulteriis calata, quasi per se parum doceat libidinem temulentia—Ita vina ex libidine lauruntur, atque etiam præmio invitatur ebrietas.*¹¹ The very poets themselves declare warmly against this indecency. Propertius¹² wonders, that temples are erected in public to chastity, whilst immodest pictures are tolerated in private houses, which cannot but corrupt the imaginations of young virgins; that under the allurements of objects

⁶ Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures, Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.—Hor.

Things by the ear a dull impression find, To those the faithful eye presents the mind.

Sic intimos penetrat sensus (pictura) ut vlm dicendi nonnumquam superare videatur. Quintil.

⁷ Ad deteriora faciles sumus; quia nec dux potest, nec comes de cæse; et res etiam ipsa scire duc, sine comite præcedit: non prunum est tantum ad vitia, sed præcomites [iter.] Senec. Epist. 97.

⁸ Non hic per nudam pictorum corporum pulchritudinem turpis prostat historia, quæ, sicut ornat artem, sic devenustat artificem. Sidon. Apollin. l. xi. Ep. 2.

⁹ Peccare docentes historias monet. Hor.

¹⁰ Non enim adducit ut in numerum liberalium artium pictores recipiam, non magis quam statuarios aut marmareros, aut cæteros luxuriæ ministros. Senec. Ep. 68.

¹¹ Id. l. xiv. c. 22.

¹² Propert. l. ii. Eleg. 5.

grateful to the eye, convey a mortal poison to the heart, and seem to give public lessons of impurity. He concludes with saying, that those indecent figures were unknown to our ancestors; the walls of their apartments were not painted by obscene hands, to place vice in honour; nor exhibit it as a spectacle for admiration. The passage is too fine not to be inserted here at large.

Templa Pudicitæ quid opus statuisset, puellis,
Sic cuius nuptæ quilibet esse licet?
Quæ manus obscenas depinxit prima tabellas,
Et posuit castâ turpia visa domo:
Illa puellarum ingenuos corrumpit ocellos,
Nequitieque suæ nolit esse rudes,
Ah! gemat in terris, ista qui protulit arto
Jurgia sub tacita condita lætitia,
Non istis olim variabant tecta figuris:
Tum paries nullo crimine pictuserat.

Whence rise these fanes to virgin modesty,
If every wife to every thing is free?
Who first obscenity in colours drew,
In the chaste house who placed it first to view,
Defild the harmless maid's ingenuous eyes,
And would not leave her ignorant of vice.
Wo to the man! whose vicious pencil taught
In graceful tints to urge a guilty thought:
Our fathers' homes ne'er own'd these noxious arts
No crimes were painted on their walls or hearts.

We have seen a city, that had the choice of two statues of Venus, both done by Praxiteles, (that is saying every thing,) the one covered, and the other naked, prefer the former, though much the less esteemed, because more conformable to modesty and chastity. Can any thing be adduced to such an example? What a reproach were it to us, if we were ashamed to follow it!

OF MUSIC.

THE Music of the ancients was a science of far greater extent than is generally imagined. Besides the composition of musical airs, and the execution of those airs with voices and instruments, to which ours is confined, the ancient music included the art of poetry, which taught the rules for making verses of all kinds, as well as to set those susceptible of them to notes; the art of *Sallation*, dancing or gesture, which taught the step and attitude, either of the dance properly so called, or the usual manner of walking and the gesture proper to be used in declaiming, contained also the art of composing and writing notes to the simple declamation; to direct as well the tone of the voice by those notes, as the degree and motions of gesture; an art very much in use with the ancients, but absolutely unknown to us. All these different parts, which have actually a natural relation to each other, composed originally one and the same art, exercised by the same artists: though they divided in process of time, especially poetry, which became an order by itself. I shall briefly treat all these parts, except that which relates to versification, which will have its place elsewhere; and shall begin with music properly so called, and such as it is known amongst us.

ARTICLE I.

OF MUSIC PROPERLY SO CALLED.

Music is an art which teaches the properties of sounds capable of producing melody and harmony.

SECTION I.—ORIGIN AND WONDERFUL EFFECTS OF MUSIC.

SOME authors pretend, that the birds learned men to sing, in suggesting, by their various notes and warbling, how capable the different modulations and tones of the voice are of pleasing the ear: but man had a more excellent master, to whom alone he ought to direct his gratitude. The invention of music, and of the instruments in which a principal part of it consists, is a present from God, as well as the invention of the other arts. It adds to the simple gift of speech, which of itself is so highly valuable, something more lively, more animated, and more proper to give utterance to the sentiments of the soul. When it is penetrated and fired with some object that strongly possesses it, the usual language does not suffice for its transports. It springs forth in a manner out of itself, it abandons itself to the emotions that agitate it, it invigorates and redoubles the tone of the voice, and repeats its words at different pauses; and not contented with all these efforts, calls in instruments to its aid, which seem to give it ease by lending sounds a variety, extent, and continuation,

VOL. II—51

which the human voice could not have. This gave birth to music, made it so affecting and estimable, and shows at the same time, that, properly speaking, its right use is in religion solely, to which alone it belongs, to impart to the soul the lively sentiments which transport and ravish it, which exalt its gratitude and love, which are suited to its admiration and ecstasies, and which make it experience it to be delightful to sing praise, that in this manner it may express its joy and happiness, as David did in all his divine songs, which he employs solely in adoring, praising, giving thanks, and singing the greatness of God, and proclaiming the wonders of his power.

Such was the first use men made of music, simple, natural, and without art or refinement, in those times of innocence, and in the infancy of the world; and without doubt the family of Seth, with whom the true worship was deposited, preserved it in all its purity. But secular persons, more enslaved to sense and passion, and more intent upon softening the pains of this life, upon rendering their exile agreeable, and alleviating their distresses, abandoned themselves more readily to the charms of music, and were more industrious to improve it, to reduce it into an art, to establish their observations upon certain rules, and to support, strengthen, and diversify it by the help of instruments. The scripture accordingly places this kind of music in the family of Cain, which was that of the outcasts, and makes Jubal, one of the descendants of that chief of the unrighteous, the author of it. And we see in effect, that music is generally devoted to the objects of the passions. It serves to adorn, augment, and render them more affecting; to make them penetrate the very soul by additional charms; to render it the captive of the senses; to make it dwell wholly in the ears; to inspire it with a new propensity, to seek its consolation from without; and to impart to it a new aversion for useful reflections and attention to truth. The abuse of music, almost as ancient as its invention, has occasioned Jubal to have more imitators than David. But this ought not to cast any reproach upon music itself. For, as Plutarch observes² upon this subject, few or no persons of reason will impute to the sciences themselves the abuse some people make of them: which is solely to be ascribed to the disposition to vice of those who profane them.

This exercise has in all times been the delight of all nations, of the most barbarous, as well as of those who valued themselves most upon their civility. And it must be confessed, that the author of nature has implanted in man a taste and secret tendency for

¹ Gen. iv. 21.

² Plut. de Music. p.

song and harmony, which serve to nourish his joy in times of prosperity, to dispel his anguish in affliction, and to comfort him in supporting the pains and fatigues of his labours.¹ There is no artificer that has not recourse to this innocent invention; and the slightest air makes him almost forget all his fatigues. The harmonious cadence with which the workmen strike the glowing mass upon the anvil, seems to lessen the weight of their heavy hammers. The very rowers experience a kind of relief in the sort of concert formed by the harmonious and uniform motion of their oars. The ancients successfully employed musical instruments, as is still the custom, to excite martial ardour in the hearts of the soldiery; and Quintilian partly ascribes the reputation of the Roman troops, to the impressions made by the warlike sounds of the files and trumpets upon the legions.²

I have said, that music was in use amongst all nations; but it was the Greeks who placed it in honour, and by the value they set upon it, raised it to a very high degree of perfection. It was a merit with their greatest men to excel in it, and a kind of shame to be obliged to confess their ignorance in it.³ No hero ever made Greece more illustrious than Epaminondas; his dancing gracefully, and touching musical instruments with skill, were reckoned amongst his fine qualities. Some years before his time, the refusal of Themistocles, at a feast, to play an air upon the lyre, was made a reproach, and was a kind of dishonour to him. To be ignorant of music, passed in those times for a great defect of education.

It is in consequence of this that the most celebrated philosophers, who have left us treatises upon policy, as Plato and Aristotle, particularly recommended the teaching of music to young persons. Amongst the Greeks it was an essential part of education. Besides which, it has a necessary connexion with that part of Grammar called *Prosody*, which treats upon the length or shortness of syllables in pronunciation, upon the measure of verses, their rhyme and cadence, (*or pauses*;) and principally upon the manner of accenting words: the ancients were assured that it might conduce very much to form the manners of youth, by introducing a kind of harmony into them which might incline them to whatsoever was laudable and polite; nothing being of greater use, according to Plutarch,⁴ than music to excite persons at all times to virtuous actions, and especially to confront the dangers of war.

Music was far from being much esteemed in the happy times of the (Roman) republic. It passed in those days for a thing of little consequence, as Cornelius Nepos⁵ tells us, where he observes, upon the different taste of nations, in regard to several things. Sallust's reproach⁶ of a Roman lady, that she knew better how to sing and dance, than was consistent with the character of a woman of honour and probity; *saltare et psallere elegantius quam necesse est probæ*; sufficiently shows what the Romans thought of music. As to dancing, they had a strange idea of it; and would say, that to practise it, one should either be drunk or mad; *Nemo saltat fere sobrius, nisi forte*

insanit.⁷ Such was the Roman severity, till their commerce with the Greeks, and still more, their riches and opulence, made them give into excesses, with which the Greeks cannot so much as be reproached.

The ancients attributed wonderful effects to music; either to excite or suppress the passions, or to soften the manners, and humanize nations naturally savage and barbarous. Pythagoras seeing a young stranger, who was heated with the fumes of wine, and at the same time animated by the sound of a flute played on in the Phrygian measure, upon the point of committing violence in a chaste family, restored the young man's tranquillity and reason, by ordering the female minstrel to change the measure, and to play in more solemn and serious numbers, according to the cadence called after the foot *Spondeæ*.⁸ Galen⁹ relates something exactly of the same nature of a musician of Miletus, named Damon. He tells us of some young people, that a female performer upon the flute had made frantic, by playing in the Phrygian measure, and whom she brought to their senses again by the advice of this Damon, in changing the music from the Phrygian to the Doric measure. Dion Chrysostome,¹⁰ and some others, inform us, that the musician Timotheus, playing one day upon the flute before Alexander the Great, in the measure called *Ὀργίος*, which is of the martial kind, that prince immediately ran to his arms. Plutarch¹¹ says almost the same thing of Antigénides the flutist, who at a banquet fired that prince in such a manner, that, rising from the table like one out of his senses, he caught up his arms, and clashing them to the sound of the flute, was almost ready to charge the guests.

Amongst the wonderful effects of music, nothing more affecting perhaps, nor better attested, can be instanced, than what regards the Arcadians. Polybius,¹² a wise, exact historian, well worthy of entire belief, is my authority. I shall only abridge his narrations and reflections.—The study of music, says he, has its utility with all men, but is absolutely necessary to the Arcadians. This people, in establishing their republic, though otherwise very austere in their manner of life, had so high an opinion of music, that they not only taught that art to their children, but obliged young people to apply to it till the age of thirty. It is not shameful amongst them to profess themselves ignorant of other arts: but it is highly dishonourable not to have learnt to sing, and not to be able to give proofs of it on occasion. Now, says Polybius, their first legislators seem to me, in making such institutions, not to have designed to introduce luxury and effeminacy, but only to soften the ferocity of the Arcadians, and to divert, by the practice of music, their gloomy and melancholy disposition, undoubtedly occasioned by the coldness of the air, which the Arcadians breathe almost throughout their whole country. But the Cynethians having neglected this aid, of which they had the most need, as they inhabited the rudest and most savage part of Arcadia, both as to the air and climate, at length became so savage and barbarous, that there was no city in Greece wherein so great and so frequent crimes were committed, as in that of Cynethia. Polybius concludes this account, with observing, that he had insisted the more upon it for two reasons. The first, to prevent any of the Arcadian states, out of the false prejudice that the study of music is only a superfluous amusement amongst them, from neglecting that part of their discipline. The second, to induce the Cynethians to give music the preference to all other sciences, if ever God, (the expression is remarkable) if ever God should inspire them, to apply themselves to arts that humanize a people. For that was the sole means to correct their natural ferocity.

¹ Atque eam (musicam,) natura ipsa videtur ad tolerandos facilius labores velut muneris nobis dedisse. Si quidem et remiges cantus hortatur; nec solum in his operibus in quibus plurimum conatus præeunte aliqua juvenuda voce conspirat, sed etiam singulorum fatigatio quamlibet se rudi modulatione solatur. *Quintil. l. i. c. 10.*

² Duces maximos et fidibus et tibiis cecinisse traditum, et exercitus Lacedæmoniorum musicis accensos modis. Quid autem aliud in nostris Legionibus cornua ac tubæ faciunt? quorum concentus, quanto est vehementior, tanto Romano in bellis gloria ceteris præstat. *Quintil. l. i. c. 10.*

³ Summam eruditionem Græci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus. Igitur Epaminondas princeps, meo iudicio, Græciæ, fidibus præclarè cecinisse, dicitur: Themistoclesque, aliquot ante annis, cum in epulis recusasset lyram, habitus est inductor. Ergo in Græcia musici floruerunt, discabantque et omnes; nec, qui nesciebat, satis excultus doctrinâ putabatur. *Cic. Tusc. l. n. 4.*

⁴ In ejus Epaminondæ virtutibus commemorabatur, saltasse eum commode, scienterque tibiis cantasse. *Corn. Nep. in præfat.*

⁵ Plut. de Music. p. 140.

⁶ In bell. Catilin.

⁷ In præfat.

⁸ Cic. in orat. pro Muren. n. 13.

⁹ Pythagoram accepimus, concitatos ad vinum pudicos domui afflicendam juvenes, jussa mutare in spondæum modos tibicina composuisse. *Quintil. l. i. c. 10.*

¹⁰ De placit. Hippoc. et Plat. l. v. c. 6.

¹¹ Orat. i. de regn. init.

¹² De fortun. Alex. p. 335.

¹³ Polyb. l. iv. pp. 269, 291.

I do not know whether it be possible to find anything in antiquity which equals the praise Polybius here gives music: and every one knows what kind of personage Polybius was. Let us add here what the two great lights of the ancient philosophy, Plato and Aristotle, say of it, who frequently recommend the study of it, and very much extol its advantages. Can a more authentic and favourable testimony be desired? But that the authority of these great men may not impose upon us, I ought here to mention what kind of music they would be understood to mean. Quintilian,¹ who had the same thoughts upon this head, will explain their opinion: it is in a chapter, where he has given music the highest praise. "Though the examples I have cited," says he, "sufficiently show what species of music I approve, I think myself, however, obliged to declare here, that it is not the same, with which the theatres in these days resound, that by its wanton and effeminate airs, has not a little contributed to extinguish and suppress in us whatever remained of our ancient manly virtue." *Aperitum profitendum puto, non hanc a me præcipi, quæ nunc in scenis effeminata, et impudicus modis fructa, non ex parte minima, si quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat, excidit.* "When I recommend music therefore, it is that of which men filled with honour and valour made use, in singing the praises of others like themselves. It is as far from my intent to mean here those dangerous instruments, whose languishing sounds convey softness and impurity into the soul, and which ought to be held in horror by all persons of sense and virtue. I understand that agreeable art of affecting the soul by the powers of harmony, in order either to excite or assuage the passions, according to occasion and reason." It is this sort of music that was in so much esteem with the greatest philosophers and wisest legislators amongst the Greeks, because it civilizes savage minds, softens the roughness and ferocity of dispositions, renders people more capable of discipline, makes society more grateful and joyous, and causts those vices to be regarded with horror, which incline men to inhumanity, cruelty, and violence.

Music is not without its advantages to the body, and conduces to the cure of certain distempers. What is related of the wonderful effects of music upon such as have been bit by the Tarantula, would appear incredible, if not supported by authorities, to which we cannot, without reason, refuse our belief. The Tarantula is a large spider with eight eyes and as many legs.² It is not only to be found about Taranto, or in Puglia, but in several other parts of Italy, and in the island of Corsica. Soon after a man is bit by a Tarantula, the part affected feels a very severe pain, succeeded in a few hours by a numbness. He is next seized with a profound melancholy, can scarce breathe; his pulse grows faint, his sight is interrupted and suspended, till at last he loses all sense and motion, and dies, unless assisted in time. Physicians use several remedies for the cure of this illness, which would be useless, if music did not come in to their aid. When the person bit is without sense and motion, a performer upon musical instruments tries different airs; and when he bits upon that, which in its tones and modulation suits the patient, he begins to stir a little: at first he moves his fingers to the time, then his arms and legs, and by little and little his whole body; at last he gets up and dances, continually increasing his activity and force. Some of these will dance six hours without resting. After this they are put to bed, and when it is supposed that they have sufficiently recovered their first dance, they are brought out of bed by the same tune to begin again. This exercise continues several days, about six or seven at most, till the patient finds himself tired, and incapable to dance any longer, which denotes his being cured. For as long as the poison operates upon him he would dance, if he were suffered, without ceasing, and die by exhausting his spirits. The patient that begins to perceive himself

weary, recovers his understanding and senses by degrees, and comes to himself, as if he waked out of a deep sleep, without remembering what had past during his disorder, not even his dancing. This is a very extraordinary case, but absolutely true; of which I must leave it to physicians to explain the cause.

SECTION II.—INVENTORS AND IMPROVERS OF MUSIC, AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

THE profane historians ascribe the discovery of the first rules of music to their fabulous Mercury, others to Apollo, and some to Jupiter himself. They undoubtedly intended thereby to insinuate, that so useful an invention ought to be attributed only to the gods, and that it was an error to do any man whatsoever the honour of it.

Plutarch's treatise upon music, explained and set in a true light by the learned remarks of Mr. Burdette, will supply me with a great part of what I shall relate of the history of those, who are said to have contributed most to the improvement of this art. I shall content myself with simply pointing out the most ancient, who are almost known only in fabulous history, without confining myself to the order of time.

AMPHION.

AMPHION is held by some to be the inventor of the *Cithara* or lyre;³ for these two instruments were very little different, as I shall show in the sequel, and are often confounded with each other by authors. It is conjectured, that the fable of Thebes being built by the sound of Amphion's lyre, is later than Homer's time, who does not mention it, and would not have failed to have adorned his poems with it, had he known it.

The contemporaries of Amphion were *Linus*, *Antheus*, *Pierius*, and *Phylammon*. The last was father to the famous *Thamyris*, who had the finest voice of his time, and was the rival of the muses themselves, but who having been abandoned to the vengeance of those goddesses, lost his sight, voice, understanding, and even the use of his lyre.

ORPHEUS.

THE reputation of Orpheus flourished from the expedition of the Argonauts, of which number he was; that is to say, before the Trojan war. *Linus* was his master in music, as he was also of *Hercules*. Orpheus' history is known by all the world.

HYAGNIS.

HYAGNIS is said to have been the first player upon the flute. He was the father of *Marsyas*, to whom the invention of the flute is ascribed. The latter ventured to challenge *Apollo*, who only came off victor in this dispute, by joining his voice with the sound of his lyre. The vanquished was flayed alive.

OLYMPIUS.

THERE were two of this name, both famous players upon the flute. The most ancient, who was by birth a Mysian, lived before the Trojan war. He was the disciple of *Marsyas*, and excelled in the art of playing upon string-instruments. The second *Olympius* was a *Prygian* and flourished in the time of *Midas*.

DEMODOCUS. PHEMIUS.

HOMER praises these two musicians in several parts of the *Odyssey*. *Demodocus* had composed two poems: the one upon the taking of *Troy*, the other upon the nuptials of *Venus* and *Vulcan*. *Homer* makes them both sing in the palace of *Alecinous* king of the *Pheacians*, in the presence of *Ulysses*. He speaks of *PheMIUS* as of a singer, inspired by the gods themselves. It is he, who by the singing of his

³ I shall call this instrument so, as often as I shall have occasion to speak of it; because our *Guitar* or *Lute*, which derives its name from it, is a quite different kind of instrument.

¹ Quintil. l. i. c. 10.

² Memoirs of the Acad. of Sciences. An. 1702

poetry set to music, and accompanied with the sounds of his lyre, enlivens the banquets, in which the suitors of Penelope pass whole days. The author of the life of Homer, ascribed to Herodotus, affirms, that Phemius settled at Smyrna; that he taught youth grammar and music, and married Critheis there, whose illegitimate son Homer was. He tells us, Homer was born before this marriage, and was educated with great care by his father-in-law, after he had adopted him.

TERPANDER.

AUTHORS do not agree with each other concerning Terpander's country, nor the time in which he lived. Eusebius places it in the 33d Olympiad. This epocha ought to be of later date, if it be true, that this poet and musician was the first who obtained the prize in the Carnian games, which were not instituted at Lacedæmon till the 36th Olympiad. Besides this victory, which did great honour to Terpander's ability in musical poetry, he signalized himself by this art upon several other very important occasions. Much is said of the sedition which he had the address to appease at Lacedæmon by his melodious songs, accompanied with the sounds of his cithara. He also carried the prize four times successively at the Pythian games.

It appears that the elder Olympius and Terpander, having found the lyre in their youth only with four strings, they used it as it was, and distinguished themselves by their admirable execution upon it. In process of time, to improve that instrument, they both made additions to it, especially Terpander, who made its strings amount to seven. This alteration very much displeased the Lacedæmonians, amongst whom it was expressly forbid to change or innovate any thing in the ancient music. Plutarch tells us, that Terpander had a fine laid on him by the Ephori, for having added a single string to the usual number of the lyre; and had his own hung up by a nail for an example. From whence it appears, that the lyre of those times was already strung with six chords.

From what Plutarch says, it appears that Terpander at first composed lyric poems in a certain measure, proper to be sung, and accompanied with the cithara. He afterwards set these poems to such music as might best suit the cithara, which at that time repeated exactly the same sounds as were sung by the musician. In fine, Terpander put the notes of this music over the verses of the songs composed by him, and sometimes did the same upon Homer's poems; after which, he was able to perform them himself, or cause others to do so, in the public games.

Prizes of poetry and music, which were seldom or ever separate, were proposed in the four great games of Greece, especially in the Pythian, of which they made the greatest and most considerable part. The same thing was also practised in several other cities of the same country, where the like games were celebrated with great solemnity, and a vast concourse of spectators.

PHRYNIS.

PHRYNIS was of Mitylene, the capital of the island of Lesbos. He was the scholar of Aristoclitus for the harp, and could not fall into better hands; that master being one of Terpander's descendants. He is said to have been the first who obtained the prize of this instrument in the games of the Panathenæa, celebrated at Athens the fourth year of the 80th Olympiad. He had not the same success when he disputed that prize with the musician Timotheus.

Phrynis may be considered as the author of the first alterations made in the ancient music, with regard to the cithara. These changes consisted, in the first place, in the addition of two new strings to the seven, which composed that instrument before him; in the second place, in the compass and modulation, which had no longer the noble and manly simplicity of the ancient music. Aristophanes reproaches him with it in his comedy of the *Clouds*, wherein Justice speaks in these terms of the ancient education of

youth. They went together to the house of the player upon the Cithara — where they learnt the hymn of the dreadful Pallas, or some other song, which they sung according to the harmony delivered down to them from their ancestors. If any of them ventured to sing in a buffoon manner, or to introduce inflections of voice, like those which prevail in these days in the airs of Phrynis, he was punished severely.

Phrynis having presented himself in some public games at Lacedæmon, with his cithara of nine strings, Eprepes, one of the Ephori, would have two of them cut away, and suffered him only to choose whether they should be the two highest or the two lowest. Timotheus, some short time after, being present upon the same occasion at the Carnian games, the Ephori acted in the same manner with regard to him.

TIMOTHEUS.

TIMOTHEUS, one of the most celebrated musician poets, was born at Miletus, an Ionian city of Caria, in the third year of the 93d Olympiad. He flourished at the same time with Euripides and Philip of Macedon, and excelled in lyric and dithyrambic poetry. He applied himself particularly to music and playing on the cithara. His first endeavours were not successful, and he was hissed by the whole people. So bad a reception might have discouraged him forever; and he actually intended to have entirely renounced an art, for which he did not seem intended by nature. Euripides undeceived him in that mistake, and gave him new courage, by making him hope extraordinary success for the future. Plutarch, in relating this fact, to which he adds the examples of Cimón, Themistocles, and Demosthenes, who were reassured by counsels of a like nature, observes with reason, that it is doing the public great service, to encourage young persons in this manner, who have a fund of genius and fine talents; and to prevent their being disgusted in effect of some faults they may commit in an age subject to error, or of some bad successes, which they may at first experience in the exercise of their profession. Euripides was not deceived in his views and expectation. Timotheus became the most excellent performer upon the cithara of his times. He greatly improved this instrument, according to Pausanias, by adding four strings to it, or as Suidas tells us, only two, the tenth and eleventh to the ninth, of which the cithara was composed before him. Authors differ extremely upon this point, and often even contradict themselves upon it.

This innovation in music had not the general approbation. The Lacedæmonians condemned it by a public decree, which Boetius has preserved. It is wrote in the dialect of the country, in which the prevalent consonant *ξ* renders the pronunciation very rough; *ἐπεὶ δὲ Τιμόθεος Μιλήσιον παρυγινόμηνος ἐς τὴν Ἀπείραντον πόλιν*, &c. and contain in substance: that Timotheus of Miletus having come to their city, had expressed little regard for the ancient music and lyre; that he had multiplied the sounds of the former, and the strings of the latter; that to the ancient, simple, and uniform manner of singing, he had substituted one more complex, wherein he had introduced the chromatic kind: that in his poem upon the delivery of Semele, he had not observed a suitable decency: that to obviate the effects of such innovations, which could not but be attended with consequences pernicious to good manners, the kings and the Ephori had publicly reprimanded Timotheus, and had decreed, that his lyre should be reduced to seven strings as of old, and that all those of a modern invention should be retrenched, &c. This fact is related by Athenæus, with this circumstance, that when the executioner was upon the point of cutting away the new strings conformable to the decree, Timotheus, having perceived in the same place a small statue of Apollo, with as many strings upon the lyre as there were upon his, he showed it to the judges, and was dismissed acquitted.

His reputation drew after him a great number of disciples. It is said, that he took twice the sum of those who came to learn to play upon the flute. (or

the cithara) if they had been taught before by another master. His reason was, that when an excellent musician succeeded such as were indifferent, he had double the pains with the scholar: that of making him forget what he had learnt before, the far greater difficulty; and to instruct him anew.

ARCHILOCUS.

ARCHILOCUS rendered himself equally famous for poetry and music. I shall speak of him in the sequel under the title of a poet. In this place I consider him only as a musician; and of all that Plutarch says of him upon that head, I shall only repeat the passage, wherein he ascribes to him the musical execution of Iambic verses, of which some are only spoke whilst the instruments play, and others are sung. This passage, says Mr. Burette, shows us, that in Iambic poetry there were verses merely *declamatory*, which were only repeated or spoke; and that there were others which were sung. But what this same passage perhaps includes, that is not so well known, is, that these *declamatory* Iambics were accompanied with the sound of the cithara, and other instruments of the string kind. It remains to be known in what manner this accompanying of verses spoke was performed. According to all appearance, the player upon the cithara did not only give the poet or actor the general tone of his utterance, and support him in it by the monotony of his playing; but, as the tone of the speaker or declaimer varied according to the different accents, which modified the pronunciation of each word, in order to make this kind of declamation the more distinct, it was necessary that the instrument of music should make all these modifications more sensible, and exactly mark the number or cadence of the poetry, which served it as a guide, and which, in effect of being so accompanied, though not sung, became the more expressive and affecting. In regard to the poetry *sung*, the instrument that accompanied it, conformed its notes servilely to it, and expressed no other sounds, but those of the poet-musician's voice.

ARISTOXENUS

ARISTOXENUS was born at Tarentum, a city of Italy. He was the son of the musician Mnesias. He applied himself equally to music and philosophy. He was first the disciple of his father, then of Xenophilus the Pythagorean, and lastly of Aristotle, under whom he had Theophrastus for the companion of his studies. Aristoxenus lived therefore in the time of Alexander the Great, and his first successors. Of four hundred and fifty-two volumes, which Suidas tells us he composed, only his three books of the *Elements of Harmony* now remain, which is the most ancient treatise of music come down to us.

He warmly attacked Pythagoras's system of music. That philosopher, with the view of establishing an unalterable certitude and constancy in the arts and sciences in general, and in music in particular, endeavoured to withdraw its precepts from the fallacious evidence and report of the senses, to subject them solely to the determination of reason. Conformably to this design, he was for having the harmonic powers, or musical consonance, instead of being subjected to the judgment of the ear, which he looked upon as an arbitrary measure of little certainty, to be regulated solely by the proportions of numbers that are always the same. Aristoxenus maintains, that to mathematical rules and the ratio of proportions, it was necessary to add the judgment of the ear, to which it principally belonged to determine in what concerned music. He attacked the system of Pythagoras in many other points.

Sotericus, one of the speakers, introduced by Plutarch in his treatise upon music, is convinced, that sensation and reason ought to concur in the judgment passed upon the different parts of music; so that the former do not prejudice the latter by too much vivacity, nor he wanting to it upon occasion, through too much weakness. Now the sense in the present question, that is the hearing, necessarily receives three impressions at once: that of the *sound*, that of the

time or measure, and that of the *letter*; the progression of which conveys the *modulation*, the *rhyme*,¹ and the *words*. And as there can be no adequate perception of these three things separately, and each cannot be followed alone, it seems that only the soul or reason had a right to judge of what this progression or continuity of *sound*, *rhyme*, and *words*, may have of good or bad.

SECTION III.—THE ANCIENT MUSIC WAS SIMPLE, GRAVE, AND MANLY. WHEN AND HOW CORRUPTED.

As amongst the ancients, music, by its origin and natural destination, was consecrated to the service of the gods, and the regulation of the manners, they gave the preference to that which was most distinguished by its gravity and simplicity. Each of these prevailed long, both in regard to vocal and instrumental music. Olympius, Terpander, and their disciples, at first used few strings on the lyre, and little variety in singing. Notwithstanding which, says Plutarch, all simple as the airs of those two musicians were, which were confined to three or four strings, they were the admiration of all good judges.

The cithara, very simple at first under Terpander, retained this advantage some time. It was not permitted to compose airs for this instrument, nor to change the manner of playing upon it, either as to the harmony or the cadence; and great care was taken to preserve in the ancient airs their peculiar tone or character; hence they were called *Nômes*, as being intended for laws and models.

The introduction of rhymes in the dithyrambic way; the multiplication of the sounds of the flute, by Lasus, as well as of the strings of the lyre by Timotheus; and some other novelties introduced by Phrynis, Menalippides, and Philoxenus, occasioned a great revolution in the ancient music. The comic poets, especially Pherecrates and Aristophanes, very often complained of it in the strongest terms. We see, in their pieces, Music represented accusing with great warmth and severity those musicians of having entirely depraved and corrupted the art.

Plutarch, in several places of his works, complains also, that to the manly, noble, and divine music of the ancients, in which every thing was sublime and majestic, the moderns had substituted that of the theatre, which inspires nothing but vice and licentiousness. Sometimes² he alleges Plato's authority to prove, that music, the mother of harmony, decency and delight, was not given to man by the gods only to please and tickle the ear, but to reinstate order and harmony in the soul, too often discomposed by error and pleasure. Sometimes³ he admonishes us, that we cannot be too much upon our guard against the dangerous charms of a depraved and licentious music, and points out the means of avoiding such a corruption. He declares here,⁴ that wanton music, dissolute and debauched songs, corrupt the manners; and that the musicians and poets ought to borrow from wise and virtuous persons the subjects of their compositions. In another place,⁵ he cites the authority of Pindar, who asserts that God made Cadmus hear a sublime and regular music, very different from those soft, light, effeminate strains, which had taken possession of human ears. And lastly, he explains himself more expressly upon it, in the ninth book of his *Symposiacs*. "The depraved music, which prevails in these days," says he, "in injuring all the arts dependent upon it, has hurt none so much as dancing. For this being associated with I know not what trivial and vulgar poetry, after having divorced itself from that of the ancients, which was entirely divine, has usurped our theatres, where it triumphs amidst a ridiculous admiration: and exercising a kind of tyranny, has subjected to itself a species of music of little or no value: but at the same time, it has actually lost the esteem of all those, who, for their

¹ Rhyme, *ῥυθμός*. The time or measure. It may also signify a bar in music.

² De Superstit. p. 167.

³ Symp. l. p. 704.

⁴ De Audit. Pœt. p. 29.

⁵ De Frth. Orac. p. 397.

genius and wisdom, are considered as divine persons." I leave it to the reader to apply to our times, what Plutarch says of his, in regard to music and the theatre.

It is no wonder that Plutarch complains thus of the depravation, which had universally infected the music of his times, and made it of so little value. Plato, Aristotle, and their disciples, had made the same complaint before him; and that in an age so favourable as theirs to the improvement of polite arts, and so productive of great men in every kind. How could it happen, that at a time, when eloquence, poetry, painting, and sculpture, were cultivated with such success, music, for which they had no less attention, declined so much? Its great union with poetry was the principal cause of this, and these two sisters may be said to have had almost the same destiny. At first, each confined to the exact imitation of what was most beautiful in nature, had no other view than to instruct, whilst they delighted, and to excite emotions in the soul of equal utility, in the worship of the gods, and the good of society. For this end they employed the most suitable expressions, turns of thought, numbers and cadences. Music particularly, always simple, decent, and sublime, continued within the bounds prescribed her by the great masters, especially the philosophers and legislators, who were most of them poets and musicians. But the theatrical shows, and the worship of certain divinities, of Bacchus amongst the rest, in process of time, very much set aside these wise regulations. They gave birth to dithyrambic poetry, the most licentious of all in its expressions, measure, and sentiments. It required a music of the same kind, and in consequence very remote from the noble simplicity of the ancient. The multiplicity of strings, and all that vicious redundancy of sound and levity of ornament, were introduced to an excess, and gave room for the just complaints of all such as excelled, and had the best taste, in this way.

SECTION IV.—DIFFERENT KINDS AND MEASURES OF THE ANCIENT MUSIC. MANNER OF WRITING THE NOTES TO SONGS.

To speak of the ancient music in general, and to give a slight idea of it, it is proper to observe, that there are three kinds of symphonies; the vocal, the instrumental, and that composed of both. The ancients knew these three kinds of symphonies or concerts.

We must further remark, that music had at first only three measures, which were a tone higher than one another. The gravest of the three was called the *Doric*; the highest the *Lydian*; and the middle the *Phrygian*: so that the *Doric* and *Lydian* included between them the space of two tones, or of a tercet or third major. By dividing this space into demi-tones, room was made for two other measures, the *Ionic* and *Eolian*; the first of which was inserted between the *Doric* and *Phrygian*; the second between the *Phrygian* and *Lydian*. Other measures were superadded, which took their denominations from the five first, prefixing the preposition $\epsilon\pi\iota$ above, for those above; and the preposition $\chi\alpha\tau\alpha$ below, for those below. The *Hyperdoric*, the *Hypodoric*, &c. The *Hypodoric*, the *Hypoionic*, &c.

In some books of modern singing in churches, and at the end of some breviaries, to these different measures are referred the different tones now used in chanting divine service. The first and second tone, belong to the *Doric* measure; the third and fourth to the *Phrygian*; and the rest to the *Lydian* and *Mixolydian*. The manner of chanting in the church is in the *Diatonic* kind, which is the deepest, and agrees best with divine worship.

I return to the first division. The vocal symphony necessarily supposes several voices, because one person cannot sing several parts at the same time. When several persons sing in concert together, it is either in unison, which is called *Homophony*; or in the octave, and even the double octave; and this is termed *Antiphony*. It is believed that the ancients used also a third manner, which consisted in

singing to a tercet or third. The instrumental symphony, amongst the ancients, had the same differences as the vocal, that is to say, several instruments might play together in the unison, the octave, and the third.

To have two strings of an instrument, of the same substance equally thick, and equally strained, denotes that these accord with each other; all that is necessary is to regulate their lengths by certain proportions of number. For instance, if the two strings be equal in length, they are unisons; if as 1 to 2 they are octaves; if as 2 to 3 they are fifths; as 3 to 4 they are fourths; as four to five they are third majors, &c.

The ancients, as well as we, had some instruments, upon which a single performer could execute a kind of concert. Such were the double flute and the lyre. The first of these instruments was composed of two flutes, joined in such a manner, that the two pipes had usually but one mouth in common to both. These flutes were either equal or unequal in length or in the diameter of the bore. The equal flutes had the same, the unequal different, sounds, of which one was deep, the other high. The symphony, which the two equal flutes made, was in the unison, when the two hands of the performer stopt the same holes of each flute, at the same time; or thirds, when he stopped different holes of both flutes. The diversity of sounds, resulting from the unequal flutes, could be only of two kinds, according to the flutes being either octaves or thirds: and in both cases the performer stopped the same holes of each flute at the same time, and in consequence formed a concert either in the octave or third.

By the lyre is meant here every musical instrument in general with strings strained over a cavity for sound. The ancients had several instruments of this kind, which differed only in their form, their size, or the number of their strings; and to which they gave different names, though they often used one for the other. The chief of them were, 1. the *Cithara*, $\kappa\iota\tau\alpha\rho\alpha$, from which the word Guitars is derived, though applied to a quite different instrument. 2. The *Lyre*, $\lambda\upsilon\rho\alpha$, otherwise called $\chi\iota\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$, and in Latin *Testudo*, because the bottom resembled the scale of a tortoise, the figure of which animal (as is said) gave the first idea of this instrument. 3. The *Telyuvon*, or triangular instrument, the only one that has come down to us under the name of the harp.

The lyre, as I have said before, varied very much in the number of its strings. That of Olympius and Terpander had at first but three, which those musicians knew how to diversify with so much art, that if we may believe Plutarch, they very much exceeded those who played upon lyres of a greater number. By adding a fourth string to the other three, they made the *Tetrachord* complete; and it was the different manner in which harmony was produced by these four strings, that constituted the three kinds of it, called the *Diatonic*, *Chromatic*, and *Enharmonic*. The *Diatonic* kind appertains to the common and ordinary music. In the *Chromatic*, the music was softened by lowering the sounds half a tone, which was directed by a coloured mark, from whence the *Chromatic* took its name $\chi\epsilon\kappa\mu\alpha$, signifying colour. What is now called B flat, belongs to the *Chromatic* music. In the *Enharmonic* music, on the contrary, the sounds were raised a demi-tone, which was marked as at present, by a diesis. In the *Diatonic* music, the air or tune could not make its progressions by less intervals than the semi-tones major. The modulation of the *Chromatic* music made use of the semi-tones minor. In the *Enharmonic* music, the progression of the air might be made by quarter-tones. Macrobius,³ speaking of these three kinds, says, the *Enharmonic* is no longer in use upon account of its difficulty: that the *Chromatic* is no longer esteemed, because that sort of music is too soft and effeminate:

¹ Plut. de mus. p. 1137.

² A passage in Horace, differently explained by M. Dacier and father Sanadon, has given room for learned dissertations upon the instrument called the *Tetrachord*.

³ Lib. ii. in Somn. Scipion. c. 4.

and that the Diatonic holds the mean between them both. The addition of a fifth string produced the *Pentachord*. The lyre with seven strings, or the *Heptachord*, was more used, and in greater esteem than all others. However, though it included the seven notes of music, the octave was still wanting. Simonides at length added it, according to Pliny,¹ with an eighth string. Long after him, Timotheus the Milesian, who lived in the reign of Philip king of Macedon, about the 108 Olympiad, multiplied, as we have observed, the strings of the lyre to the number of eleven.² This number was still increased.

The lyre, with three or four strings, was not susceptible of any symphony. Upon the *Pentachord*, two parts might be played by thirds to each other. The more the number of strings increased upon the lyre, the easier it was to compose airs with different parts upon that instrument. The question is to know whether the ancients improved that advantage. This question, which has been a matter of inquiry for about two ages in regard to the ancient music, and consists in knowing whether the Greeks and Romans were acquainted with that kind of it called *Counterpoint*, or concert in different parts, has occasioned different writings on both sides. The plan of my work dispenses with my entering into an examination of this difficulty, which I confess besides exceeds my capacity.

It is not unnecessary to know in what manner the ancients noted their airs.³ With them the general system of music was divided into eighteen sounds, of which each had its particular name. They invented characters to signify each tone: *σηματα, signs*. All these figures were composed of a monogram, formed from the first letter of the particular name of each of the eighteen sounds of the general system. These signs, which served both for vocal and instrumental music, were wrote above the words upon two lines, of which the upper was for the voice, and the lower for the instruments. These lines were not larger than lines of common writing. We have some Greek manuscripts, in which these two species of notes are wrote in the manner I have related. From them the hymns to Calliope, Nemesis, and Apollo,⁴ as well as the strophe of one of Pindar's odes, were taken. Mr. Burette has given us all these fragments, with the ancient and modern notes, in the fifth volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*.

The characters invented by the ancients for writing musical airs, were used till the eleventh century, when Gay d'Arezzo invented the modern manner of writing them with notes placed on different lines, so as to mark the sound by the position of the note. These notes were at first no more than points, in which there was nothing to express the time or duration. But John de Meurs, born at Paris, and who lived in the reign of king John, found out the means of giving these points an unequal value, by the different figures of crotchets, minims, semibreves, quavers, semiquavers, &c. which he invented, and have since been adopted by all the musicians of Europe.

SECTION V.—WHETHER THE MODERN SHOULD BE PREFERRED TO THE ANCIENT MUSIC.

THE famous dispute on this subject, between many learned men, has been very hotly contested; because it has been held that, if the ancient music was destitute of the *Counterpoint*, or concert in different parts, that defect gives an indisputable right of preference to the modern. Admitting the superiority of the moderns in this particular to be real, which may with great reason always remain doubtful, I am not sure that the consequence is so certain. Might not the ancients, in all other respects, have carried music to a degree of perfection the moderns have not attained, as well as all the other arts? (I do not say

it is so, I speak only of its possibility;) and if so, ought the discovery of the *Counterpoint* to give the latter an absolute preference to the former? The most excellent painters of antiquity, as Apelles, used only four colours in their pieces. This has so far from being a reason with Pliny for diminishing any thing of their merit and reputation, that he admired them the more for it, and that they had excelled all succeeding painters so much, though the latter had employed a great variety of new tints. But to trace this question to the bottom; let us examine, whether the music of later times does actually and indisputably excel that of the ancients; and we shall soon find that this is a question which it is impossible for us to decide. It is not with music as with sculpture. In the latter, the cause may be tried by the evidence of the performances to be produced on both sides. We have statues and reliefs of the ancients, which we can compare with our own; and we have seen Michael Angelo pass sentence in this point, and actually acknowledge the superiority of the ancients. None of their music has come down to us, to make us sensible of its value, and to enable us to judge by our own experience, whether it be as excellent as our own. The wonderful effects, it is said to have produced, do not seem proofs sufficiently decisive. There are still extant treatises on Didactics, as well Greek as Latin, which may lead us to their theory of this art: but can we conclude any thing very certain from these in regard to their practice of it? Theory may give us some light, some opening; but precepts are exceedingly remote from execution. Would treatises upon poetry alone suffice to inform us, whether the modern ought to be preferred to the ancient poets?

In the uncertainty there will always be with regard to the matter in question, there is a prejudice very much in favour of the ancients, which ought, in my opinion, to make us suspend our judgment. It is allowed that the Greeks had wonderful talents for all arts; that they cultivated them with extraordinary success, and carried most of them to a surprising degree of perfection. In architecture, sculpture, and painting; nobody disputes their supreme excellency. Now of all these arts, none were so anciently or generally cultivated as music. This was not practised only by a few private persons, who made it their profession, as in the other arts; but by all in general who had any care taken of their education, of which the study of music was an essential part. It was of general use in solemn festivals, sacrifices, and especially at meals, that were almost always attended with concerts, in which their principal joy and refinement consisted. There were public disputes and prizes for such as distinguished themselves most by it. It had a very peculiar share in choruses and tragedies. The magnificence and perfection, to which Athens rose in every thing else that related to the public shows, is known: can we imagine that city to have neglected only music? Can we believe, that those Attic ears, so refined and exquisite in respect to the sound of words in common discourse, were less so in regard to the concerts of vocal and instrumental music, so much used in their choruses, and in which the most sensible and usual pleasure of Athens consisted? For my part, I cannot help being of opinion, that the Greeks, inclined as they were to diversions, and educated from their earliest youth in a taste for concerts, with all the aids I have mentioned, with that inventive and industrious genius they were known to have for all the arts, must have excelled in music as well as in all other arts. This is the sole conclusion I make from all the reasons I have advanced, without pretending to determine the preference in favour of either the ancients or moderns.

I have not spoken of the perfection to which the Hebrew singers might have attained, in what regards vocal and instrumental music, in order to avoid mingling a species entirely sacred and devoted to religion, with one wholly profane and abandoned to

¹ Plin. vii. c. 56.

² Plut. de. Mus. p. 1141.

³ Main. Capel. de nupt. Philol.

⁴ The hymns were wrote by a poet named Diocysius, little known in other respects.

⁵ Atticorum aures teretes et religiosæ. Cic.

idolatry, and all the excesses consequential of it. We may presume that these singers, to whom the holy scripture seems to ascribe a kind of inspiration and the gift of prophecy,¹ not to compose prophetic psalms, but to sing them in an ardent and lively manner, full of zeal and rapture, had carried the science of singing to as great a perfection as was possible. It was, no doubt, a grand, noble, and sublime kind of music, wherein every thing was proportioned to the majesty of its object, the Godhead, who, we may add, was its author: for he had vouchsafed to form his ministers and singers himself, and to instruct them in the manner it pleased him to have his praises celebrated.

Nothing is so admirable as the order itself which God had instituted amongst the Levites for the exercise of this august function. They were four thousand in number, divided into different bodies, of which each had its chief, and the kind, as well as times, stated for the discharge of their respective duties. Two hundred fourscore and eight,² were appointed to teach the rest to sing and play upon instruments. We see an example of this wonderful order in David's distribution of the parts of the sacred music, when he solemnized the carrying of the ark from the house of Obed-Edom into the citadel of Zion. The whole troop of musicians were divided into three choruses. The first had hollow instruments of brass, that resounded exceedingly, unlike our kettle-drum, only in not being covered with skins, and having their hollow part laid over with double bars, which they struck on different parts of them. These sounds suited very well the sacerdotal trumpets, that preceded them, and were very proper by their lively, strong and broken iterations, to awake the attention of the spectators. The second troop of sacred singers played in the treble, or higher key, on a different instrument. The third chorus consisted of basses, that served to exalt and sustain these trebles, with which they always played in concert, (*perhaps in unisons*) because directed by the same master of the singers. It is easy to conceive, that the Levites, so numerous as they were, destined from father to son to this noble exercise, taught by the most skilful masters, and formed by long and continual habit, must have attained great excellency, and at length become consummate in all the beauties and delicacies of an art, in which they passed their whole lives. This was the true intent of music. The most noble use that men can make of it, is to employ it in rendering the continual homage of praise and adoration to the supreme majesty of God, who has created, and governs the universe, and reserves so sacred an office for his faithful children. *Hymnus omnibus sanctis ejus.*

ARTICLE II.

OF THE PARTS OF MUSIC PECULIAR TO THE ANCIENTS.

I SHALL treat in this second article the other parts of music in use amongst the ancients, but unknown amongst us, and shall confound them often together, because they have a natural connexion, and it would be difficult to separate them without falling into tedious repetitions. I shall make great use of what is said upon these heads in the critical reflections of the Abbé du Bos, upon poetry and painting.

SECTION I.—SPEECH UPON THE STAGE, OR MANNER OF THEATRICAL DECLAMATION COMPOSED AND SET TO NOTES.

THE ancients composed and wrote with notes the mode of declamation or manner of speaking upon the stage, which however was not singing to music:

¹ And Chenaniah, chief of the Levites, was for song (or PROPHECY;) he instructed about the song, because he was skilful. 1 Chron. xv. 22.

David and the captains of the host separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should PROPHECY with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals. 1 Chron. xxv. 1.

² — With their brethren that were instructed in the songs of the Lord even all that were cunning, two hundred fourscore and eight. 1 Chron. xxv. 7.

and it is in this sense we should often understand in the Latin poets the words *canere, cantus*, and even *carmen*, which do not always signify singing properly so called, but a certain manner of speaking or reading. According to Bryennius, this declaiming or speaking was composed with accents, and in consequence it was necessary, in writing it, to make use of the characters, which expressed those accents. At first they were only three, the acute, the grave, and the circumflex. They afterwards amounted to ten, each marked with a different character. We find their names and figures in the ancient Grammarians. The accent is the certain rule, by which the voice should be raised or depressed in the pronunciation of every syllable. As the manner of sounding these accents was learnt at the same time with reading, there was scarce any body, who did not understand this kind of notes.

Besides the help of accents, the syllables in the Greek and Latin languages had a determinate quantity, that is to say, they were either long or short. The short syllable had only one, and the long, two seconds of time.³ This proportion between long and short syllables was absolute, as that in these days between notes of different length. As two black notes in our music ought to have as much time, as one white one in the music of the ancients, two short syllables had neither more nor less than one long one. Hence, when the Greek or Roman musicians were to compose any thing whatsoever, they had no more to do, in setting the time to it, than to conform to the quantity of the syllables upon which they placed each note. I cannot avoid observing here by the way, that it is a pity, the musicians amongst us, who compose hymns and motets, do not understand Latin, and are ignorant of the quantity of words; from whence it often happens, that upon short syllables, over which they ought to run lightly, they insist and dwell a great while, as if they were long ones. This is a considerable fault, and contrary to the most common rules of music.

I have observed, that the modulation of the voice and measure of time in speaking, of the actors upon the stage, was composed and wrote in notes, which determined the tone it was proper to take. Amongst many passages, that demonstrate this, I shall content myself with choosing one from Cicero, where he speaks of Roscius, his cotemporary, and intimate friend. Every body knows, that Roscius became a person of very great consideration, by his singular excellency in his art, and his reputation for probity. The people were so much prejudiced in his favour, that when he did not act so well as usual, they said it was either out of negligence or indisposition. *Nahat, inquit, agere Roscius, aut crudior fuit.*⁴ In fine, the highest degree of praise that they gave to a man, who excelled in his profession, was to say, he was a Roscius in his way.⁵

Cicero, after having said, that an orator, when he grows old, might soften his manner of speaking; quotes, as a proof and example of it, what Roscius declared; that when he perceived himself grow old he obliged the instruments to play in a slower time. *Quamquam, quoniam multa ad oratoris similitudinem ab uno Aulio sumimus, solet idem Roscius dicere, se, quo plus sibi ætatis accederet, eo tibicinis cantus & modos remissiores esse facturum.*⁶ C⁷ accordingly, in a later work than that I have now cited, makes Atticus say, that actor had abate his declamation, or manner of speaking, by oblige the player on the flute, that accompanied him, to keep a slower time with the sounds of his instrument. *Roscius familiaris tuus, in senectute numeros cantus remiserat, ipsasque tardiores fecerat tibi.*⁷ It is evident, that the singing (for it was so called so) of the dramatic pieces on the stages one an-

³ Longum esse duorum temporum, brevem unius, etiam pueri sciunt. *Quintil.* l. ix. c. 3.

⁴ Cic. de Orat. l. i. n. 124.

⁵ Jam diu consecutus est ut in quo quisque tificio excelleret, in suo genere Roscius diceretur. *Orat.* l. i. n. 130.

⁶ De Orat. l. i. n. 254.

⁷ Cic. de Le. l. n. 11.

cients, had neither divisions, recitative, continued quaverings, nor any of the characters of our musical singing; in a word, that this singing was only declaiming, or speaking as with us. This manner of utterance was, however, composed, as it was sustained, by a continued base, of which the sound was proportioned, in all appearance, to that made by a man, who declaims or pronounces a speech. This may seem to us an absurd and almost incredible practice, but is not therefore the less certain; and in matter of fact, it is useless to object any arguments. We can only speak by conjecture upon the composition which the continued base might play, that accompanied the actor's pronunciation. Perhaps it only played from time to time some long notes, which were heard at the passages, in which it was necessary for the actor to assume such tones, as it was not easy to hit with justness, and thereby did the speaker the same service, as Gracchus received from the player upon the flute, he always had near him, when he harangued, to give him at proper times the tones concerted between them.

SECTION II.—GESTURE OF THE STAGE COMPOSED AND SET TO MUSIC.

MUSIC did not only regulate the tone of voice in speaking, but also the gesture of the speaker. This art was called *ῥητορικὴ* by the Greeks, and *Sallatio* by the Romans. Plato¹ tells us, that this art consisted in the imitation of all the gestures and motions men can make. Hence we must not confine the sense of *Sallatio*, to what our language means by the word *dancing*. This art, as the same author observes, was of great extent. It was designed not only to form the attitudes and motions, which add grace to action, or are necessary in certain artificial dances, attended with variety of steps, but to direct the gesture, as well of the actors upon the stage, as the orators; and even to teach that manner of gesticulation we shall soon treat of, which conveyed meaning without the help of speech.

Quintilian advises the sending of children, only for some time, to the schools where this art of *Sallatio* was taught; but solely to acquire an easy and graceful action; and not to form themselves upon the gesture of dancing-masters, to which that of orators should be extremely different.² He observes, that this custom was very ancient, and subsisted to his times without any objection. Macrobius, however, has preserved a fragment of a speech of the younger Scipio Africanus, wherein that destroyer of Carthage speaks warmly against this custom. "Our youth," says he, "go to the schools of the comedians to learn singing,³ an exercise, which our ancestors considered as unworthy of persons of condition. Young persons of both sexes go thither without blushing, where they mingle with a crowd of the most loose and abandoned minstrels."⁴ The authority of so wise a man as Scipio is of great weight on this head, and well deserves serious attention.

Be this as it may, we find, that the ancients took extraordinary pains to cultivate gesture, and both comedians and orators were very careful in this point. We have seen how industriously Demosthenes applied himself to it. Roscius sometimes disputed with Cicero, who best expressed the same thought in several different manners, each in his own art; Roscius by gesture, and Cicero by speech.⁵ Roscius

seems to have repeated that only by gesture, which Cicero first composed and uttered; after which judgment was given upon the success of both. Cicero afterwards changed the words or turn of phrase, without enervating the sense of the discourse; and Roscius, in his turn, was to give the sense by other gestures, without injuring his first mute expression by the change of manner.

SECTION III.—PRONUNCIATION AND GESTURE DIVIDED UPON THE STAGE BETWEEN ACTORS.

WE shall be less surprised at what I have said concerning Roscius, when we know, that the Romans often divided the theatrical representation between two actors, of whom the one pronounced, whilst the other made gestures. This again is one of the things not easily conceived, so remote is it from our practice, and so extravagant therefore does it appear.

Livy tells us the occasion for this custom. Livius Andronicus,⁶ a celebrated poet, who first gave Rome a regular dramatic piece, in the five hundred and fourteenth year of that city, about an hundred and twenty years after shows of that kind had been introduced there, acted himself in one of his own pieces. It was usual at that time for the dramatic poets to mount the stage, and represent some character. The people who took the liberty to cause the passage they liked to be repeated, by calling out *bis*, that is to say, *encore*, made Andronicus repeat so long, that he grew hoarse. Not being capable of pronouncing any longer, he prevailed upon the audience to let a slave, placed behind the performer upon the instruments, repeat the verses, whilst Andronicus made the same gestures, as he had done in repeating them himself. It was observed, that his action was at that time much more animated than before, because his whole faculties and attention were employed in the gesticulation, whilst another had the care and trouble of pronouncing the words. From that time, continues Livy, arose the custom of dividing the parts between two actors, and to pronounce, in a manner corresponding to the comedian's gesture. And this custom has prevailed so much, that the comedians themselves pronounce no longer any thing besides the dialogue part. Valerius Maximus relates the same thing, which passages in many other authors confirm. It is therefore certain, that the pronunciation and gesture were often divided between two actors; and that it was by established rules of music they regulated both the sound of their voices, and the motion of their hands and whole bodies.

We should be struck with the ridicule there would be in two persons upon our stage, of whom one should make gestures without speaking, whilst the other repeated in a pathetic tone without motion. But we should remember, in the first place, that the theatres of the ancients were much more vast than ours; and in the second place, that the actors played in masks, and that in consequence one could not distinguish sensibly at a great distance, whether they spoke or were silent by the moving of the mouth, or the features of the face. They undoubtedly chose a *singer*, (I mean him who pronounced,) whose voice came as near as possible to that of the comedian. This singer was placed in a kind of alcove, towards the bottom of the scene.

But in what manner could the rhythmic music adapt itself to the same measure and cadence with the

¹ Plat. de Leg. l. vii. p. 814.

² Cujus etiam disciplinæ usus in nostram usque ætatem sine reprehensione descendit. A me autem non ultra pueros annos retinebitur, nec in his ipsis diu. Neque enim gestum oratoris componi ad similitudinem saltatoris volo sed subesse aliquid ex hac exercitatione. Quintil. l. i. c. 11.

³ As comedians are spoken of here, by the word *cantare*, we must understand to speak or declaim after the manner of the theatre.

⁴ Eunt in ludum histrionum, discunt cantare quod majores nostri ingeniosi probrum duci vulerunt. Eunt, inquam, in ludum saltatorium inter Cinædos, virgines puerique ingenui. Macrob. Saturnal. l. ii. c. 8.

⁵ Et certe satis constat contendere eum (Ciceronem) cum histrione solitum, utrum ille sæpius eandem sententiam va-

riis gestibus efficeret, an ipse per eloquentiæ copiam sermone diverso pronunciaret. Macrob. Saturnal. l. ii. c. 10.

⁶ Livius—idem scilicet, quod omnes tunc erant suorum carminum actor, dictur, cum sæpius revocatus vocem obtulisset, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem cum statulisset, canticum egisse aliquanta magis vigenti motu quia nihil vocis usus impediabat. Inde ad manum cantari histrionibus captum, diverbiaque tantum ipsorum voce relicta. Liv. l. vii. n. 2.

Is (Livius Andronicus) sui operis actor, cum sæpius a populo revocatus vocem obtulisset, adhibito pueri et tibicinis contu, gesticulationem tacitus peregit. Val. Max. l. ii. c. 4.

comedian that repeated, and him who made gestures? This was one of those things, that St. Augustin says, were known to all who mounted the stage, and for that reason he believed improper for him to explain. It is not easy to conceive what method the ancients used to make both these players act in so perfect a concert, as scarce to be distinguished from one: but the fact is certain. We know that the measure was beat upon the stage, which the actor who spoke, he who made gestures, the chorus, and even the instruments, were to observe as their common rule. Quintilian, after having said, that gesture is as much subservient to measure, as utterance itself, adds, that the actors, who gesticulate, ought to follow the signs given with the foot; that is to say, the time beat, with as much exactitude, as those who execute the modulations; by which he means the actors who pronounce, and the instruments that accompany them.¹ Near the actor who represented, a man was placed with iron shoes, who stamped upon the stage.² It is natural to suppose, that this man's business was to beat the time with his foot, the sound of which would be heard by all whose business it was to observe it.

The extreme delicacy of the Romans, (and as much may be said of the Greeks) in whatever concerned the theatre, and the enormous expenses they were at in representations of this kind, gives us reason to believe, that they carried all parts of them to a very great perfection; and in consequence, that the distribution of single parts between two actors, of which one spoke, and the other made gestures, had nothing in it, that was not highly agreeable to the spectators. A comedian at Rome, who made a gesture out of time, was no less hissed, than one who was faulty in the pronunciation of verse.³ The habit of being present at the public shows, had made even the common people so nice in their ear, that they knew how to object to inflections, and the most minute faults in tone, when repeated too often; even though they were of a nature to please, when introduced sparingly, and managed with art.⁴

The immense sums devoted by the ancients to the celebration of shows are hardly credible. The representation of three of Sophocles' tragedies cost the Athenians more than the Peloponnesian war. What expenses were the Romans at in building theatres and amphitheatres, and even in paying their actors! Æsopus, a celebrated actor of tragedy, Cicero's contemporary, left at his death to the son, mentioned by Horace and Pliny⁵ as a famous spendthrift, an inheritance of two millions, five hundred thousand livres, (about an hundred and twenty thousand pounds) which he had amassed by acting.⁶ Roscius, Cicero's friend, had a salary of above seventy-five thousand livres (about three thousand five hundred pounds) a year, and must have had more, as he had five hundred livres (about twenty-three pounds) a day out of the public treasury, of which he paid no part to his company.⁷ Julius Cæsar gave about sixty thousand livres (about two thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds) to Laberius, to induce that poet to play a part in a piece of his own composing. I have repeated these facts, and there are an infinity of a like nature, to show the exceeding passion of the Romans for public shows. Now is it probable, that a people who spared nothing for these shows,

who made them their principal employment, or at least their most sensible pleasure, who piqued themselves upon the elevation and refinement of their taste in every thing beside; that this people, I say, whose delicacy could not suffer the least word ill pronounced, the least accent ill laid, or the least improper gesture, should admit this distribution of speech and gesture between two actors, so long upon the stage, if it had offended ever so little the eye or ear. We may believe, without prejudice, that a theatre so much esteemed and frequented, had carried all things to a very high degree of perfection.

It was the music, that engrossed almost all honour in dramatic representations. It presided in the composition of plays: for of old its empire extended so far, and was confounded with poesy. It regulated the speech and gesture of the actors. It was applied to form the voice, to unite it with the sound of the instruments, and to compose a grateful harmony out of that union.

In ancient Greece the poets themselves composed the pronunciation for their pieces. *Musici, qui erant quondam idem poetæ*, says Cicero,⁸ in speaking of the ancient Greek poets who invented the music and form of verses. The art of composing declamation, or the pronunciation for dramatic performances, was a particular profession at Rome. In the titles at the head of Terence's comedies, we find, with the name of the author of the poem, and that of the master of the company of comedians who acted it, his name also that had adapted the music to the words; in Latin, *Qui fecerat modos*. Cicero uses the same expression, *facere modos*, to express those who compose the pronunciation of theatrical pieces. After having said, that Roscius purposely repeated some passages of his parts with a more negligent tone than the sense of the verses seemed to require, and threw shadowings into his gesture, to make what he intended to set off the stronger, he adds: "That the success of this conduct is so certain, that the poets, and those who composed the pronunciation, were sensible of it as well as the comedians, and knew all of them how to employ it with advantage."⁹ These composers of pronunciation raised or depressed the tone with design, and artfully varied the manner of speaking. A passage was sometimes directed by the note, to be pronounced lower than the sense seemed to require, but this was done in order that the elevation to which the actor's voice was to rise at the distance of a verse or two, might have the stronger effect.

SECTION IV.—ART OF THE PANTOMIMES.

To conclude what relates to the music of the ancients, it remains for me to speak of the most singular and wonderful of all its operations, though neither the most useful nor the most laudable: this was the performance of the Pantomimes. The ancients, not contented with having reduced, by the precepts of music, the art of gesture into method, had improved it to such a degree, that there were comedians who ventured to undertake to act all sorts of dramatic pieces, without speaking a syllable. They called themselves *Pantomimes*, because they imitated and expressed whatever they had to say by gestures, taught by the art of *Saltation* or dancing, without using the aid of speech.

Suidas and Zozyms¹⁰ inform us, that the art of the Pantomimes made its first appearance at Rome, in the reign of Augustus: which made Lucian¹¹ say, that Socrates had seen the art of dancing only in its cradle. Zozyms even reckons the invention of this art amongst the causes of the corruption of the manners of the Roman people, and of the misfortunes of the empire. The two first introducers of this new art were Pylades and Bathyllus, whose names became afterwards very famous amongst the Romans; the

¹ Atqui corporis motui sua quædam tempora, et ad signa pedum non minus saltationi, quam modulationibus, adhibet ratio musica numeros. *Quintil.*

² Lucian. in Orchest. p. 951.

³ Histrio, si paululum se moveat extra numerum, aut si versus pronuntiatus est syllaba una longior aut brevior, exhibitor et exploditur. *Cic. in Parad. 3.*

⁴ Quanto molliores sunt et delicatiores in cantu flexiones et falsæ voculæ quam certæ et severæ: quibus tamen non modo austeri sed, si sæpius fiant, multitudo ipsa reclamât. *Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 98.*

⁵ Hor. Sat. l. ii. Plin. l. x. c. 51.

⁶ Æsopum ex pari arte ducenties sestertium reliquisse filio constat. *Macrob. l. ii. c. 10.*

⁷ Quippe cum jam apud majores nostros Roscius histrio sestertium quingenta millia annua meritis prodatur. *Plin. l. vii. c. 39.* Tanta fuit gratia, ut mercendam diurnam de publico mille denarios sine gregalibus solus acceperit. *Macrob. Saturn. l. ii. c. 10.*

⁸ Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 174.

⁹ Neque illi actores prius viderunt, quam ipsi poetæ, quam denique illi etiam qui fecerunt modos, a quibus utriusque summittitur aliquid, deinde augetur, extenuatur, inflatur, variatur distinguuntur. *Cic. de Orat. l. iii. n. 1, 2.*

¹⁰ Suidas. *Ἀρτεὺς*. *Zoz. l. i.*

¹¹ Lucian. de Orchest. p. 923.

first succeeded best in tragic subjects, and the other in comic.

What appears surprising is that these comedians, who undertook to perform pieces without speaking, could not assist their expression with the motion of their faces; for they played in masks as well as the other actors. They began, no doubt, at first by executing some well known scenes of tragedies and comedies, in order to be the more easily understood by the spectators, and by little and little became capable of representing whole plays. As they were not to repeat any thing, and had only gestures to make, it is easily conceived, that all their expression was more lively, and their action much more animated, than those of the common comedians. Hence Cassiodorus calls the Pantomimes, men whose learned hands, to use that expression, had tongues at the end of each finger: who spoke in keeping silence, and who knew how to make an ample narration without opening their mouths:¹ in fine, men whom Polhymnia, the muse that presided over music, had formed, in order to show that she could express her sense without the help of speech.

These representations, though mute, must have given a sensible pleasure, and transported the spectators. Seneca² the father, whose profession was one of the gravest and most honourable of his times, confesses, that his taste for these Pantomimical representations, was a real passion. Lucian³ says, that people wept at them, as at the pieces of the speaking comedians. He relates also,⁴ that some king in the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea, who was at Rome in Nero's reign, demanded of that prince, with great earnestness, a Pantomime he had seen play, in order to make him his interpreter in all languages. "This man," said he, "will make all the world understand him, whereas I am obliged to pay a great number of interpreters for corresponding with my neighbours, who speak several languages entirely unknown to me." Certain it is, that the Romans were so charmed with the art of the Pantomimes from its birth, that it soon passed into the remotest provinces, and subsisted as long as the empire

itself. The history of the Roman emperors more frequently mentions famous Pantomimes than celebrated orators.

This art, as we have observed, began in the reign of Augustus. That prince was exceedingly delighted with it, and Mæcenas was in a manner enchanted with Bathyllus. In the first years of Tiberius, the senate was obliged to make a regulation to prohibit the senators from entering the houses of the Pantomimes, and the Roman knights from making up their train in the streets.⁵ Some years after, there was a necessity for banishing the Pantomimes out of Rome.⁶ The extreme passion of the people for their representations, occasioned the forming cabals for applauding one in preference to another, and these cabals became factions. They even took different liveries, in imitation of those who drove the chariots in the races of the Circus.⁷ Some called themselves the *Blues*, and others the *Greens*. The people were divided also on their side, and all the factions of the Circus, so frequently mentioned in the Roman history, espoused different companies of Pantomimes, which often occasioned dangerous tumults in Rome. The Pantomimes were again expelled Rome under Nero and some other emperors. But their banishment was of no great duration; because the people could no longer be without them, and conjectures happened, in which the sovereign, who believed the favour of the multitude necessary to him, endeavoured to please them by such means as were in his power. Domitian had expelled them, and Nerva his successor recalled them, though one of the wisest emperors Rome ever had. Sometimes the people themselves, tired with the unhappy effects of the cabals of the Pantomimes, demanded their expulsion with as much warmth as they had done their being recalled upon other occasions. *Neque a te minore concentu ul tolleris Pantomimos, quam a patre tuo ut restitueret, exactum est*, says Pliny the younger, in speaking to Trajan. There are evils and disorders, which can only be prevented in their birth, and which if time be allowed them to take root and gain credit, assume the upperhand, and become too strong for all remedies.

¹ *Orchestrarum loquacissima manus, linguosus digitus, silentium clamoribus, expositio tacita, quam musa Polhymnia reperisse narratur, ostendens homines posse sine oris afflatu velle suum declarare. Cassiod. Var. Epist. l. iv. Epist. 51.*

² Senec. in Controc. 2.

³ Lucian. de Orchest. p. 948.

⁴ Ibid. p. 940.

⁵ *Ne domos Pantomimorum senator introiret, ne egredientes in publicum Equites Romani cingerent. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 77.*

⁶ Ibid. l. iv. c. 14.

⁷ Cassiod. Var. Epist. l. i. Epist. 20.

OF THE ART MILITARY.

HITHERTO we have seen man established by the means of the arts in the enjoyment of all the conveniences of life. The earth, cultivated by his care and labour, has supplied him, in return, with abundant riches of every kind. Commerce has brought him from the most remote countries, whatever their inhabitants could spare; it has carried him down into the bowels of the earth, and to the bottom of the sea, not only to enrich and adorn him, but to supply himself with an infinity of helps and instruments necessary in his daily occasions. After having built himself houses, sculpture and painting have done their utmost in emulation of each other to adorn his abode; and that nothing might be wanting to his satisfaction and delight, music has come in, to fill up his moments of leisure with grateful concerts, which rest and refresh him after his labours, and make him forget all his pains, and all his afflictions, if he has any. What more can he desire? Happy, if he could not be disturbed in the possession of advantages, that have cost him so much. But the rapacious appetites, the avarice and ambition of mankind, interrupt this general felicity, and render man the enemy of man. Injustice arms herself with force, to enrich herself with the spoils of her brethren. He, who, moderate in his desires and confining

himself within the bounds of what he possesses, should not oppose aggression with force, would soon become the prey of others. He would have cause to fear, that jealous neighbours, and hostile states, would come to disturb his tranquillity, to ravage his lands, burn his houses, carry away his riches, and lead himself into captivity. He has therefore occasion for arms and troops, to defend him against violence, and secure his safety. At first we behold him employed in whatever the sciences have of most exalted and sublime; but, at the first noise of arms, those sciences, born and nurtured in repose, and enemies of tumult, are seized with terror, and reduced to silence, unless the art of war takes them under her protection, and places her safeguards over them, which can alone secure the public tranquillity.¹ Thus war becomes necessary to man, as the protectress of peace and repose, and solely employed to repel violence and defend justice;² and it is in this light, I believe it allowable for me to treat

¹ *Omnia hæc nostra preclara studia—latent in tutela ac præsidio bellicæ virtutis. Simul atque increpuit suspicio tumultus, artes illico nostræ conticescunt. Cic. pro Mur. n. 23.*

² *Suscipienda bella sunt ob eam causam ut sine injuria in pace vivatur. Cic. l. i. de Offic. n. 35.*

of it. I shall run over, as briefly as possible, all the parts of military knowledge, which, properly speaking, is the science of princes and kings, and requires, for succeeding in it, almost innumerable talents, which are very rarely to be found united in the same person.

As I have elsewhere treated what relates to the military affairs of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, and Persians, I shall speak the more sparingly of them in this place. I shall be more extensive upon the Greeks, and principally the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, which, of all the Grecian states, indisputably distinguished themselves most by their valour and military knowledge. I was long in doubt, whether I should speak also of the Romans, who seem foreign to my subject. But upon mature consideration, I thought it necessary to join them with other nations, that the reader at one view, might know, at least in some measure, the manner in which the ancients made war. This is the sole end I propose to myself in this treatise, without intending any thing further. I have not forgot what happened to a philosopher of Ephesus, who passed for the finest speaker of his times. In a harangue, which he pronounced before Hannibal, he took upon him to treat at large the duties of a good general. The orator was applauded by the whole audience. Hannibal being pressed to give his opinion of him, replied, with the freedom of a soldier, that he had never heard a more contemptible discourse. I should apprehend incurring a like censure, if, after having passed my whole life in the study of polite learning, I should pretend to give lessons upon the art military to those who make it their profession.

CHAPTER I.

THIS first chapter contains what relates to the undertaking and declaring of war, the choice of the general and officers, the raising of troops, their provisions, pay, arms, march, encampments, and all that relates to battles.

ARTICLE I.

UNDERTAKING AND DECLARATION OF WAR.

SECTION I.—UNDERTAKING OF WAR.

THERE is no principle more generally received, than that which lays down, that war ought never to be undertaken except for just and lawful reasons; nor hardly any one more generally violated. It is agreed, that wars, undertaken solely from views of interest or ambition, are real robberies.¹ The pirate's answer to Alexander the Great, so well known in history, was exceedingly just and sensible. And had not the Scythians good reason to ask that ravager of provinces, wherefore he came so far to disturb the tranquillity of nations, who had never done him wrong; and whether it was a crime in them to be ignorant in their woods and deserts, remote from the rest of mankind, who, and of what country Alexander was?² When Philip, chosen arbiter between two kings of Thrace that were brothers, expelled them both from their dominions, did he deserve a better name than that of thief and robber?³ His other conquests, though less flagrant crimes, were still but robberies, because founded upon injustice, and no means of conquering seemed infamous to him: *nulla apud eum turpis ratio vincendi*.⁴ The justice and necessity of wars ought therefore to be considered as fundamental principles in point of policy and government.

In monarchial states, generally, the prince only has power to undertake a war: which is one of the rea-

sons, that renders his office so much to be feared. For, if he has the misfortune to enter into it without a just and necessary cause, he is answerable for all the crimes committed in it, for all the fatal effects attending it, for all the ravages inseparable from it, and all the human blood shed in it. Who can view without trembling, such an object, and an accountability of so dreadful a nature?

Princes have councils, which may be of great assistance to them, if they take care to fill them up with wise, able, and experienced persons; such as are distinguished by their love and zeal for the good of their country, void of ambition and views of interest, and above all, infinitely remote from all disguise and flattery. When Darius proposed to his council the carrying of the war into Scythia, Artabanus his brother endeavoured at first in vain to dissuade him from so unjust and unreasonable a design: his reasons, solid as they were, were forced to give way to the enormous praises and excessive flattery of the courtiers.⁵ He succeeded no better in the counsel he gave his nephew Xerxes, not to attack the Greeks.⁶ As the latter had strongly expressed his own inclination, an essential fault in such conjunctures, he was far from being opposed, and the deliberation was no more than mere form. On both occasions, the wise prince, who had spoke his sentiments freely, was grieved to see, that neither of the two kings comprehended, "how great a misfortune it is to be accustomed to set no bounds to one's desires, never to be contented with what we possess, and always to be solicitous for enlarging it?"⁷ which is the cause of almost all wars.

In the Grecian republics, the assembly of the people decided finally with regard to war, which method was subject to great inconveniences. At Sparta indeed, the authority of the senate, and especially of the Ephori, as well as at Athens that of the Areopagus and council of four hundred, to whom the preparing of the public affairs belonged, served as a kind of balance to the levity and imprudence of the people: but this remedy had not always its effect. The Athenians are reproached with two very opposite faults, the being either too precipitate or too slow. Against the former a law had been made, by which it was ordained, that war should not be resolved till after a mature deliberation of three days. And in the wars against Philip we have seen, how much Demosthenes complained of the indolence of the Athenians, of which their enemy well knew how to make his advantage. This slowness in republics, arises from this cause; unless the danger be evident, private persons are too much divided about their different views and interests, to unite speedily in the same resolution. Thus when Philip had taken Elateæ, the Athenian orator, terrified with the urgent danger of the republic, caused the law I have mentioned to be repealed, and the war to be resolved on that instant.

The public affairs were examined and determined with much more maturity and wisdom amongst the Romans, though the people with them also had the decision. But the senate's authority was great, and almost always prevailed in important cases. That wise body were very attentive, especially in the earliest times of the republic, to have justice on their side in their wars. This reputation for faith in treaties, equity, justice, moderation, and disinterestedness, was of no less service than the force of arms, in aggrandizing the Roman republic; the power of which was attributed to the protection of the gods, who rewarded justice and public faith in that manner.⁸ It is observed with admiration, that the Romans in all times constantly made religion the basis of their enterprises, and referred the motive and end of them to the gods.⁹ The most powerful reasons the generals could use to animate the troops to fight well, was to

¹ *Inferre bella finitimis—ac populos sibi non molestos sola regni cupiditate conterere et subdere, quid aliud quam grande latrocinium nominandum est?* S. Aug. de Civ. D. l. iv. c. 6.

² *Quid nobis tecum est? Nunquam terram tuam attingimus. Qui sis, unde venias, licetne ignorare in vastis sylvis viventibus?* Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 8.

³ Philippos, more ingenii sui, ad judicium veluti ad bellum, inopinantibus fratribus, instructo exercitu supervenit; ac regno utrumque, non judicis more, sed fraude LATROCNIS ac scelere, spoljavit. Justin. l. viii. c. 3.

⁴ Id. Justin.

⁵ Herod. l. iv. c. 83.

⁶ Ibid. l. vii. c. 18.

⁷ Ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν πλεονεξίᾳ διέτρεψε ἄλλοι ἐχθροὶ τοῦ παρόντος.

⁸ Favere pietati fideique deos, per quæ populos Romanos ad tantum fastigium pervenerit. Liv. l. xlv. n. 1.

⁹ Majores vestri omnium magnarum rerum et principia exorsi ab diis sunt, et finem cum statuerunt. Liv. l. xlv. n. 39.

represent to them, that the war they made was just; and that as only necessity had put their arms into their hands, they might assuredly rely upon the protection of the gods: whereas those gods, the enemies and avengers of injustice, never failed to declare against such as undertook unjust wars in violation of the faith of treaties.

SECTION II.—DECLARATION OF WAR.

ONE effect of the principles of equity and justice, which I have now laid down, was never actually to commence hostilities, before the public heralds had signified to the enemies the grievances they had to allege against them, and they had been exhorted to redress the wrongs declared to have been received. It is agreeable to the law of nature to try methods of amity and accommodation, before proceeding to open rupture. War is the last of remedies, and all others should be endeavoured before that is undertaken. Humanity requires, that room be given for reflection and repentance; and time left to clear up such doubts, and remove such suspicions, as measures of an ambiguous nature may give birth to, and which are often found to be groundless upon a nearer examination. This custom was generally observed from the earliest ages amongst the Greeks. Polyces, before he besieged Thebes, sent Tydeus to his brother Eteocles to propose an accommodation.¹ And it appears from Homer,² that the Greeks deputed Ulysses and Menelaus to the Trojans, to summon them to restore Helen before they had committed any act of hostility; and Herodotus³ tells us the same thing. We find a multitude of the like examples throughout the history of the Greeks.

It is true that an almost certain means of gaining great advantages over enemies is to fall on them at unawares, and to attack them suddenly, without having suffered them to discover our designs, or give them time to put themselves into a state of defence. But these unforeseen incursions, without any previous denunciation, were properly deemed unjust enterprises, and vicious in their principle. It was this, as Polybius remarks,⁴ that had so much discredited the Ætolians, and had rendered them as odious as thieves and robbers; because having no rule but their interest, they knew no laws either of war or peace, and every means of enriching and aggrandizing themselves appeared legitimate to them, without troubling themselves, whether it were contrary to the law of nations to attack neighbours by surprise, who had done them no wrong, and who believed themselves safe in virtue, and under the protection of treaties.

The Romans were not so exact as the Greeks in observing this ceremony of declaring war, which was established by Ancus Marcius, the fourth of their kings.⁵ The public officer, (called *Fecialis*), having his head covered with linen, went to the frontiers of the people against whom preparations of war were making; and as soon as he arrived there he declared aloud the grievances of the Roman people and the satisfaction he demanded for the wrongs that had been done them; calling Jupiter to witness in these terms, which include a horrible imprecation against himself, and a still greater against the people, of whom he was no more than the voice. "Great God, if I come hither to demand satisfaction in the name of the Roman people, contrary to equity and justice, never suffer me to behold my native country again." He repeated the same thing, changing only some of the terms, to the first person he met; and afterwards at the entrance of the city, and in the public marketplace. If at the expiration of thirty days satisfaction were not made, the same officer returning to the same people, pronounced publicly these words:—"Attend, oh Jupiter, Juno, and Quirinus; and you celestial, terrestrial, and infernal gods, attend. I call you to

witness, that such a people, (naming them,) is unjust, and refuses to make us satisfaction. We shall consult at Rome, in the senate, upon the means of obliging them to do us that justice which is our due." Upon the return of the *Fecialis* to Rome, the affair was brought into deliberation, and if the majority of voices were for the war, the same officer went back to the frontier of the same people, and in the presence of at least three persons, pronounced a certain form of declaration of war; after which he threw a spear upon the enemy's lands, which implied that the war was declared. This ceremony was long retained by the Romans. When war was to be declared against Philip and Antiochus, they consulted the *Fecialis*, to know, whether it was to be denounced to themselves in person, or sufficed to declare it in the first place subject to those princes. In the glorious times of the republic, they would have thought it a disgrace to them to have acted by stealth, and to have committed breach of faith, or even used artifice.⁷ They proceeded openly, and left those little frauds and unworthy stratagems to the Carthaginians, and people like them, with whom it was more glorious to deceive, than conquer an enemy with open force.

The heralds at arms, and *Fecialis*, were in great veneration amongst the ancients, and were considered as sacred and inviolable persons. This declaration was a part of the law of nations, and was held necessary and indispensable. It was not preceded by certain public writings, now called *Manifestos*, which contain the pretensions, well or ill founded, of the one or the other party; and the reasons by which they support them. These have been substituted in the room of that august and solemn ceremony, by which the ancients introduced the divine majesty in declarations of war, as witness and avenger of the injustice of those, who undertook wars without reason and necessity. Motives of policy have besides rendered these manifestos necessary, in the situation of the princes of Europe with regard to each other; united by blood, alliances and leagues offensive or defensive. Prudence requires the prince, who declares war against his enemy, to avoid drawing upon him the arms of all the allies of the power he attacks. It is to prevent this inconvenience manifestos are made in these days, which supply the place of the ancient ceremonies I have mentioned, and which sometimes contain the reasons for beginning the war, without declaring it. I have spoke of pretensions well or ill founded. For states and princes, who war upon each other do not fail to justify their proceedings with specious pretexts on both sides; and they might express themselves, as a prætor of the Latines did in an assembly, wherein it was deliberated how to answer the Romans, who, upon the suspicion of a revolt, had cited the magistrates of Latium before them. "In my opinion, gentlemen," says he, "in the present conjuncture, we ought to be less concerned about what we have to say, than what we have to do: for when we have acted with vigour, and duly concerted our measures, there will be no difficulty in adapting words to them."⁸

ARTICLE II.

CHOICE OF THE GENERALS AND OFFICERS. RAISING OF TROOPS.

SECTION I.—CHOICE OF THE GENERALS AND OFFICERS.

It is a great advantage for kings to be absolute masters in the choice of the generals and officers of their armies; and the highest praise which can be given

¹ *Vires et moris antiqui memores, negabant se in ea legatione Romanas artes agnoscere. Non per insidias et nocturna prælia—nec ut magistratu quam per virtute gloriarentur, bella majores gessisse. Inducere priusquam gerere solitos bella, denunciare etiam—Hæc Romana esset, non versutiarum Punicarum, neque calliditatis Græcorum apud quos fallere hostem quam vi superare, gloriosius fuerit.* *Liv. l. xlii. n. 47.*

² Ad summum rerum nostrarum magis pertinere arbitror, quid agendum nobis, quam quid loquendum sit. *Fecile erit, explicatis consiliis, accommodare rebus verba.* *Liv. l. viii. n. 4.*

¹ *Potior cunctis sedit sententia, fratris*

*Præterire fidelem, tutosque in regna precando
Explorare aditus. Audax ea munera Tydeus
Sponio subit.*

² *Iliad l. ii. n. 205.*

Stab. Theb. lib. xi.

³ *Polyb. l. iv. p. 331.*

Liv. l. i. n. 32.

⁴ *So Romulus was called.*

them, is to say, that known reputation and solid merit are the sole motives that determine them in it. And indeed how can they use too much attention in making a choice, which in some measure raises a private person to equality with his sovereign, by investing him with the whole power, glory, and fortune of his dominions? It is principally by this characteristic, princes capable of governing are known; and it is to the same they have been always indebted for the success of their arms. We do not find, that the great Cyrus, Philip, or his son Alexander, ever confided their troops to generals without merit and experience. The case was not the same under the successors of Cyrus and Alexander, with whom intrigue, cabal, and the credit of a favourite usually presided in this choice, and almost always excluded the best subjects. Hence the success of their wars was answerable to such a manner of commencing them. I have no occasion to cite examples to prove this: history abounds with them.

I proceed to republics. At Sparta the two kings, in virtue of their rank only, had the right and possession of the command, and in the earlier times marched together at the head of the army:¹ but a division, that happened between Cleomenes and Demaratus, occasioned the making of a law, which ordered that only one of the kings should command the troops; and this was afterwards observed, except in extraordinary cases. The Lacedæmonians were not ignorant that authority is weak when divided; that two generals seldom agree long; that great enterprises can hardly succeed, unless under the conduct of a single man; and that nothing is more fatal to an army than a divided command. This inconvenience must have been much greater at Athens, where by the constitution of the state itself, ten persons were always to command; because Athens being composed of ten tribes, each furnished their own chief, who commanded their day successively. Besides which, they were chosen by the people, and that every year. This occasioned a smart saying of Philip's; that he admired the good fortune of the Athenians, who could find in a set time, every year, ten captains; whereas, during his whole reign, it had scarce been in his power to find one.²

The Athenians, however, especially at critical conjunctures, must have been attentive in appointing citizens of real merit for their generals. From Miltiades to Demetrius Phaleræus, that is to say, during almost two hundred years, a considerable number of great men were placed by Athens at the head of her armies, who raised their country's glory to the most exalted height. In those times all jealousy was banished, and the public good was the sole motive of power. There is a fine example of this in the war of Darius against the Greeks.³ The danger was exceeding great. The Athenians were alone against an innumerable army. Of the ten generals, five were for fighting, and five for retreating. Miltiades, who was at the head of the former, having gained the Polemarch on his side, (which officer had a decisive voice in the council of war in case of division,) it was resolved to fight. All the generals acknowledging the superiority of Miltiades to themselves, when the day came, resigned the command to him. It was at this time the celebrated battle of Marathon was fought. It sometimes happened that the people suffering themselves to be swayed by their orators, and following their caprice in every thing, conferred the command upon persons unworthy of it. We may remember the absolute credit of the famous Cleon with the multitude, who was appointed to command in the first years of the Peloponnesian war, though a turbulent, hot-headed, violent man, without ability or merit. But these examples are rare, and were not frequently repeated at Athens till the later times, when they proved one of the principal causes of its ruin.

The philosopher Antisthenes made the Athenians sensible one day, in a pleasant and facetious manner,⁴

of the abuses committed amongst them in the promotions to the public offices. He proposed to them with a serious air, in a full assembly, that it should be ordained by a decree, that for the future the asses should be employed in tillage as well as the horses and oxen. When he was answered, that the asses were not intended by nature for that labour: "You are deceived," said he, "that signifies nothing: don't you see that our citizens, though ever so much asses and sots before, become immediately able generals, solely from your election of them."

At Rome, the people also elected the generals, that is to say, the consuls. They held their office only one year. They were sometimes continued in the command under the names of proconsuls or proprætors. This annual change of the generals was a great obstacle to the advancement of affairs, the success of which required an uninterrupted continuation.⁵ And this is the advantage of monarchical states, in which the princes are absolutely free, and dispose all things at discretion, without being subject to any necessity. Whereas amongst the Romans a consul sometimes arrived too late, or was recalled before the time for holding the assemblies. Whatever diligence he might use to arrive early, before his predecessor had transferred to him the command, and he was sufficiently informed in the condition of the army, a knowledge indispensable previous to all undertakings, a considerable space of time must have elapsed, which made him lose the occasion of acting, and of attacking the enemy to advantage. Besides which, he often found affairs upon his arrival in a bad condition through his predecessor's ill conduct, and an army, either composed in part of new raised and inexperienced troops, or corrupted by licence or want of discipline. Fabius intimated part of these reflections to the Roman people, when he exhorted them to choose a consul capable of opposing Hannibal.⁶ The short term of one year, and the uncertainty of the command's being further prolonged, did indeed induce the generals to make the best use of their time: but it was often a reason for their putting a speedier end to their enterprises, than they would otherwise have done, and upon less advantageous conditions, from the apprehension that a successor might reap the fruit of their labours, and deprive them of the honour of having terminated the war gloriously. A true zeal for the public good, and a perfectly disinterested greatness of soul, would have disdained such considerations. I am afraid, there are very few examples of this kind. The great Scipio himself,⁷ I mean the first, is reproached with this weakness, and with not having been insensible to this fear. A virtue of so pure and exalted a nature as to neglect so sensible and so affecting an interest, seems above humanity, at least it is very uncommon.

The authority of the consuls confined, in point of time within such narrow bounds, was, it must be confessed, a great inconvenience. But the danger of infringing the public liberty, by continuing the same man longer in the command of all the forces of the state, obliged them to overlook this inconvenience, from the apprehension of incurring a much greater.

¹ Interrumpi tenorem rerum, in quibus peragendis continuatio ipsa efficacissima esset, minime convenire. Inter traditionem imperii, novitatemque successoris, quæ noscendis prius quam agendis rebus imbuenda sit, sæpe bene gerenda rei occasiones intereire. *Liv.* l. xli. n. 15.

Post tempus (consules) ad bella ierunt: ante tempus comitiorum causa revocati sunt: in ipso conatu rerum circum egit se annus.—Male gestis rebus alterius successum est: tironem, aut mala disciplina institutum exercitum acceperunt. At Hercule Reges, non liberi solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temporumque, trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur. *Liv.* l. ix. n. 18.

⁶ Cum, qui est summus in civitate dux, cum legerimus, tamen repente lectus, in annum creatus adversus veterem ac perpetuum imperatorem comparatur, nullis neque temporis neque juris inclusum angustiis, quo minus ita omnia gerat administrareque ut tempora postulabunt belli: nobis autem in apparatu ipso, ac tantum inchoantibus res, annus circumagiatur. *Liv.* l. xxiv. n. 2.

⁷ Ipsum Scipionem expectatio successoris, venturi ad paratum alterius labore ac periculo finiti belli famam, sollicitabat. *Liv.* l. xxx. n. 36.

¹ Her. l. v. c. 75.

² This was Parmenio.

³ Herod. l. vi. c. 109, 110.

⁴ Diog. Laert. in Antisth. p. 303.

The necessity of affairs, the distance of places, and other reasons, at length obliged the Romans to continue their generals in the command of their armies for many years. But the inconvenience really ensued from it, which they had apprehended; for the generals, by that duration of their power, became their country's tyrants. Amongst other examples I might cite Sylla, Marius, Pompey, and Cæsar.

The choice of the generals usually turned upon their personal merit; and the citizens of Rome had at the same time a great advantage, and a powerful motive for acting in that manner. What facilitated this choice, was the perfect knowledge they had of those who aspired at command, with whom they had served many campaigns, whom they had seen in action, and whose genius, talents, successes, and capacity for the highest employments, they had time to examine and compare by themselves and with their comrades. This knowledge, which the Roman citizens had of those who demanded the consulship, generally determined their suffrages in favour of the officers whose ability, valour, generosity, and humanity, they had experienced in former campaigns.¹ "He took care of me," said they, "when I was wounded; he gave me part of the spoils; under his conduct we made ourselves masters of the enemy's camp, and gained such a victory; he always shared in the pains and fatigues with his soldiers; it is hard to say whether he is most fortunate or most valiant." Of what weight was such discourse! The motive, which induced the Roman citizens to weigh and examine carefully the merit of the competitors, was the personal interest of the electors, the major part of whom, being to serve under them, were very attentive not to confide their lives, honour, and the safety of their country, to generals they did not esteem, and from whom they did not expect good success. It was the soldiers themselves, who in the *comitia* made choice of these generals. We see they knew them well; and find by experience, that they were seldom mistaken. We observe even in our times, that when they go upon parties to plunder, (*marauding*) they always choose, without partiality or favour, those amongst them, that are most capable of commanding them. It was in this spirit, Marius was chosen against the will of his general Metellus; and Scipio Æmilianus preferred, through a like prejudice of the soldiers in his favour.

It must be owned, however, that the nomination of commanders was not always directed by public and superior views; and that cabal, and address in gaining the affections of the people by flattering and soothing their passions, had sometimes a great share in it. This was seen at Rome in regard to Terentius Varro, and at Athens in the instance of Cleon. The multitude is always the multitude, that is to say, fickle, inconstant, capricious, and violent: but the people of Rome were less so than any. They gave upon many occasions, examples of a moderation and wisdom not to be sufficiently admired;² submitting themselves in the most laudable manner to the opinion of the senate; forgetting nobly their prejudices, and even resentments, in favour of the public good, and voluntarily renouncing the choice they had made of persons incapable of sustaining the weight of affairs, as it happened, when the consulship was continued to Fabius, after the remonstrance himself had made upon the incapacity of those who had been elected: an odious proceeding in every other conjuncture, but which at that time did Fabius great honour, because the effect of his zeal for the republic, to the safety of which he was not afraid, in some measure, to sacrifice his own reputation.³

The armies of the Roman people consisted generally of four legions, of which each consul commanded two. They were called the first, second, third, and so on, according to the order in which they had been raised. Besides the two legions commanded by each consul, there was the same number of infantry, supplied by the allies. After all the people of Italy were associated to the freedom of the city, that disposition underwent many alterations. The four legions under the consuls were not the whole force of Rome. There were other bodies of troops commanded by prætors, proconsuls, &c. When the consuls were in the field together, their authority being equal, they commanded alternately, and had each their day, as it happened at the battle of Cannæ. One of them often, knowing his colleague's superior ability, voluntarily resigned his rights to him. Agrippa Furius acted in this manner,⁴ in regard to the famous T. Quintius Capitolinus, who in gratitude to his colleague's generosity and noble behaviour, communicated all his designs to him, shared with him the honour of all his successes, and made him his equal in every thing. On another occasion, the military tribunes, who had been substituted to the consuls, and were at that time six in number, declared, that in the present critical conjuncture, only one of them was worthy of the command, this was the great Camillus, and that they were resolved to repose their whole authority in his hands; convinced that the justice they rendered his merit, could not but reflect the greatest glory upon themselves.⁵ So generous a conduct was attended with universal applause. Every body cried out that they should never have occasion to have recourse to the unlimited power of dictators, if the republic always had such magistrates, so perfectly united amongst themselves, so equally ready either to obey or command, and who, so far from desiring to engross all glory to themselves, were contented to share it in common with each other.

It was a great advantage to an army to have such a general, as Livy describes in the person of Cato, who was capable of descending to the least particular, who was alike attentive to little and great things; who foresaw at distance, and prepared every thing necessary to an army; who did not content himself with giving orders, but took care to see them executed in person; who was the first in setting the whole army the example of an exact and severe discipline; who disputed sobriety, watching, and fatigue, with the meanest soldier; and in a word, who was distinguished by nothing in the army, but the command, and the honours annexed to it.⁶

After the nominations of consuls and prætors, the tribunes were elected to the number of twenty-four, six to each legion. Their duty was to see that the army observed discipline, obeyed orders and did their duty.⁷ During the campaign, which was six months,

faciebant ne quis aut in exemplum exquireret, aut suspectum cupiditatis imperii consulem haberet. Quis laudabant potius magnitudinem animi, quod, cum summo imperatore esse opus reip. sciret, seque cum baud dubiè esse; minoris invidiam, si qua ex re oriretur, quam utilitatem reip. fecisset. *Liv. l. xxiv. n. 9.*

⁴ In exercitu Romano cum duo consules essent potestate pari; quod saluberrimum in administratione magnarum rerum est, summa imperii, concedente Agrippa, penes collegam erit: ille prælatus ille facilitatis summittentis se comiter respondebat, communicando consilia laudesque, et æquando imparem sibi. *Liv. l. iii. n. 70.*

⁵ Collegæ fateri regimen omnium rerum, ubi quod bellici terroris ingratum, in viro non esse: sibi que destinatum in animo esse Camillo submittere imperium; nec quicquam de majestate sua detractum credere, quod majestati ejus viri concessissent.—Erecti gaudio fremunt, nec dictatore nequam opus fore reip. si tales viros in magistratu habeat, tam concordiis junctos animos, parere atque imperare juxta paratos, laudemque conferentes potius in medium quam ex communi ad se trahentes. *Liv. l. vi. n. 6.*

⁶ In consule ea vis animi atque ingenii fuit, ut omnia maxima minimaque per se adiret; atque ageret; nec cogitaret modò imperaretque que in rem essent, sed pleraque per se ipse transigeret; nec in quemquam omnium gravius severitè que, quam in semetipsum imperium excreret; parsimonia, et vigiliis, et labore cum ultimis militum certaret; nec quicquam in exercitu suo præcipui præter honorem atque imperium haberet. *Liv. l. xxiv. n. 13.*

⁷ Polyb. l. vi. p. 466.

¹ Num tibi hæc parva adjumenta et subsidia consulatus, voluntas militum? quæ cum per se valet multitudo, tum apud suos gratia: tum verò in consule declarando multum etiam apud populum Romanum auctoritatis habet suffragatio militaris.—Gravis est illa oratio: Me facium recreavit; me præda donavit; hoc duce castra cepimus, signa contulimus; nunquam iste plus militi laboris, imposuit, quam sibi sumi; ipse cum fortis, tum etiam fælix. Hoc quanti putas esse ad famam hominum ac voluntatem. *Cicero. Muræna. n. 38.*

² Liv. l. x. n. 22, and 34. Id. l. xxvi. n. 32.

³ Tempus ac necessitas belli, ac discrimen summæ rerum

they commanded successively, two and two together, in the legion for two months: they drew lots for the order in which they were to command.¹ At first the consuls nominated these tribunes; and it was of great advantage to the service, that the generals themselves had the choice of their officers. In process of time, of the four and twenty tribunes the people elected six;² about the 393d year of Rome, and fifty years after, that is to say, in the 444th year of Rome, they chose to the number of sixteen.³ But in important wars, they had sometimes the moderation and wisdom to renounce that right, and to abandon the choice entirely to the prudence of the consuls and prætors, as happened in the war against Perseus king of Macedonia;⁴ of the effects of which Rome was in very great apprehension. Of these twenty-four tribunes, fourteen must have served at least five years, and the rest ten: a very wise regulation and well calculated to inspire the troops with valour, from the esteem and confidence it gave them for their officers. Care was also taken to distribute these tribunes in such a manner, that in each legion the most experienced were united with those who were younger, in order to instruct and form them for commanding.

The Præfects of the allies, *præfecti socium*, were in the allied troops what the tribunes were in the legions. They were chosen out of the Romans, as we may infer from these words of Livy, *Præfectus socium, civisque Romanos alios*.⁵ Which is confirmed by the names of those we find appointed in the same author.⁶ This practice, which left the Romans the honour of commanding in chief amongst the allies, and gave the latter only the quality of chief subaltern officers, was the effect of a wise policy, to hold the allies in dependence, and might contribute very much to the success of enterprises, in making the same spirit and conduct actuate the whole army.

I have not spoken of the officers called *Legati*, lieutenants. They commanded in chief under the consul, and received his orders, as the lieutenant generals serve under a marshal of France, or under the eldest lieutenant general, who commands the army in chief. It appears that the consuls chose these lieutenants. Mention is made of this in the earliest times of the republic. In the battle of the lake of Regillus, that is to say, in the 255th year of Rome, T. Herminius the lieutenant distinguished himself in a particular manner.⁷ Fabius Maximus, so well known from his wise conduct against Hannibal, did not disdain to be his son's lieutenant, who had been elected consul.⁸ The latter in that quality was preceded by twelve lictors, who walked one after the other; part of their function was to cause due honour to be paid the consul. Fabius the father, upon his son's going to meet him, having passed the first eleven lictors, continuing on horseback, the consul ordered the twelfth to do his duty. That lictor immediately called out to Fabius with a loud voice to dismount. The venerable old man obeyed directly, and addressing himself to his son, told him: "I had a mind to see whether you knew that you were consul."⁹ It is well known that Scipio Africanus offered to serve as lieutenant under the consul his brother, and thereby determined the senate to give the latter Greece for his province. The reader has no doubt observed, in all that I have hitherto related concerning the Romans, a spirit of

understanding and conduct which evidently shows, that the great success of their arms was not the effect of chance, but of the wisdom and ability, which preceded over every part of their government.

SECTION II.—RAISING OF TROOPS.

THE Lacedæmonians properly speaking, were a people of soldiers. They cultivated neither arts, nor sciences. They applied themselves to neither commerce nor agriculture; leaving the care of their lands entirely to slaves, who were called *Helots*. All their laws, institutions, education, in a word, the whole scheme of their government, tended to making them warriors. This had been the sole view of their legislator, and it may be said, that he succeeded perfectly well in it. Never were there better soldiers, more formed for the fatigues of war, more inured to military exercises, more accustomed to obedience and discipline, more full of courage and intrepidity, more sensible to honour, nor more devoted to glory and the good of their country. They were distinguished into two sorts: the one who were properly called *Spartans*, inhabited the city of Sparta; the others, who were named only *Lacedæmonians*, resided in the country. The former were the flower of the state, and filled all offices. They were almost all of them capable of commanding in chief. The wonderful change occasioned only by one of them (Xanthippus) in the army of the Carthaginians, to whose aid he was sent, has been related; and also in what manner Gylippus, another Spartan, saved Syracuse. Such were the *three hundred*, who, with Leonidas at their head, arrested for a great while the innumerable army of the Persians, at the straits of Thermopyæ. The number of the Spartans at that time amounted to eight thousand men, or something more.¹⁰ The age (with them) for carrying arms was from thirty to sixty. The elder and younger were left at home to guard the city. They never armed their slaves but upon extreme necessity. At the battle of Platæa, the troops furnished by Sparta, amounted to ten thousand men, that is to say, five thousand Lacedæmonians, and as many Spartans. Each of the latter had seven Helots to attend him, the number of which in consequence amounted to thirty-five thousand. These were equipped as light armed troops. The Lacedæmonians had very little cavalry, and naval affairs were then entirely unknown to them. It was not till very late, and contrary to the plan of Lycurgus, that they commenced a maritime power, nor were their fleets at any time very numerous.

Athens was much larger and better peopled than Sparta. In the time of Demetrius Phaleræus it was computed to have twenty thousand citizens, ten thousand strangers settled in the city, and forty thousand slaves. All the young Athenians were enrolled in a public register at the age of eighteen, and at the same time took a solemn oath, by which they engaged to serve the republic, and to defend it to the utmost of their power upon all occasions. They were bound by this oath to the age of sixty. Each of the ten tribes, that formed the body of the state, furnished a certain number of troops, according to the occasion, either for the sea or land service: for the naval power of Athens became very considerable in process of time. In Thucydides¹¹ we see that the troops of the Athenians, in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, were thirteen thousand heavy armed foot, sixteen hundred archers, and very near as many horse, which in all might amount to sixteen thousand men: without including sixteen thousand more, who remained to guard the city, citadel, and ports, either citizens under or over the military age, or strangers settled amongst them. The fleet at that time consisted of three hundred galleys. I shall relate in the following article the order observed in them.

The troops both of Sparta and Athens, were not numerous, but full of valour, well disciplined, intrepid, and one might also say, invincible. They were not soldiers raised by chance, often without spirit or home, insensible to glory, indifferent to a success little affect-

¹ Secundæ Legionis Fulvius Tribunus militum erat. *Is mensibus suis dimisit legionem.* Liv. l. xl. n. 41.

² Cum placuisset eo anno tribunos militum ad legiones suffragio fieri (nam et antea, sicut nunc quos Rufulos vocant, imperatores ipsi faciebant) secundum in sex locis Manlius tenuit. Liv. l. vii.

³ Duo imperia eo anno dari cæpta per populum, utraque ad rem militarem pertinentia. Unum, ut tribuni senidendi in quatuor legiones a populo crearentur, quæ antea perquam paucis suffragio populi relictæ erant, dictatorem et consulum fuerant beneficia. Liv. l. ix. n. 20.

⁴ Decretum ne tribuni militum eo anno suffragiis crearentur, sed consulum prætorumque in iis faciendis iudicium arbitrium esset. Liv. l. xlii. n. 31.

⁵ Lib. xxiii. n. 7.

⁶ Lib. xxvii. n. 26, and 41. Lib. xxxiii. n. 36, &c.

⁷ Liv. l. xxi. n. 20.

⁸ Id. l. xxiv. n. 44.

⁹ Id. l. xxxvii. n. 1.

¹⁰ Herod. l. vii. c. 34.

¹¹ Thucyd. l. ii. p. 110.

ting them; who had nothing to lose, who made war a mercenary traffic, and sold their lives for a scanty means of subsistence, their pay. They were the chosen troops of the two most warlike states in the world; soldiers determined to conquer or die; who breathed nothing but war and battle; who had nothing in view but glory and the liberty of their country; who in action believed they saw their wives and children, whose safety depended on their arms and valour. Such were the troops raised in Greece, amongst whom desertion, and the punishment of deserters, was never so much as mentioned; for could a soldier be tempted to renounce his family and country for ever!

As much may be said of the Romans, of whom it remains for us to speak. Amongst them, the consuls generally levied the troops; and as new ones were nominated every year, so new levies were also made annually. The age for entering into the army was seventeen years. Only citizens were admitted to serve in it; and none were received under that age but in extraordinary cases and pressing occasions.¹ Once they were obliged to arm slaves: but first, which is very remarkable, they were severally asked, whether they entered themselves freely and of their own accord; because they did not think it proper to place any confidence in soldiers listed by fraud or force. Sometimes they went so far as to arm those, who were confined in the prisons either for debt, or crimes: but this was very seldom practised. The Roman troops therefore were composed only of citizens. Those amongst them who were poor (*proletarii, capite censi*) were not listed. They wanted soldiers, whose fortunes might be answerable to the republic for their zeal in its defence. Most of these soldiers lived in the country, to take care of their estates themselves, and to improve them with their own hands. Those who dwelt at Rome, had each of them their portion of land, which they cultivated in the same manner. So that the whole youth of Rome were accustomed to support the rudest fatigues;² to endure sun, rain, and hail; to lie hard and often in the midst of the fields, and in the open air; to live soberly and wisely, and to be contented with a little. They never knew pleasures or luxury, had their members inured to all sorts of labour, and by their residence in the country, had contracted the habit of handling heavy instruments, digging of trenches, and carrying heavy burdens. Equally soldiers, and labourers, these Romans in entering the service only changed their arms and tools. The young people who lived in the city, were not much more tenderly bred than the others. Their continual exercises in the field of Mars, their races on horseback and on foot, always followed by the custom of swimming the Tiber to wash off their sweat, was an excellent apprenticeship for the trade of war. Such soldiers must have been very intrepid. For the less

men are acquainted with pleasures the less they fear death.

Before they proceeded to levy troops, the consuls gave the people notice of the day, upon which all the Romans capable of bearing arms, were to assemble. The day being come, and the people assembled in the capitol, or the field of Mars, the military tribunes drew the tribes by lot, and called them out as they came up. They afterwards made their choice of these citizens, taking them each in his rank, four by four, as near as possible of equal stature, age and strength; and continued to do the same till the four legions were complete. After the troops were levied, every soldier took an oath to the consul or tribunes. By this oath they engaged to assemble at the consul's order, and not to quit the service without his permission; to obey the orders of the officers, and to do their utmost to execute them; not to retire either through fear, or to fly from the enemy; and not to quit their rank. This was not a mere formality, nor a ceremony purely external, of no effect with regard to the conduct. It was a very serious act of religion, sometimes attended with terrible imprecations, which made a strong impression upon the mind, was judged absolutely and indispensably necessary, and without which the soldiers could not fight against the enemy. The Greeks as well as Romans made their troops take this oath, or one to the same effect; and they founded their reason for it upon a great principle. They knew, that a private person of himself has no right over the lives of other men: that the prince or state, who have received that power from God, put arms into his hands: that it is only in virtue of this power, with which he is invested by his oath, that he can draw his sword against the enemy; and that, without this power, he makes himself guilty of all the blood he sheds, and commits homicide as often as he kills an enemy. The consul,³ who commanded in Macedonia against Perseus, having dismissed a legion, in which the son of Cato the censor served, that young officer, who had nothing in view but to distinguish himself by some action, did not withdraw with the legion, but remained in the camp. His father thereupon wrote immediately to the consul, to desire, if he thought fit to suffer his son to continue in the army, that he would make him take a new oath, because being discharged from the former, he had no right any longer to join in battle against the enemy.⁴ And he wrote to his son to the same effect, advising him not to fight till he had sworn again. It was in consequence of the same maxim, that Cyrus the Great, exceedingly applauded the action of an officer, who, having raised his arm to strike an enemy, upon hearing the retreat sounded, stooped short, regarding that signal as an order to proceed no farther.⁵ What might not be expected from officers and soldiers so accustomed to obedience, and so full of respect for their general's orders, and the rules of discipline?

The tribunes of the soldiers at Rome, after the oath, told the legions the day and place for the general rendezvous. When they were assembled at the time fixed, the youngest and poorest were made light armed troops; the next in age *Hastati*; the strongest and most vigorous *Principes*; and the oldest soldiers, *Triarii*. Two legions were usually given to each consul. The number of soldiers to a legion were not always the same. At first they were not above three thousand, but were afterwards augmented to four, five, six thousand and something more. The most usual number was four thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. Such it was in the time of Polybius, where I shall fix it.

The legion was divided into three bodies, the *Hastati*, the *Principes*, and the *Triarii*. The reader will be so good as to excuse me the use of these three words, having no others to express their meaning. The two first bodies consisted each of twelve hundred men, and the third of six hundred only. The *Hastati* formed the first line, the *Principes* the second; and

¹ Dilectu edicto, juniores annis septemdecim, et quosdam prætextatos scribunt.—Aliam formam novi delectus inopia liberorum caput ac necessitas dedit. Octo millia juvenum validorum ex servitiis prius gessitate singulos vellent ne militare, empti publicè armaverunt. *Liv.* l. xxxii. n. 57.

² Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta lignonibus
Versare glebas, et severæ
Matris ad arbitrium recisos
Portare fustes. *Horat.* Od. 6. lib. lii.

But soldiers of a rustic mould;
Rough, hardy, season'd, manly, bold;
Either they dug the stubborn ground,
Or thro' hewn woods their weighty strokes did sound.

Roscommon.

Nunquam potō potuisse dubitari aptiorem armis rusticam plebem, quæ subdivio et in labore nutritur; solis patiens; umbræ negligens; balnearum nescia; deliciarum ignara; simplicis animi; parvo contenta; duratis ad omnem laborem tolerantiam membris; cui gessare ferrum, fussam ducere, onus ferre, consuetudo de rure est.—Idem bellator, idem agricola genera tantam mutabat armorum.—Sulorem cursu et campestri exercitio colubetum aude juvenis albebat in Tiberi. Nescio enim quomodo minus mortem timet, qui minus deliciarum novit in vita. *Veget. de re mil.* l. i. c. 3.

VOL. II.—53

³ Manucius believes this to have been Paulus Æmilius.

⁴ Quia priore amisso jure, cum hostibus pugnare non poterat. *Cic.* de Offic. l. i. n. 36, 37.

⁵ Xenoph. in Cyrop.

the Triarii the third. This last body was composed of the oldest and most experienced soldiers, and at the same time the bravest in the army. The danger must have been very great and urgent before it reached this third line. From whence came the proverbial expression, *Res ad Triarios rediit*. Each of these three bodies were divided into ten parts or *Maniples*, consisting of sixscore in the Hastati and Principes, and only of sixty in the Triarii. Each Maniple had two centuries or companies. Anciently, and at its first institution by Romulus, the century had an hundred men, from which it took its name. But afterwards it consisted only of sixty in the Hastati and Principes, and thirty in the Triarii. The commanders of these centuries or companies were called *Centurions*. I shall soon explain the distinction of their ranks. Besides these three bodies, there were in each legion light armed troops of different denominations, *Rovarii*, *Accensi*; and in later times the *Velites*. They were also twelve hundred in number. They were not properly a distinct body, but disposed into the three others, according to occasion. Their arms were a sword, a javelin, (*hasta*) a *parma*, that is a light shield. The youngest and most active soldiers were chosen for this body.

From the time of Julius Cæsar no mention is made of the distinct ranks of the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, though the army was almost always drawn up in three lines. The legion at that time was divided into ten parts, which were called *Cohortes*. Each cohort was a kind of legion abridged. It had sixscore Hastati, sixscore Principes, sixty Triarii, and sixscore light armed men, which made in all four hundred and twenty. That is precisely the tenth part of a legion, consisting of four thousand two hundred foot.

The Roman cavalry was not very numerous: three hundred horse to above four thousand foot. It was divided also into ten companies, (*Alas*) each consisting of thirty men. The horsemen were chosen out of the richest of the citizens; and in the distribution of the Roman people by centuries, of which Servius Tullius was the author, they composed the eighteen first centuries. They are the same who are afterwards mentioned in history under the name of Roman knights, and formed a third and middle order between the senate and people. The republic supplied them with horses and subsistence. Till the siege of Veii, there were no other cavalry in the Roman armies.² At that time those who were qualified by their estates to be admitted into the cavalry, but had not a horse allowed them at the public expense, nor in consequence the rank of knights, offered to serve in the cavalry, supplying themselves with horses. Their offer was accepted. From thenceforth there were two sorts of cavalry in the Roman armies:³ the one whom the public supplied with horses, *equum publicum*, and these were the true Roman knights; the others who furnished themselves, and served *equo suo*, had not the title or prerogative of the knights. But the horse kept at the public expense was always the constitutive title of the Roman knight; and when the censors degraded a Roman knight, it was by taking his horse from him.

Besides the citizens who formed the legions, there were troops of the allies in the Roman army, these were states of Italy, which the Romans had subjected, and had allowed the use of their laws and government, upon condition of supplying them a certain number of troops. They furnished an equal number of infantry with the Romans, and generally twice as many horse. Amongst the allies, the best armed and bravest both of the horse and foot were chosen to be posted about the consul's person: these were called *Extraordinarii*. The third part of the horse, and the fifth of the foot, were disposed of in this manner; the rest were placed half on the right and half on the left wings,

the Romans generally reserving the centre to themselves.

The Roman army, as we see from what has hitherto been said, consisted solely of citizens and allies. It was not till the sixth year of the second Punic war, that the Romans admitted mercenaries into their troops, which was seldom or ever done in the times of the republic.⁴ These were Celtiberians, who as we find, composed the greatest part of Cn. Scipio's army in Spain: an essential fault, which cost him his life, and Rome almost the loss of Spain, and perhaps the ruin of her empire. That example, as Livy wisely observes,⁵ ought to have taught Roman generals never to suffer a greater number of strangers than of their own troops in their armies. It is well known, that the revolt of foreign troops more than once brought Carthage to the very brink of ruin. That republic had almost no other soldiers; which was the great defect of its military economy. Such a mixture of foreign and barbarous troops, and their superiority in number, in the Roman armies, were one of the principal causes of the entire ruin of the Roman empire in the West.

I return to the centurions, whose different ranks I am to explain. I have said that in each Maniple there were two centuries, and in consequence two centurions. He who commanded the first century of the first Maniple of the Triarii, called also *Pilani*, was the most considerable of all the centurions, and had a place in the council of war with the consul and principal officers: *Primpilus*, or *Primpili Centurio*. He was called *Primpilus prior*, to distinguish him from the centurion who commanded the second century of the same Maniple, who was called *Primpilus posterior*. And the same was done in the other centuries. The centurion who commanded the second century of the same Maniple of the Triarii, was called *secundus pili Centurio*; and so on to the tenth, who was called *decimus pili Centurio*. The same order was observed amongst the Hastati and Principes. The first centurion of the Principes was called *primus Princeps*, or *primi principis Centurio*; the second, *secundus Princeps*, and so on to the tenth. In this manner the Hastati were called, *primus Hastatus*, *secundus Hastatus*, &c. The centurions were raised from an inferior to a superior degree, not only by seniority, but merit. This distinction of degrees and posts of honour, which were only granted to bravery and real service, excited an incredible emulation amongst the troops, that kept them always in spirit and order. A private soldier became a centurion, and afterwards rising through all the different degrees, might at length arrive at the principal posts. This view, this hope supported them in the midst of the most severe fatigues, animated them, prevented them from committing faults, or taking distaste to the service, and prompted them on to the most arduous and valiant actions. It is in this manner an invincible army is formed.

The officers were very warm in preserving these distinctions and pre-eminences. I shall relate an instance of this very proper to the present subject, that is, the raising of troops, which does great honour to the Roman soldiery, and shows with what moderation and wisdom their sensibility for glory was attended. When the Roman people had resolved upon the war against Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, amongst the other measures taken for the success of it, the senate decreed, that the consul, charged with that expedition, should raise as many centurions and veteran soldiers, as he pleased, out of those who did not exceed fifty years of age. Twenty-three centurions, who had been *Primpili*,⁶ refused to take arms, unless the same rank were granted them, which they had in the preceding campaigns. The affair was brought before the people. After Popilius, who had been

¹ Liv. l. i. n. 43.

² Liv. l. v. n. 7.

³ This distinction is strongly enough marked in Mago's discourse to the senate of Carthage upon the gold rings. Neminem nisi equitem, et eorum ipsorum primores, id in genere. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 12. These primores equitum are the true Roman knights, qui merabant equo publico,

⁴ Id ad memoriam insigne est, quod mercenarium militem in castris neminem ante, quam tum Celtiberos, Romani habuerant. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 49.

⁵ Id quidem cavendum semper Romanis ducibus erit, exemplaque hæc vere pro documentis habenda, ne ita externis credant auxiliis, ut non plus sui roboris suarumque propriæ virum in castris habeant. Liv. l. xxv. n. 33.

⁶ Qui primos pilos duxerant.

consul two years before, had pleaded the cause of the centurions, and the consul his own, one of the centurions, who had appealed to the people, having obtained permission to speak, expressed himself to this effect,—"I am called Sp. Ligustinus, of the Crustumine tribe, descended from the Sabines. My father left me a small field and a cottage, where I was born, brought up, and now live. As soon as I was at age to marry, he gave me his brother's daughter for my wife: she brought me no portion but liberty, chastity, and a fruitfulness sufficient for the richest houses. We have six sons and two daughters, both married. Of my sons, four have taken the robe of manhood, (*toga virilis*), the other two are still infants. I began to bear arms in the consulship of P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius. I served two years as a private soldier in the army, in Macedonia, against king Philip. The third year T. Quintius Flaminius, to reward me for my services, made me captain of a century in the first Manipule of the Hastati.² I served afterwards as a volunteer in Spain, under Cato; and that general, who is so excellent a judge of merit, made me first Manipule of the Hastati.³ In the war against the Ætolians and king Antiochus, I rose to the same rank amongst the Principes.⁴ I afterwards made several campaigns, and in a very few years have been four times Primipilus;⁵ I have been four and thirty times rewarded by the generals, have received six civic crowns,⁶ have served two and twenty campaigns, and am above fifty years old. Though I had not completed the number of years required by the law, and my age did not discharge me, substituting four of my children in my place, I should deserve to be exempt from the necessity of serving. But by all I have said, I only intend to show the justice of my cause. For the rest, as long as those who levy troops shall judge me capable of bearing arms, I shall not refuse the service. The tribunes shall rank me as they please, that is their business: mine is so to act, that none be ranked above me for valour; as all the generals, under whom I have had the honour to serve, and all my comrades can witness for me, I have hitherto never failed to do. For you, centurions, notwithstanding your appeal, as even during your youth, you have never done any thing contrary to the authority of the magistrates and senate, in my opinion, it would become your age to show yourselves submissive to the senate and consuls, and to think every station honourable, that gives you opportunity to serve the republic."⁷ When he had done speaking, the consul, after having given him the highest praises before the people, left the assembly, and carried the centurion with him into the senate. There he was publicly thanked in the name of that august body, and the military tribunes, as a mark and reward of his valour and zeal, declared him Primipilus, that is first officer of the first legion. The other centurions, renouncing their appeal, made no farther difficulty to enter into the service.

Nothing gives us a juster idea of the Roman character than facts of this kind. What a fund of good sense, equity, nobleness, and even greatness of soul does this soldier express! He speaks of his ancient poverty without shame, and of his glorious services without vanity. He is not improperly tenacious of a false point of honour. He modestly defends his rights, and renounces them. He teaches all ages not to contend with their country nor to make the public good give place to their private interest; and is so happy, as to bring over all those in the same case, and associated with himself, into his opinion. How powerful is example! The good disposition of a single person

is sometimes all that is necessary for reducing a multitude to reason.

ARTICLE III.

PREPARATIONS OF WAR.

I shall include in this article what relates to provisions, the pay of soldiers, their arms, and some other cares necessary to be taken by generals before they begin to march.

SECTION I.—OF PROVISIONS.

THE order observed by the Romans in regard to provisions, is better known to us than that of the Greeks: the quaestor was charged with this care. The ration of corn for each soldier's daily subsistence was very near the same with both people, that is to say a *chanix*, or the eighth part of a Roman bushel; six of which went to the Medimnus. The *chanix* was also the usual daily allowance of a slave. A Roman soldier therefore in the foot had four bushels of wheat a month; which was called *menstruum*: that is to say, thirty-two *chanix*, which was something more than a *chanix* per day. The foot soldier of the allies had as much.

The Roman cavalry soldier received two medimni of wheat, or twelve bushels, a month, because he had two domestics, which amounted to fourscore and sixteen *chanix*, at the rate of something more than a *chanix* per man daily. This horseman had two horses, one for himself, and the other to carry his baggage, &c. For these two horses he received also monthly, seven medimni of barley, which make forty-two bushels, at the rate of one bushel, and a little more than three *chanix* a day for two horses. It was necessary for one of these horsemen to have a certain income, to support the unavoidable expenses he was at during the campaign; hence it sometimes happened that a citizen, though of a patrician family, was obliged by his poverty to serve in the foot.⁸ The horseman of the allies had a medimnus and one-third per month, that is to say, eight bushels of corn, because he had only one horse, and consequently but one servant; and five medimni of barley for that horse, which make thirty bushels, at the rate of one bushel a day. The quantity of wheat for the officers augmented in proportion to their pay, of which we shall speak in the sequel. The portion of corn was sometimes doubled to the soldiers by way of honour and reward, as appears from several passages in Livy.⁹

The public stores of corn, of which the quaestors, as I have said, had the care, were carried either in ships, in waggons, or by beasts of burthen: but the foot soldiers carried upon their shoulders the quantity of corn distributed to them for a certain time, which very much lessened the number of carriages.

Four bushels of wheat, which was the quantity of each soldier for a month, was a heavy load, without reckoning all that he had to carry besides. It is certain that they were sometimes loaded with four bushels:¹⁰ but this undoubtedly was on extraordinary occasions, as upon a forced march, or a sudden expedition in the enemy's country. It is highly probable that they generally carried corn only for twelve, fifteen, or twenty days at most; and this weight diminished every day by the daily consumption.

It may be asked why corn, rather than bread was given to the troops. Perhaps this custom had been transferred from the city into the camp; for in the city the public distributions were made in corn, not in bread. Besides which, the weight of corn was lighter

¹ Pater mihi exorem fratris aui filiam dedit, quam secum nihil attulit præter libertatem, pudicitiam, et cum his facultatibus, quanta vel in ditti domo satis esset.

² Decimum ordinem Hastatum assignavit.

³ Dignum iudicavit, cui primum Pastatum prioris centuriæ assignaret.

⁴ Mibi primus Princeps prioris centuriæ est assignatus.

⁵ Quater primum pilum duxi.

⁶ The crowns given for having saved the life of a citizen were called so.

⁷ Et omnia honesta loca ducere, quibus temp. defensuri sitis.

⁸ Magistrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium patriciæ gentis, sed qui, in cum stipendia pedibus propter paupertatem fecisset, bello tamen primus longè Romanæ juventutis habitus esset. Liv. l. iii. n. 27.

⁹ Milites, qui in præsidio fuerant, duplici frumento in perpetuum: in præsentia singulis bobus donati. Liv. l. vii. n. 11. Hispanis duplicia cibaria dari jussit. Liv. 24.

¹⁰ Consul menstruum jussu milite secum ferre profectus, decimo post diem, quam exercitum acceperat, castra movit. Liv. l. xiv. n. 2.

Aquilejenses, nihil se ultra scire nec audere affirmare, quam triginta dierum frumentum militi datum. Liv. l. xliii. a. 1.

than that of bread. Pliny observes, that the weight of a bushel of wheat in grain augments exactly one third when made into ammunition bread.¹ This is a considerable difference. But it may be conceived to have been a very great trouble for the soldiers to make their own bread, to grind the corn, and afterwards to bake it; though they were divided into messes or chambers, called *Contubernia*, this seems to us a considerable difficulty. To judge rightly of it, however, we must imagine ourselves to live in the same times and countries with them, and consider the customs which then prevailed. The Roman soldier, employed in grinding the corn, and baking the bread, did no more in the camp, than he had done every day in the city in times of peace. His meal supplied him with I know not what variety of dishes. Besides the common bread, he made a kind of soft boiled food of it, very agreeable to the troops: he mingled it with milk, roots, and herbs; and made pancakes of it upon a small plate laid over the fire, or upon the hot ashes, as was anciently the manner of regaling guests, and is still practised throughout the East, where these kind of thin cakes are much preferred to our best bread.

Upon certain occasions bread was distributed amongst the troops.² When L. Quintius Cincinnatus was created dictator against the Æqui; he ordered all the youth capable of bearing arms to repair to the Campus Martius before sunset, with bread for five days, each of them with twelve palisades. He commanded such of the citizens as were of a more advanced age to bake bread for the young ones, whilst they were employed in preparing their arms, and providing themselves with stakes. This was chiefly done when they were to embark,³ because there was not so much convenience on board the vessels for baking bread, as on shore. But generally the soldier ground his corn himself, either in little mills, which he carried along with him, or upon stones; after which he baked his bread, not in ovens, but upon a fire, or under the ashes.

To the corn given the troops were added salt, herbs and roots, cheese, and sometimes bacon and pork. Their drink was answerable to this diet. The army very seldom used wine. Cato the elder drank nothing but water, except in great heats, when he only mixed it with vinegar.⁴ The use of this drink was common in the armies; it was called *posca*. Every soldier was obliged to have a bottle of it in his equipage. The emperor Pescennius forbade the use of any other drink in his army: *jussit vinum in expeditione neminem bibere, sed aceto universos esse contentos*.⁵ The expression, *universos*, seems to imply that this prohibition was universal, and extended to the officers as well as soldiers. This drink (*posca*) was very good to quench the thirst immediately, and to correct the badness of the water which they might meet with upon their march. Hippocrates says, that vinegar is refreshing: *ξύς ψυκτικόν*: for which reason it was given to reapers, and those who worked in the field.⁶ Aristotle tells us,⁷ that the Carthaginians, in time of war, abstained from wine.

I have heard say that nothing gives persons in the army, who read the ancient history, so much difficulty, as the article of provisions; which difficulty is not without its foundation. We do not find, that either the Greeks or Romans had the precaution to provide magazines of forage, to lay up provisions, to have a commissary general of stores, or to be followed by a great number of carriages. We are amazed at what is said⁸ of the army of Xerxes king of Persia, which amounted, including the train and baggage, to more than five millions of souls; and for the subsistence of which, according to the computation of Herodotus, more than six hundred thousand bushels of wheat a

day were requisite. How was it possible to supply such an army with so enormous a quantity of corn, and other necessaries in proportion? We must remember, that the same Herodotus⁹ had taken care to apprise us, that Xerxes had employed himself, during four years, in making preparations for this war. A considerable number of ships laden with corn and other provisions, always coasted near the land army, and were perpetually relieved by others, by the means of which it wanted nothing; the passage from the Hellespont to the Grecian sea, and the island of Salamis being very short, and this expedition not of a year's continuance. But no consequence should be drawn from it, this being an extraordinary case, and one may say the only example of the kind. In the wars of the Greeks against each other, their armies were small, and accustomed to a sober life; they did not remove far from their own country, and almost always returned regularly every winter. So that it is plain, it was not difficult for them to have provisions in abundance, especially the Athenians, who were masters at sea.

As much may be said of the Romans, with whom the care of provisions was infinitely less weighty, than it is at present with most of the nations of Europe. Their armies were much less numerous, and they had a much smaller number of cavalry. A legion of four thousand foot made a body (after our manner) of six or seven battalions; and having only three hundred horse, they formed but two squadrons: so that a consular army of about sixteen thousand foot, including the Romans and their allies, was composed of very near twenty-five of our battalions, and had but eight or nine of our squadrons. In these days, to twenty-five battalions, we have often more than forty squadrons. What a vast difference must this make in the consumption of forage and provisions! They did not want four or five thousand horses for the train of artillery; with bakers and ovens, and a great number of covered wagons, each of four horses. Besides this, the sober manner of life in the army, confined to the mere necessities of life, spared them an infinite multitude of servants, horses, and baggage, which now exhaust our magazines, starve our armies, retard the execution of enterprises, and often render them impracticable. This was not the manner of living only of the soldiers, it was common to them with the officers and generals. Emperors themselves, that is to say, the lords of the universe, Trajan, Adrian,¹⁰ Pescennius,¹¹ Alexander Severus,¹² Probus, Julian,¹³ and many others, not only lived without luxury, but contented themselves with boiled flour or beans, a piece of cheese or bacon, and made it their glory to level themselves, in this respect, with the meanest of the soldiers. It is easy to perceive of what weight such examples were, and how much they contribute to diminish the train of an army, to support the taste of frugality and simplicity amongst the troops, and banish all luxury and idle show from the camp.

It is not without reason, that all the authors I have cited at bottom observe, that those emperors affected to eat in public, and in the sight of the whole army. *In propatulo—Ante papilionem—Apertis papilionibus—Sub columellis tabernaculi*. This sight attracted, instructed, and consoled the soldier, and ennobled his poor diet to him, in its resemblance to that of his masters: *cunctis videntibus atque gaudentibus*. Let us compare an army of thirty thousand men, composed of such officers and soldiers as the Greeks and Romans had, robust, sober, seasoned, and inured to all sort of fatigues, with our armies of an hundred thousand men, and the pompous train that follows them;

⁹ Herod. l. v. ii. c. 20.

¹⁰ Cibis etiam castrentibus in propatulo libenter utebatur (Adrianus) hoc est larido, caseo, posca. *Spartian.*

¹¹ In omnia expeditione (Pescennius) militare cibum sumpsit ante papilionem. *Spartian.*

¹² Apertis papilionibus (Alexander) prandit atque cenavit. cum militarium cibum, cunctis videntibus atque gaudentibus, sumeret. *Lamprid.*

¹³ Et Imperatori (Juliano) non capere ciborum regio, more, sed sub columellis tabernaculi parvis cenatorum pulvis portio parabat exiguam, etiam munifici fastidienda gregario. *Ammian.* l. xxv.

¹ Lex certè naturæ, ut in quocunque genere pani militari tertia portio ad grani pondus accedat. *Plin.* xviii. c. 7.

² Liv. l. liii. n. 27.

³ Ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent. *Liv.* l. xxi. n. 49.

Cum triginta dierum coctis cibariis naves conscenderunt. *Liv.* l. xxiii.

⁴ Plut. in Cat. p. 336.

⁵ Ruth. ii. 14.

⁶ Herod. l. vii. c. 187.

⁷ *Spartian.*

⁸ *Econom.* l. i. c. 5.

is there a general of the least sense or understanding, that would not prefer the former? It is with such troops the Greeks often checked the whole forces of the East; and the Romans conquered and subjected all other nations. When shall we return to so laudable a custom? Will there not some general of an army arise of superior rank and merit, and at the same time of a genius solid and sensible to true glory, who shall comprehend how much it is for his honour to show himself liberal, generous, and magnificent in sentiments and actions; to bestow his money freely for animating the soldiers, or to assist the officers, whose income does not always suit their birth and merit; and to reduce himself in all other things, I do not say to that simplicity and poverty of the ancient masters of the world, (so sublime a virtue is above our age's force of mind) but to an elegant and noble plainness, which, by the force of example, of great effect in those that govern, may perhaps suggest the same to all our generals, and reform the bad and pernicious taste of the nations?

The care of provisions always has been, and ever will be, highly incumbent upon a good general. Cato's maxim, that the war feeds the war, holds good in plentiful countries, and with regard to small armies: that of the Greeks is more generally true, that the war does not furnish provisions upon command, or at a fixed time. They must be provided, both for the present and the future. One of the principal instructions Cambyses king of Persia gave his son Cyrus, who afterwards became so glorious, was, not to embark in any expedition, till he had first informed himself whether subsistence were provided for the troops. Paulus Æmilius would not set out for Macedonia, till he had taken care of the transportation of provisions. If Cambyses and Darius had been as attentive in this point, they had not occasioned the loss of their armies, the first in Ethiopia, and the other in Scythia. That of Alexander had been famished, if the counsel of Memnon, the most able general of his times, had been followed, which was to lay waste a certain extent of country in Asia Minor, through which that prince was under the necessity of marching. Before the battle of Canne, Hannibal had not ten days' provisions: a delay of some weeks had reduced him to the last extremity. Cæsar, before that of Pharsalia, must have perished for want of provisions, if Pompey would, or rather could, have waited ten or twelve days longer. Famine is an enemy, against whom the ability and valour of generals and soldiers can effect nothing, and whom the number of troops serves only to re-enforce.

SECTION II.—PAY OF THE SOLDIERS.

AMONGST the Greeks, the soldiers at first subsisted themselves in the field at their own expense. This was natural; because they were the citizens themselves, united to defend their lands, lives and families, and had a personal interest in the war.

The poverty which Sparta long professed, gives reason to believe, that they did not pay their troops. As long as the Spartans remained in Greece, the republic supplied them with provisions for their public meals, and one habit yearly. Amongst these provisions there was some meat, and a particular officer had the distribution of it. We have seen Agesilaus, to mortify Lysander, who had filled the highest offices of the republic, give him this office, which was of no consideration.² The Spartans, during the war, contented themselves with this allowance, adding to it some little plunder of the country for their better subsistence. After Lysander had opened the way for gold and silver to re-enter Sparta, and had formed a public treasury there, as the Lacedæmonians were often transported into Asia Minor out of their own country, the republic was no doubt obliged to supply them at such times with subsistence by particular aids. We have seen the younger Cyrus, at the request of Lysander, augment the pay of those who served on board the galleys of the Lacedæmonians, from three oboli,³ usually paid them by the Persians, to four, which very

much seduced the seamen from the Athenians. Sparta's strength was not maritime. Though it was washed by the sea upon the east and south, its coasts were not advantageous for navigation, and it had only the port of Gytheum, which was neither very large nor commodious; and indeed its fleets were not very numerous, and had scarce any seamen but strangers. It is not certainly known what pay Sparta gave her land troops, nor whether she supplied either the one or the other with provisions.

Pericles was the first that established a pay for the Athenian soldiers, who till then had served the republic without any. Besides its being very easy to conciliate the people's favour by this method, a more urgent motive obliged him to introduce that change. He made war at a distance in Thrace, in the Chersonesus, in the isles, and in Ionia, during several months together, without molesting or squeezing the allies. It was impossible for citizens, so long absent from their lands, trades, and other means of getting their bread, (for most of them were artisans, as the Lacedæmonians approached them) to serve without some support. That was a justice the republic owed them, and Pericles acted less the part of a popular magistrate than that of an equitable judge. He only prevented, like a wise politician, the desires of the people in regard to a conduct, which was become necessary.

The usual pay of the mariners was three oboli, which made half a drachma, that is to say, fivepence French; that of the infantry four oboli, or sixpence halfpenny; and that of the cavalry, a drachma, tenpence. Good order had been established for supporting the expenses of the war. The four oldest and primitive tribes of Athens had increased to ten. At that time, for the payment of imposts, six-score citizens were drawn out of each tribe, which made twelve hundred in all; these were divided into four companies of three hundred, and into twenty classes; of which each were again divided into two parts, the one of the richer citizens, the other of such as were less so. The public expenses fell upon the rich and opulent, but upon some more than others. When any urgent and sudden necessity happened, that made it necessary to raise troops, or fit out a fleet, the expenses were divided amongst these citizens in proportion to their states: the rich advanced the money, for the immediate service of the republic, and the others had time allowed to reimburse them, and pay their quota. It appears from the example of Lamachus, who was sent with Nicias to command at the siege of Syracuse, that the Athenian generals served at their own expense.⁴ Plutarch observes, that this Lamachus, who was very poor, not being in a condition to pay any thing towards the expenses of the war, sent an account to the people of what he had laid out upon his own person, in which his daily subsistence, clothes, and even shoes and stockings were included.

The Roman soldiers, in the earlier times of the republic, served without pay or recompense. The wars in those days were not very distant from Rome, and of no long duration. As soon as they were terminated, the soldiers returned home, and took care of their affairs, lands, and families. It was not till four hundred and forty years after the building of Rome, that the senate, upon occasion of the siege of Veii, which was very long, and continued without interruption during the winter, contrary to custom, decreed, without being requested, that the republic should pay the soldiers a fixed sum for the services they should render it.⁵ This decree, the more agreeable to the people, as it appeared the pure effect of the senate's liberality, occasioned universal joy; and the whole city cried out, that they were ready to shed their blood, and sacrifice

⁴ Plut. in Nic. p. 533.

⁵ Additum deinde, omnium maximè tempestivo principum in multitudinem munere, ut ante mentionem ullam plebis Tribuorumve decerneret senatus, ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset. Nihil acceptum unquam a plebe tanto gaudia traditur. Concursum itaque ad Curiam esse, prehensatibus; exentium manus, et putres vere appellatos, effectum esse fatentibus, ut nemo pro iam munifica patria, donec quiescam virum superesset, corpori aut sanguini suo parceret. Liv. l. iv. n. 59.

¹ Bellum inquit Cato, seipsum alet. Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 9.

² Plut. in Agesil. et Lysand.

³ From fivepence to sixpence halfpenny.

their lives, for so munificent a country. The Roman senate showed the same wisdom upon this occasion, as Pericles had done at Athens. The soldiers at first whispered, and at length openly vented their complaints and murmurs against the length of the siege, which laid them under the necessity of continuing remote from their families during even the winter, and by that long absence occasioned the ruin of their lands, which remained uncultivated, and became incapable of affording them subsistence. These were the real motives of the senate's conduct, who artfully granted that as a favour, which necessity was upon the point of extorting from them by the invectives of some tribune of the people, who would have made it an honour to himself. To answer this pay, a tax was laid upon the citizens in proportion to their estates.¹ The senators set the example, which was followed by all others, notwithstanding the opposition of the tribunes of the people. It appears that none were exempt from it, not even the augurs nor pontiffs.² They evaded paying it during some years, by violent means, and their private authority. The questors cited them to appear and see themselves sentenced to pay the whole arrears due for that time. They appealed to the people, who condemned them. When wars were terminated, and considerable spoils had been taken from the enemy, part of them was applied in reimbursing the people the sums that had been raised for carrying them on:³ which is a very admirable, and very uncommon example of public faith. The tax, of which I speak, subsisted till the triumph of Paulus Æmilius over the Macedonians, who brought so great a quantity of riches into the public treasury, that it was thought proper to abolish it for ever.⁴

Though the soldiers usually served only six months, they received pay for the whole year, as appears from several passages in Livy: this was paid them at the end of the campaign; and sometimes from six months to six months. What I have hitherto said of pay, regards only the foot. It was also granted three years after to the horsemen during the same siege of Veii.⁵ The republic used to supply them with horses: they had been so generous, in a pressing necessity of the state, as to declare that they would mount themselves at their own expenses.

The pay of the soldiers was not always the same; it varied according to the times. It was at first only three *asses* a day for the foot: (something more than threepence French:) at that time there were ten *asses* to a *denarius*, which was of the same weight and value as the Grecian drachma. The *denarius* was afterwards raised to sixteen *asses*, in the 536th year of Rome, when Fabius was dictator, at which time the pay rose from three to fivepence.⁶ We ought not to be surprised at the smallness of this pay, when we consider the price of provisions. Polybius informs us, that in his time the bushel of wheat was usually sold for four *oboli*, or sixpence halfpenny French, and the bushel of barley for half that price.⁷ A bushel of wheat was sufficient for a soldier for eight days. Julius Cæsar, to confirm the soldiers the more strongly in his interest, doubled their pay, and made it amount to tenpence: *Legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit*.⁸ There were other alterations in it under the emperors: but I do not think it necessary to enter into the detail of them.

Polybius, after having said that the daily pay of the foot was (at first) something more than two *oboli*, or threepence, adds, that the centurions had four *oboli*, or sixpence halfpenny, and the horse six *oboli*, or tenpence. Taking the daily pay at fivepence, which was the usual pay in Polybius's time, the sum total yearly amounted to almost an hundred livres, without including the ration of corn and other provisions, with which they were daily supplied. I take the year as twelve months, each of thirty days, which amounts to three

hundred and sixty days; and it appears that it was sometimes taken in this manner, in regard to the pay of troops. Out of this annual sum, a part was reserved for their clothes, arms, and tents. This Tacitus tells us: *Enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam; denis in diem assibus animam et corpus astimari. Hinc vestem, arma, tentoria*.⁹ And Polybius adds corn to it: *Non frumentum, non vestem, nec arma gratuita militi fuisse; sed certa horum pretia de stipendio quæstore deducta*.

As to what regards the great officers, consuls, pro-consuls, lieutenants, prætors, proprætors, and quæstors, it does not appear, that the republic paid them for their services in any other manner, than by the honour annexed to these offices. She supplied them with the necessary and indispensable disbursements of their commission: robes, tents, horses, mules, and all their military equipage. They had a certain fixed number of slaves, which was not very great, and which they were not at liberty to augment, the law admitting them to take new ones only in the room of such as died. In the provinces through which they passed, they exacted nothing but forage for their horses, and wood for themselves from the allies. And those who piqued themselves upon imitating the entire disinterestedness of the ancients, took nothing from them. Cicero acted in this manner, as he himself tells Atticus in a letter. "The people are at no expense," says he, "either for me, my lieutenants, the quæstor, or any other officer. I accept neither of forage nor wood, though permitted by the Julian law. I only consent that they supply my people with a house and four beds; though they often lodge in tents."¹⁰ It was of the spirit of the Roman government not to suffer their generals or magistrates to be a charge to their allies. It was this conduct, so full of wisdom and humanity, that rendered the authority of the Romans so venerable and amiable; and it may be said with truth, that it contributed more than their arms, to render them masters of the universe.

Livy tells us¹¹ the name of him who first infringed on the Julian law, which regulated the expenses, that might be exacted from the allies; and his example had but too many followers, who in a short time exceeded him. This was L. Posthumius. He was angry with the inhabitants of Præneste, because during some stay he had made there when a private person, they had not treated him with the respect he believed his due. When he was elected consul, he thought of revenge. Being to pass through that city to his province, he let them know, that they must send their principal magistrates to meet him, to provide him lodging in the name, and at the expense of the public, and to have the beasts of burthen that were necessary, in readiness against his departure. Before him, says Livy, no magistrate had ever put the allies to any expense, nor exacted any thing from them. The republic supplied them with mules, tents, and all the carriages necessary to a commander, in order to prevent their taking any thing from the allies. As hospitality was very much honoured and practised in those times, they lodged with their particular friends, and took great pleasure in receiving them at Rome in their turn when they came thither. When they sent lieutenants upon any sudden expedition, the cities through which they passed received orders to supply them with a horse, and nothing more. Though the consul might have had a just cause of complaint against the people of Præneste, he ought not to have used or rather abused the authority of his office, to make them sensible of it.¹² Their silence, whether the effect

⁹ Anal. l. i. c. 17.

¹⁰ Nullus fit sumtus in nos, neque in legatos, neque in quæstorem, neque in quemquam. Scito non modo nos fœnum aut quod lege Julia dari solet, non accipere; sed ne ligna quidem, nec præter quatuor lectos et tecum quemquam accipere quidquam; multis locis ne tectum quidem, et in tabernaculo, non aere plerumque. *Epist.* 16. lib. v. ad Attica.

¹¹ Liv. l. xlii. n. 1.

¹² Injuria (the sense requires *Ira* to be read) consulis eliamsi justa, non tamen in magistratu exerceunda, et silentium nimis aut modestum aut timidum Prænestinorum, jus velut probato exemplo magistratibus fecit graviorem, in dicit talis generis imperiorum. *Liv.*

¹ Liv. l. iv. n. 60.

² Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 42.

³ Dion. Halicarn. in Excerpt. Legat. p. 747.

⁴ Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 275.

⁵ Equiti certus numerus æris est assignatus. Tum primum equis (suis) merere Equites cœperunt. *Liv.* l. v. n. 7.

⁶ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

⁷ Polyb. l. xiii. p. 103.

⁸ Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 26.

of moderation or excessive timidity, prevented them from laying their complaints before the Roman people, which emboldened the magistrates from thenceforth to make that new yoke heavier every day; as if impunity in the first instance had implied the approbation of Rome, and had given them a kind of right to act the same thing. The ancient Romans, far from behaving in this manner, or endeavouring to enrich themselves at the expense of the allies, had no thoughts but of protecting and defending them. They believed themselves sufficiently paid by the glory of their exploits: and often after great victories and illustrious triumphs, died in the arms of poverty, as they had lived. The Grecian and Roman histories abound with examples of this kind.

SECTION III.—ANCIENT ARMS.

It is not my design in this place to describe all the various kinds of arms used by the soldiery of all nations. I shall confine myself principally, according to my custom, to those of the Greeks and Romans, who, in this respect, had many things common to both. The Romans had borrowed the use of most of them from the Tuscans and Greeks, who inhabited Italy. Florus observes, that Tarquinius Priscus, who was descended from the Corinthians, introduced abundance of the Grecian customs at Rome.¹

Armour was anciently of brass, and afterwards of iron. The poets often take the one for the other. The armour of the Greeks, as well as that of most other nations, was, in the earliest ages, the helmet, the cuirass, the shield, the lance, and the sword. They used also the bow and the sling.

The helmet was a defensive armour for the head and neck. It was either of iron or brass, often in the form of the head, open before, and leaving the face uncovered. There were head-pieces that might be let down to cover the face. Upon the top of them they placed figures of animals, lions, leopards, griffins, and others. They adorned them with plumes of feathers, which floated in the wind, and exalted their beauty.

The cuirass was called in Greek *curessis*, a name which has been adopted into the Latin; that language, however, more frequently uses the word *lorica*. At first cuirasses were made either of iron or brass, in two pieces, as they are in these days: these two pieces were fastened upon the sides by buckles. Alexander left the cuirass only the two pieces which covered the breast, that the fear of being wounded in the back, which had no defence, might prevent the soldiers from flying.² There were cuirasses of so hard a metal, that they were absolutely proof against weapons. Zoilus, an excellent artist in this way, offered two of them to Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes.³ To show the excellency of them, he caused a dart to be discharged at them out of the machine, called a catapult, at the distance of only twenty-six paces. How violently soever the dart was shot, it made no impression, and scarce left the least mark upon the cuirass.

Many nations made their cuirasses of flax or wool: these were coats of arms made with many folds, which resisted, or very much broke, the force of blows. That with which Amasis presented the Lacedæmonians, was of wonderful workmanship, adorned with figures of various animals, and embroidered with gold.⁴ What was most surprising in this cuirass, was, that every thread in it, though very small, was composed of three hundred and sixty smaller, which it was not difficult to distinguish.

I have said that the cuirass was called *lorica* in Latin. This word comes from *lorum*, a thong or strap of leather, because made of the skin of beasts. And from the French word *cuir* also *cuirass* is derived. The cuirass of the Roman legions consisted of thongs, with which they were girt from the armpits to the waist. They were also made of leather, covered with plates of iron, in the form of scales, or

of iron rings twisted within one another in the form of chains. These are what we call coats of mail, in Latin, *lorica hamis conserta*, or *hamata*. With the *thorax* of the Greeks the soldier was much less capable of motion, agility, and force: whereas the girts of leather, successively covering each other, left the Roman soldier entire liberty of action, and fitting him like a vest, defended him against darts.

The buckler was a defensive piece of armour, proper to cover the body. There were different sorts of them. The *scutum*, *θυελος*, or *σκαυος*. The shield was a long buckler, and sometimes of so immoderate a size, that it would cover a man almost from head to foot. Such were those of the Egyptians mentioned by Xenophon. It must have been very large amongst the Lacedæmonians, as they could carry the body of one who had been killed upon it.⁵ From whence came the celebrated injunction of a Spartan mother to her son, when he set out for the war: *ἢ ταν, ἢ πρὶ ταν*, that is to say, Either bring back this buckler, or return upon it. It was the greatest disgrace to return from battle with the loss of the buckler; undoubtedly, because it seemed to argue, that the soldier had quitted it to fly the more easily, without regard to any thing but saving his life. The reader may remember, that Epaninondas, mortally wounded in the celebrated battle of Mantinea, when he was carried off into his tent, asked immediately with concern and emotion, whether his buckler were safe.

The *clipeus*, *κλειπης*, is often confounded with the *scutum*. It is, however, certain, that they were different; because in the *census*, or muster, made by Servius Tullius, the *clipeus*, is given to those of the first class, and the *scutum* to those of the second. And in fact the *scutum* was long and square: the *clipeus* round and shorter. Both had been used by the Romans in the time of the kings. After the siege of Veii,⁶ the *scutum* became more common. The Macedonians always made use of the *clipeus*, except perhaps in later times.⁷

The buckler of the Roman legions was convex, and in the form of a gutter-tile. According to Polybius it was four feet long, and two and a half broad. These bucklers were anciently made of wood, says Plutarch,⁸ in the Life of Camillus; but this Roman general caused them to be covered with plates of iron, to make them a better defence against blows.

The *parma* was a small round buckler, lighter and shorter than the *scutum*, used by the heavy armed infantry. The light armed foot and the cavalry had this shield. The *pelta* was almost the same thing with that called *celra*. This buckler was light, in the form of a half moon or semicircle on the top.

The SWORD. The forms of it were very different and in great number: I shall not amuse the reader with describing them; but content myself with remarking, that there were long swords without points, which served to strike with the edge, as were those of the Gauls, of which we shall soon speak.⁹ There were others shorter and stronger, which had both point and edge, *punctum et cæsim*, such as the Spanish sabres were, which the Romans borrowed from them, and used ever after with advantage. With these sabres they cut off arms, and heads, and made most horrible wounds, at one blow.¹⁰ The manner in which the sword was worn by the ancients, was not always alike. The Romans generally wore it on the right thigh, to leave room, without doubt, for

¹ Cypriol. l. vii. p. 178.

² Cypriol. antea Romani usi: deinde, postquam facti sunt stipendiarii, scuta pro clipeis fecerunt. Liv. l. viii. n. 8.

³ Arma, clipeus, sarisæque illis (Macedonibus): Romano scutum, majus corpori tegumentum. Liv. l. ix. n. 19.

⁴ Plut. in Cam. p. 150.

⁵ Gallis, Hispanisque scuta ejusdem formæ fere erant, disparēs ac dissimiles gladii. Gallis prælongi, ac sine mucronibus: Hispano, punctum magis quam cæsim assueti potere hostem, brevitate habiles, et cum mucronibus. Liv. l. xli. n. 46.

⁶ Gladio Hispaniensi detruncata corpora branchiis abscissis, aut tota cervice detrecta, divisa à corpore capita, patentique viscera, et fœdientem aliam vulnèrum viderunt. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 34.

¹ Tarquinius Priscus—oriundus Corintho, Græcum ingenium Italici artibus miscuit. Flor. l. i. c. 5.

² Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. ³ Plut. in Demetr. p. 893.

⁴ Herod. l. iii. c. 47.

the moving of the buckler with more freedom, which was on the left side: but, in certain remains of antiquity, we see that their soldiers wore them on the left. It is remarkable, that neither the Greeks nor Romans, the two most warlike nations of the world, wore swords in times of peace; nor was duelling known amongst them.

PIKES or LANCES were used by almost all nations. Those which we see upon the monuments made in the times of the Roman emperors, are about six feet and a half long, including the iron point.

The *Sarissa* of the Macedonians was of so prodigious a length, that one could scarce believe such a weapon could be used, if all the ancients did not agree in this point. They give it a length of sixteen cubits, which makes eight yards.

BOWS and ARROWS are of the most remote antiquity. There were few nations, who did not use them. The Cretans were esteemed excellent archers. We do not find that the Romans used the bow in the earliest times of the republic. They introduced it afterwards; but it appears, that they had scarce any archers, except those of the auxiliary troops.

The SLING was also an instrument of war much used by many nations. The Balearians, or the people of the islands now called Majorca and Minorca, excelled at the sling. They were so attentive in exercising their youth in the use of it, that they did not give them their food in the morning till they had hit a mark.¹ The Balearians were very much employed in the armies of the Carthaginians and Romans, and greatly contributed to the gaining of victories. Livy mentions some cities of Achaia, Egium, Patrae, and Dymae, whose inhabitants were still more dexterous at the sling than the Balearians.² They threw stones farther, and with greater force and certainty, never failing to hit what part of the face they pleased. Their slings discharged the stone with so much force, that neither buckler nor head-piece could resist their impetuosity; and the address of those who managed them was such, according to the scripture, that they could hit a hair, without the stones going either on one side or the other.³ Instead of stones they sometimes charged the sling with balls of lead, which it carried much farther.

JAVELINS. There were two sorts of them, which are: 1. *ῥεβόρος*; *hasta*. I call it javelin. It was a kind of dart not unlike an arrow, the wood of which was generally three feet long, and one inch thick. The point was four inches long, and tapered to so fine an end, that it bent at the first stroke in such a manner, as to be useless to the enemy. The light armed troops used it. They carried several javelins in their left hands, with which they held their buckler, in order to have the right free, either to dart javelins at a distance, or to use the sword.⁴ Livy gives each of them seven javelins.⁵ *ῥοσός*; *Pilum*. I call this the *great javelin*,⁶ because thicker and stronger than the other. The legions darted it at the enemy, before they came to close fight. When they had neither time nor room they threw it upon the ground, and charged the enemy sword in hand. The CAVALRY had almost the same arms as the foot: the helmet, the cuirass, the sword, the lance, and a smaller or lighter buckler.

We see in Homer, that in the Trojan war the most distinguished persons rode on chariots drawn by

good horses, with an esquire or charioteer, in order to charge through battalions with the greater vigour, and to fight with more advantage from them. But people were soon undeceived in these points, by the double inconvenience of being stopt short by hedges, trenches and ditches; or remaining useless in the midst of the enemy, when the horses were wounded. The use of chariots armed with scythes was afterwards introduced. These were placed in the front of the battle, to begin it by breaking the enemy. This manner of fighting was at first in great use amongst all the people of the East, and was believed decisive with regard to victory. The people who excelled most in the art of war, as the Greeks and Romans, did not adopt it; finding by experience, that the cries of the troops attacked in this manner, the discharges of the light armed soldiers, and still more than either, the unevenness of the ground, rendered all the equipage of these chariots ineffectual, and often even pernicious to those who employed them.

The nations who had elephants amongst them, as those of the East and Africa, believed that those animals, no less docile than terrible from their force and enormous size, might be of great use to them in battles. Accordingly, when instructed and guided with art, they did them great service. They carried their guides upon their backs, and were usually placed in the front of their armies. Advancing from thence, they broke the closest ranks with an impetuosity that nothing could resist, crushed whole battalions with their vast weight, and diffused universal terror and disorder. To improve their effect, towers were placed on their backs, which were like portable bastions, from the tops of which chosen troops discharged darts and javelins upon the enemy, and completed their defeat. This custom subsisted long amongst the nations I speak of, from whom it passed to other people, who had learned by fatal experience, how capable those animals were of contributing to victories. Alexander having conquered the nations subject to the Persian empire, and afterwards India, began to make use of elephants in his expeditions; and his successors, in their wars with each other, rendered the use of them very common. Pyrrhus transported some into Italy; and the Romans learnt of that general, and afterwards of Hannibal, the advantage to be made of them in a day of battle. It was in the war against Philip, that they used them for the first time.⁷ But this advantage, great as it appeared, was balanced by inconveniences that at length made them disapprove of the use of elephants. The generals, instructed by experience, rendered the attack of those beasts ineffectual, by ordering their troops to open and give them free passage. Besides this, the frightful cries of the enemy's army, joined with a hail of darts and stones, discharged on all sides by the archers and slingers, put them into confusion, made them mad and furious, and often obliged them to turn upon their own troops, and commit the havoc amongst them intended against the enemy. At such times he who guided the elephant, was obliged, for avoiding that misfortune, to plunge an iron spike into their heads, upon which they fell dead immediately.⁸

Camels, besides being employed to carry, were also of service in battles. They had this convenience in them, that in dry and sandy countries they could support thirst with ease.⁹ Cyrus made great use of them in the battle against Croesus, and they contributed very much to the victory he gained over him, because the horses of the latter, not being able to support the smell of them, were immediately put into disorder. We find in Livy,¹⁰ the Arabian archers mounted on camels with swords of six feet long, to reach the enemy from the high backs of those animals. Sometimes, two Arabian archers sat back to

¹ Veget. de re milit. l. i. c. 16.

² Longius, certiusque, et validiore ictu quam Balearis funditor, eo telo usi sunt—Non capita solum hostium, vulnerabant, sed quocum locum destitissent oris. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 20.

³ Among all this people there were seven hundred men left-handed, every one could sling stones at an hair-breadth, and not miss. Judg. xx. 16.

⁴ Et cum cominus venerant, gladiis a velutibus trucidabantur. Hic miles tripedalem parmam habet, et in dextra hastas, quibus eminus utitur—Quod si pede collato pugandum esset, translati in levam hastis, praecegit gladium. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 21.

⁵ Eis parvae breviores quam equestres, et septena jacula quaternos longa pedas data, praefixa ferro, quale hastis velitaribus inest. Liv. l. xxvi. n. 4.

⁶ Arma Romano scutum—et pilum haud paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missequere telum. Liv. l. ix. n. 19.

⁷ Consul in aciem descendit, ante signa prima locatis elephantis: quo auxilio tum primùm Romani, quia captos aliquant bello Punico habebant, usi sunt. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 36.

⁸ Liv. l. xxvii. n. 49.

⁹ Veget. l. iii. c. 23. Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. vii. p. 176.

¹⁰ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40.

back upon the same camel, in order to be able, even in flying, to discharge their darts and arrows against their pursuers.

Neither the elephants nor camels were of any service in armies, in comparison with that of the horse. That animal seems designed by nature for battles. There is something martial in his air, his chest, his pace, as Job so well observes in his admirable description of him.¹ In many countries, the horse as well as horsemen were entirely covered with armour of iron; these were called *calaphracti equites*. But what is hard for us to comprehend, amongst all the ancient nations, the horse had neither stirrups nor saddle; and the riders never used boots. Education, exercise, and habit, had accustomed them not to need those aids; and even not to perceive that there was any occasion for them. There were some horsemen, such as the Numidians, who did not know so much as the use of bridles to guide their horses, and who, notwithstanding, by their voice only, or the use of the heel or spur, made them advance, fall back, stop, turn to the right or left; in a word, perform all the evolutions of the best disciplined cavalry. Sometimes, having two horses, they leaped from one to the other even in the heat of battle, to ease the first when fatigued. These Numidians, as well as the Parthians, were never more terrible, than when they seemed to fly through fear and cowardice. For then, facing suddenly and unexpectedly about, they discharged their darts or arrows upon the enemy, and fell upon them with more impetuosity than ever.

I have related hitherto what I found most important concerning the arms of the ancients. In all times the great captains had a particular attention to the armour of their troops. They did not care whether they glittered or not with gold and silver; they left such idle ornaments to soft and effeminate nations, like the Persians. They preferred a more lively and martial brightness, one that might inspire terror, such as was that of steel and brass.² Nor was it only the brightness, but the quality of the arms in particular, to which great generals were attentive. The ability of Cyrus the Great, was justly admired,³ who, upon his arrival at the camp of his uncle Cyaxares, changed the arms of his troops. Most of them used almost only the bow and javelin, and consequently fought only at a distance; a kind of fight, wherein the greater number had easily the superiority. He armed them with bucklers, cuirasses, and swords or axes, in order to their being in a condition to come to close fight immediately with the enemy, whose multitude thereby became useless. Iphicrates, the celebrated general of the Athenians, made several useful alterations in the armour of the soldiers, in regard to their shields, pikes, swords, and cuirasses. Philopœmen also, as I have observed in its place, changed the armour of the Achæans, which before him was very defective;⁴ and that alteration did not a little contribute to render them superior to all their enemies. There are many examples of this kind, which it would be too long to repeat here, that show, of what advantage to an army is the ability of a general, when applied to reforming whatever may be defective, and how dangerous it is tenaciously to retain customs established by length of time, without daring to make any alterations in them, however judicious and necessary. No people were ever more remote from this scrupulous attachment than the Romans. Having attentively studied what their neighbours and enemies practised, they well knew how to apply it to their own advantage; and by the different alterations they introduced in their armies, as well with regard to their armour, as whatever else related to military affairs, they rendered them invincible.

ARTICLE IV.

SEC. I.—PRELIMINARY CARES OF THE GENERAL.

ALL that we have seen hitherto, the raising of

troops, their pay, their arms, their provisions, is in a manner only the mechanism of war. There are still more important cares that depend upon the general's ability and experience.

Those who have distinguished themselves most in the knowledge of military affairs, have always believed it particularly incumbent on the general to settle the plan of the war; to examine whether it is most necessary to act upon the offensive or defensive; to concert his measures for the one or the other of these purposes; to have an exact knowledge of the country into which he marches his army; to know the number and quality of the enemy's troops; to penetrate, if possible, his designs; to take proper measures at distance for disconcerting them; to foresee all the events that may happen, in order to be prepared for them; and to keep all his resolutions so well disguised and so secret, that no part of them escapes him and takes air. In this last point, perhaps, nothing was ever better observed than amongst us, in the war lately terminated, (1736,) which is not a little for the honour of the ministry and officers.

We have seen in the war against Perseus, the wise precautions taken by Paulus Æmilius,⁵ before opening the campaign, that nothing might be wanting to the success of it; which precautions were the principal cause of his conquering that prince. It is upon these preliminary provisions the success of enterprises depends. And it was by adopting them that Cyrus commenced his career, as soon as he arrived in the camp of his uncle Cyaxares, who had not thought of taking any such measure.

It is amazing to consider the orders given by the same Cyrus, before he marched against the enemy; and the immense detail into which he entered with respect to all the necessities of the army. He was to march fifteen days through countries that had been destroyed, and in which there were neither provisions nor forage: he ordered enough of both for twenty days to be carried, and that the soldiers, instead of loading themselves with baggage, should exchange that burden for an equal one of provisions; without troubling themselves about beds or coverlets for sleeping, the want of which their fatigue would supply. They were accustomed to drink wine; and to prevent the sudden change of their drink from making them sick, he ordered them to carry a certain quantity with them, and to use themselves by degrees to do without it, and to content themselves with water. He advised them also to carry salt provisions along with them, handmills for grinding corn, and medicines for the sick; to put into every carriage a sickle and a mattock, and upon every beast of burden an axe and a scythe, and to take care to supply themselves with a thousand other necessities. He carried also along with him smiths, shoemakers, and other workmen, with all manner of tools used in their trades. For the rest, he declared publicly, that whoever would charge himself with the care of sending provisions to the camp, should be honoured and rewarded by himself and his friends; and even if they wanted money for that service, provided they would give security, and engage to follow the army, he would assist them with it. A detail of this kind, part of which I have omitted, is not unworthy of a general, nor a great prince, as Cyrus was.

We see in Pericles's harangue to the Athenians,⁶ in regard to the Peloponnesian war, how much that great man, who administered the affairs of his republic with so much wisdom, excelled in the science of war, and how vast and profound his foresight was. He regulated the plan of the war, not only for one campaign, but for its whole duration, and settled it upon the perfect knowledge he had himself, and imparted to the Athenians, of the Lacedæmonian forces. He determined them to shut themselves up within their walls, and to suffer their lands to be ruined, rather than hazard a battle against an army much more numerous than their own; whilst, on his side, he went with a fleet to ravage the whole coast of Peloponnesus. He recommended to them espe-

¹ Job. xxxix. 19—25.

² Macedonum dispar acies erat; equia virisque, non auro, non discolori veste, sed ferro atque ære fulgentibus. *Q. Curt.* l. iii. c. 3.

³ Xenoph. *Cyrop.* l. ii. p. 40.

⁴ *Plut.* in *Philop.* p. 3. 360.

⁵ *Vol.* II.—51

⁶ *Liv.* l. xlv. n. 18.

⁶ *Thucyd.* l. ix.

cially not to form any enterprises abroad, and not to think of any new conquests, upon which conditions he assured them of victory. It was from despising this advice, and carrying their arms into Sicily, that the Athenians were ruined.

Was there ever any thing more wise or better concerted than Hannibal's plan of attacking the Romans in their own country? He proposed the same design to Antiochus, which would have distressed the Romans exceedingly, had he followed it: but that prince had neither sufficient extent of mind, nor discernment enough to comprehend its whole advantage and wisdom. Alexander had perhaps been stopped short, reduced by famine, and obliged to retreat into his own kingdom, if Darius, as we have observed above, had destroyed the country through which his army was to pass, and had made a powerful diversion in Macedonia, as Memnon, one of his generals, and one of the greatest captains of antiquity, advised him. To form such plans is not to make war from day to day, and in a manner by chance, and to wait till events determine us; but to act like a great man, and with a thorough knowledge of the matter we have in hand. Enterprises concerted with so much wisdom, seldom fail of success.¹

SECTION II.—DEPARTURE AND MARCH OF THE TROOPS.

THE beginning and end of the war, the departure and return of the troops, were always solemnized by public acts of religion and sacrifices.² The reader undoubtedly remembers, that in the advice Cambyzes, king of the Persians, gave his son Cyrus, when he set out for his first campaign, he insisted principally upon the necessity of not undertaking any action great or small, either for himself or others, without having first consulted the gods, and offered sacrifices to them. He observed this counsel with surprising exactness.³ When he arrived upon the frontiers of Persia, he sacrificed victims to the gods of the country, and to those of Media, as soon as he entered it, to implore their aid, and that they would be propitious to him. His historian is not ashamed to repeat in many places, that this prince took great care, upon all occasions, to discharge this duty upon which he made the whole success of his enterprises depend. Xenophon himself, a warrior and philosopher, never engaged in any important affair, without having first consulted the gods. All Homer's heroes appear very religious, and have recourse to the divinity on all occasions and dangers. Alexander the Great did not quit Europe and enter Asia, without having first invoked the divinities of both. Hannibal, before he engaged in the war against the Romans, went expressly to Cadiz, to acquit himself of the vows he had made to Hercules, and to implore his protection by new ones, for the success of the expedition he had undertaken.⁴

The Greeks were very religious observers of this duty. Their armies never took the field without being attended by auspices, sacrificers, and other interpreters of the will of the gods, of which they believed it their duty to be assured before they hazarded a battle.

But of all the nations of the world, the Romans were the most exact in their recourse to the divinity, either in the beginning of their wars, in the great dangers to which they found themselves sometimes exposed, or after their victories; and ascribed the success of their arms solely to the care they had taken to render this homage to their gods.⁵

They were mistaken in the object, not the principle; and this universal custom of all nations shows, that they always acknowledged a supreme and Al-

mighty Being, who governed the world, and disposed at his will of all events, and in particular of those of war, attentive to the prayers and vows addressed to him.

MARCH OF THE ARMY.

When every thing was ready, and the army assembled at the time and place fixed, it began to march. To avoid prolixity, I shall speak only of the Romans in this place: from whence the reader may form a judgment of other nations.

It is amazing to consider the loads under which the soldiers marched. Besides their arms, says Cicero,⁶ the buckler, the sword, the helmet, (the javelins, or half-pikes, might be added,) besides these arms which they considered no more as a burden than their limbs, for they said their arms were in a manner a soldier's members; they carried provisions for several days, and sometimes for three weeks or a month, with all the implements for dressing their food, and each a stake or palisade of considerable weight. Vegetius⁷ recommends the exercising young soldiers, in carrying a weight of above five and forty pounds, a day's march in the usual pace of the army, in order to their being accustomed to it against times of occasion and necessity. And this was the practice of the ancient Roman soldiers.⁸

The usual march of the Roman army, according to Vegetius,⁹ was twenty thousand paces a-day;¹⁰ that is to say, at least six leagues, allowing three thousand paces to each league. Three times a month, to accustom the soldiers to it, the foot as well as horse were obliged to take this march. By an exact calculation of what Cæsar relates of a sudden march, which he made at the time he besieged Gergovia, we find that in four and twenty hours he marched fifty thousand paces.¹¹ This he did with the utmost expedition. In reducing it to less than half, it makes the usual day's march of six leagues. Xenophon¹² regularly sets down the days' marches of the troops, who returned into Greece after the death of the younger Cyrus, and made the fine retreat, so much celebrated in history. All these marches, one with the other, were six parasangs,¹³ that is to say, more than six of our leagues. The usual marches of our armies are far from being so long; and it is not easy to comprehend how the ancients made them so. Their measures have varied very much, which perhaps is the reason of this difference between their day's march and ours.

The consul and even the dictator, marched at the head of the legions on foot, because the greatest force of the Romans consisting in the infantry, they believed it necessary for the general to remain always at the head of the battalions. But as age or infirmity might disable the dictator to support that fatigue, before he set out for the army, he applied to the people to demand a dispensation from observing that

* *Nostris exercitus primum unde nomen habeant, vides. Deinde qui labor, quantus agnitus! ferre plus dimidiati mensis cibaria, ferre si quid ad usum velint, ferre vallum: nam scutum, gladium, galeam in onere nostri milites non plus numerant quam humeros, lacertos, manus. Arma enim, membra militis esse ducent; quæ quidem ita gerunt aptè, ut, si usus foret, abjectis oneribus, expeditis armis, ut membris, pugnare possint. Cic. *Tuscul.* l. ii. p. 37.*

† *Pondus quoque bajulare usque ad 60 libras et iter facere gradu militari, frequentissimè cogendi sunt juniores, quibus in arduis expeditionibus necessitas imminet annonam pariter et arma portandi. Veget.* l. i. c. 19.

‡ *Non secus ac patrii acer Romanus in armis*

Injusto sub facie viam cum carpit, et hosti

Ante expectatum positus stat in agmine castris.

Virg. Georg. l. iii.

§ *As when the warlike Roman under arms, Charg'd with a baggage of unequal weight, Pursues his march, and unexpected stands Pitching his sudden tent before the foe.—TRAP.*

¶ *Veget.* l. i. c. 27.

|| *Militari gradu viginti millia passuum horis duntaxat quinque æstivis conficienda sunt. Veget.* l. i. c. 9.

12 *De bell. Gall.* l. vii.

13 *Xenoph.* de Exped. Cyr. l. vii. p. 427.

The parasang was a Persian measure of the ways. The least consisted of thirty stadia, each stadium of a hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces.

1 *Qui victoriam cupit, milites imbuat diligenter. Qui secundos optat eventus, dimicet arte, non casu. Veget.* l. iii. *In Prologo.*

2 *Xenoph.* in *Cyrop.* l. i.

3 *Ibid.* l. 21. n. 21.

3 *Ibid.* l. ii.

4 *Ejus belli (contra Annibalem) causâ supplicatio per urbem habitâ, atque adorati dii, ut bene ac feliciter eveniret quod bellum populus Romanus jussisset. Liv.* l. xxi. n. 17.

5 *Civitas religiosa, in principis maximè novorum bellorum, supplicationes habuit. Id.* l. 31. n. 9.

law established by ancient custom, and permission to ride on horseback.¹ Suetonius represents Julius Cæsar as indefatigable, marching at the head of his armies, sometimes on horseback, but generally on foot, and bareheaded, however the sun shined, or how hard soever it rained.² Pliny praises Trajan, for having accustomed himself early to march on foot at the head of the legions under his command; without ever using either chariot or horse, though he had immense countries to traverse; and he always did the same after he became emperor.³ Cæsar, of whom I spoke just before, either swam or forded rivers. It was in order to be able to do the same, and to support all the fatigues of war, that the young Romans exercised themselves in horse and foot races, and all covered with sweat after such violent exercises, threw themselves into the Tiber, and swam over it. Care was taken to form those for several years that were to recruit the legions, and had not served before. For this purpose they made choice of the most healthy, the most active, and the most robust. They were exercised by fatigues, marches, and toils, which were gradually increased; and such as experience showed to be unequal to this discipline were dismissed, and only tried soldiers retained, who formed a body of chosen troops. It was this manly, hard, and robust education, which at Rome, and long before at Sparta, and in Persia, in the time of Cyrus, made the soldiery indefatigable and invincible.

SECTION III.—CONSTRUCTION AND FORTIFICATION OF THE CAMP.

I suppose the army upon a march. Though it were still in the territory of Rome, and had only one night to pass in a place, it encamped in all the forms, with no other difference, than that the camp was less fortified there perhaps than in the enemy's country. From thence comes this manner of speaking so usual in Latin authors, *primis castris, secundis castris*, &c. at the first camp, at the second camp: to signify the first or second day's march; because, however short their stay was to be in a place, they never failed to form a camp in it. They called it *stativa*, when they were to stay several days in it: *ibi plures dies stativa habuit*.⁴

This exactness of the Romans in their own country, sufficiently intimates their strictness when in sight of, or near, the enemy. It was a law amongst them, established by long custom, never to hazard a battle, till they had finished their camp. We have seen Paulus Æmilius suspend and arrest the ardour of his whole army to attack Perseus, for no other reason, but because they had not formed their camp. In the war with the Gauls, the commanders of the Roman army were reproached with having omitted this wise precaution, and the loss of the battle of Allia was partly attributed to it.⁵ The success of arms being uncertain, the Romans wisely took care to secure themselves a retreat in case of the worst. The fortified camp put a stop to the enemy's victory, received the troops that retired in safety, enabled them to renew the battle with more success, and prevented their being entirely routed; whereas without the refuge of a camp, an army, though composed of good troops, was exposed to a final defeat, and to being inevitably cut to pieces.

The camp was of a square form, contrary to the custom of the Greeks, who made theirs round. The citizens and allies divided the work equally between them.⁶ If the enemy were near, part of the troops

continued under arms, whilst the rest were employed in throwing up the intrenchments. They began by digging trenches of greater or less depth, according to the occasion. They were at least eight feet broad by six deep: but they were often twelve feet in breadth, and sometimes more, to fifteen or twenty. Of the earth dug out of the fossé, and thrown up on the side of the camp, they formed the parapet or breastwork, and to make it the firmer, they mingled it with turf cut in a certain size and form. Upon the brow of this parapet the palisades were planted. I shall repeat all that Polybius remarks upon these stakes, with which the intrenchment of the camp was strengthened, though I have already done it elsewhere, because this is the proper place for it. He speaks of them, upon the occasion of the order given by Q. Flamininus to his troops, to cut stakes against they should have occasion to use them.

This custom, says Polybius,⁷ which is easy to put in practice amongst the Romans, passes for impossible with the Greeks. They can hardly support their own weight upon their marches: whilst the Romans, notwithstanding the buckler, which hangs at their shoulders, and the javelins which they carry in their hands, load themselves also with stakes or palisades, which are very different from those of the Greeks. Among the latter, those are best which have many strong branches about the trunk. The Romans, on the contrary, leave only three or four at most upon it, and that only on one side. In this manner a man can carry two or three bound together, and much more use may be made of them. Those of the Greeks are more easily pulled up. If the stake be fixed by itself, when its branches are strong, and in great number, two or three soldiers will easily pull it away; and thereby an opening is made for the enemy, without reckoning that the neighbouring stakes will be loosened, because their branches are too short to be interwoven with each other. But this is not the case with the Romans. The branches of their palisades are so strongly inserted into each other, that it is hard to distinguish the stake they belong to. And it is as little practicable to thrust the hand through these branches to pull up the palisades; because being well fastened and twisted together, they leave no opening, and are carefully sharpened at their ends. Even though they could be taken hold of, it would not be easy to pull them out of the ground, and that for two reasons. The first is, because they are driven in so deep, that they cannot be moved; and the second, because their branches are interwoven with each other in such a manner, that one cannot be stirred without several more. Two or three men might unite their strength in vain to draw one of them out, which, however, if they effected, by drawing it a great while to and fro till it was loose, the opening would be almost imperceptible. These stakes therefore have three advantages. They are every where to be had; they are easy to carry; and are a secure barrier to a camp, because very difficult to break through. In my opinion (says Polybius, in the conclusion he deduces from all he says) there is nothing practised by the Romans in war, more worthy of being imitated.

The form, dimension, and distribution of the different parts of the camp were always the same; so that the Romans knew immediately where their tents were to be pitched. The Greeks differed from them in this. When they were to encamp, they always chose the place that was strongest by its situation, as well to spare themselves the trouble of running a trench round their camp, as because they were convinced, that the fortifications of nature were far more secure than those of art. From thence arose the necessity of giving their camps all sorts of forms, according to the nature of places, and to vary the different parts of them; which occasioned such a confusion, as made it difficult for the soldier to know exactly either his own quarters, or that of his corps.

nibus munienda, fossamque ad eandem magnitudinem præfici jubat; reliquis legiones in armis expeditas contra hostem constituit. *Cæs. de bell. civil. l. i.*

⁷ Polyb. l. xvii. pp. 754, 755.

¹ Dictator tulit ad populum, et equum ascendere liceret. *Ris. l. xliii. n. 14.* Plut. in Fab. p. 175.

² Laboris ultra fidem patiens erat, in agmine non nunquam equo, sæpius pedibus antebat, capite detecto seu sol seu imber esset. *Sueton. in Jul. Cæs.*

³ Per hoc omne spatium cum legionibus duces—non vehiculum unquam, non equum respexisti. *Plin. in Trajan.*

⁴ Liv. l. xxxvii.

⁵ Ibi Tribuni militum non loco castris ante capto, non præmunito vallo quò receptus esset—instruunt aciem. *Liv. l. v. n. 37.*

⁶ Trifariam Romani muniabant, alios exereitus prælio intentus stabat. *Liv.*

Cæsar—singula latera castrorum singulis attribuit legio-

The form and distribution of the Roman camp admits of great difficulties, and has occasioned great disputes amongst the learned. I shall repeat in this place what Polybius has said upon this head, and shall endeavour to explain him in some places, and to supply what he has omitted in others. He speaks of a consular army,¹ which, in his time, consisted in the first place of two Roman legions, each containing four thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and in the second, of the troops of the allies, a like number of infantry, and generally double the number of cavalry, which made in all, Romans and allies, eighteen thousand six hundred men. For the better conceiving the disposition of this camp, we should remember what has been said above upon the different parts into which the Roman legion was divided.

SECTION IV.—DISPOSITION OF THE ROMAN CAMP ACCORDING TO POLYBIUS.

AFTER the place for the camp is marked out, says Polybius, which is always chosen for its convenience in respect to water and forage, a part of it is allotted for the general's tent, which I shall otherwise call the Prætorium, upon an higher ground than the rest, from whence he can see with the greater ease all that passes, and despatch the necessary orders. A flag was generally planted on the ground where this tent was to be pitched, round which a square space was marked out in such manner, that the four sides were an hundred feet distant from the flag, so that the ground occupied by the consul was about four acres. Near his tent were erected the altar, on which sacrifices were offered, and the tribunal for dispensing justice.

The consul commands two legions, of which each has six tribunes, which make twelve in all. Their tents are placed in a right line parallel to the front of the Prætorium, at the distance of fifty feet. In this space of fifty feet are the horses, beasts of burden, and the whole equipage of the tribunes. Their tents are pitched in such a manner, that they have the Prætorium in the rear, and in the front all the rest of the camp. The tents of the tribunes, at equal distances from each other, take up the whole breadth of the ground, upon which the legions are encamped. Between the tents of the legions and tribunes, a space of an hundred feet in breadth parallel to those of the tribunes is left, which forms a street, called *Principia*, equal in length to the breadth of the camp, which divides the whole camp into the upper and lower parts. Beyond this street were placed the tents of the legions. The space which they occupy is divided in the midst into two equal parts, by a street of fifty feet broad, which extended the whole length of the camp. On each side on the same line were the quarters of the horse, the *Triarii*, the *Principes*, and *Hastarii*. Between the *Triarii* and the *Principes*, there is on both sides a street, of the same breadth with that in the middle, which, as well as the latter, runs the whole length of this space. It is also cut by a cross street called the fifth, *Quintana*, because it opened beyond the fifth manipule.

As each of the four bodies I have just named, was divided into ten parts; the cavalry into ten companies, *Turmas*, each of thirty men; the three bodies into ten maniples, of an hundred and twenty each, except those of the *Triarii*, which consisted of only half that number; the quarters of the horse, *Triarii*, *Principes*, and *Hastarii*, were severally divided, each into ten squares, along the space assigned the legions as above described. Each of these squares were an hundred feet every way, except those of the *Triarii*, which were only fifty feet broad, upon account of their smaller number, which we have already mentioned.

The tents, whether of the cavalry or infantry, are disposed in the same manner, with their fronts towards the streets. The cavalry of the two legions are first quartered facing each other, and separated by a space of fifty feet, which is the breadth of the street in the middle. This cavalry making only six hundred men, each square contained thirty horse, on

each side, which are the tenth part of three hundred. On the side of the cavalry, the *Triarii* are quartered, a manipule behind a troop of horse, both in the same form. They join as to the ground, but the *Triarii* turn their backs upon the horse, and here each manipule is only half as broad as long, because the *Triarii* are less in number than the other kind of troops.

At fifty feet distance, and fronting the *Triarii*, a space which forms a street on each side in length, the *Principes* are placed along the side of the interval. Behind the *Principes* the *Hastarii* were quartered, joining as to the ground, but fronting a different way.

Thus far we have described the quarters of the two Roman legions, that formed the consul's army, and consisted of eight thousand four hundred foot, and six hundred horse. It remains for us to dispose of the allies. Their infantry were equal to that of the Romans, and their cavalry twice their number. In removing, for the extraordinaries or *Evocati*, the fifth part of the infantry, that is to say, sixteen hundred foot, and a third of the cavalry, or four hundred men, there remained in the whole seven thousand five hundred and twenty men, horse and foot, to quarter.

At fifty feet distance, and facing the Roman *Hastarii*, a space which formed a new street on each side, the cavalry of the allies encamp upon a breadth of an hundred and thirty-three feet, and something more. Behind that cavalry, and on the same line, encamp their infantry upon a breadth of two hundred feet. At the head of every manipule on each side are the tents of the centurions. The same, no doubt, should be said of the tents of the captains of the horse, though Polybius does not mention them. Part of the remaining space behind the tents of the tribunes, and on the two sides of the Prætorium or consul's tent, was employed for a market, and the rest for the quæstor, the treasury, and the ammunition.

Upon the right and left, on the sides and beyond the last tent of the tribunes, facing the Prætorium on a right line, were the quarters of the extraordinary cavalry, *Evocatorum*; and of the other volunteer horse, *Selectorum*.² All this cavalry faced on one side towards the place of the quæstor, and on the other towards the market. It did not only encamp near the consul's person, but often attended him upon marches; in a word, it was generally at hand to execute the orders of the consul and the quæstor. The Roman infantry, extraordinary and volunteers, are in the rear of the horse last spoken of, and upon the same line, and do the same service for the consul and quæstor.

Above this horse and foot is a street an hundred feet broad, which runs the whole breadth of the camp. On the other side of this space are the quarters of the extraordinary horse of the allies facing the market, the Prætorium, and the treasury, or place of the quæstor. The extraordinary foot of the allies were encamped behind their horse, and faced the intrenchment and the extremity of the camp. The void spaces that remained on both sides were allotted to strangers and allies, who came after the rest.

All things thus disposed, we see the camp forms a square, and that as well by the distribution of the streets as the whole disposition, it very much resembles a city. And this was the soldiers' idea of it, who considered the camp as their country, and the tents as their houses. These tents were generally made of skins; from whence came the expression much used by authors, *sub pellibus habitare*. The soldiers joined together in messes, which they called *Contubernia*. These generally consisted of eight or ten men.

From the intrenchment to the tents is a space of two hundred feet; and that interval is of very great use, either for the entrance or departure of the legions. For each body of troops advances into that

² These two corps were horse, either chosen by the consuls themselves, or such as voluntarily attended them. This gave birth to the Prætorian cohorts or bands under the emperors. The *Selecti* or *Ablecti*, whether horse or foot, were drawn out of the allies. The *Evocati* were volunteers, old soldiers, either citizens or allies.

¹ Polyb. l. vi. pp. 473. 477.

space by the street before it, so that the troops not marching in the same way, were not in danger of crowding and breaking each other's ranks. Besides which, the cattle, and whatever is taken from the enemy, is placed there, where a guard is kept during the night. Another considerable advantage of it is, that in attacks by night, neither fire nor dart can be thrown to them; or if that happens, it is very seldom, and can do no great execution; the soldiers being at so great a distance, and under the cover of their tents. If the camp of Syphax and Asdrubal in Africa had been enclosed within so great a space, Scipio had never been able to have burnt it in one night.

By the exact calculation of the camp, as Polybius describes it, each front contained 2016 feet, which make 672 yards: so that the whole superficies of the camp was 4,064,256 feet, or 225,792 square yards. When the number of the troops was greater, the measure and extent of the camp was augmented without changing its form. When the consul Livius Salinator received his colleague Nero into his camp, the extent of the camp was not enlarged; the troops were only made to take up less ground, because those of Nero were not to stay long; which was what deceived Asdrubal. *Castra nihil aucta errorum faciebant.*

Polybius does not tell us, where the lieutenants, *Legati*, who held the first rank after the consul, or the pretors and other officers, encamped. It is very likely that they were not far from the consul, with whom they had a continual intercourse as well as the tribunes. Nor is he more express upon the gates of the camp, which were four, according to Livy. *Ad quatuor portas exercitum instruit, ut, signo dato, ex omnibus eruptionem facerent.*¹ He afterwards calls them, the *Extraordinary*, the *Right principle*, the *Left principle*, and the *Quæstorian*. They have also other names, about which it is not a little difficult to reconcile authors. It is believed that the *Extraordinary* gate was called so, because near the place where the extraordinary troops encamped; and that it was the same as the *Prætorian*, which took its name from its nearness to the *Prætorium*. The gate opposite to this, at the other extremity of the camp, was called *porta Decumana*, because near the ten maniples of each legion: and very probably is the same with the *Quæstorian*, mentioned by Livy in the place above cited. I shall not expatiate any farther upon these gates, which would require long dissertations. But we cannot sufficiently admire the order, disposition, and symmetry of all the parts of the Roman camp, which resembles rather a city than a camp: the tent of the general placed on an eminence, in the midst of the altars and statues of the gods, which seemed to render the Divinity present amongst them, and surrounded on all sides with the principal officers, always ready to receive and execute his orders. Four great streets, which lead to the four gates of the camp, with abundance of other streets on each side of them, all parallel to each other. An infinity of tents, placed in a line at equal distances, and with perfect symmetry. And this camp so vast and extensive, and so diversified in its parts, which seemed to have cost infinite time and pains, was often the work of an hour or two, as if it had rose of itself out of the earth. All this, however, is nothing in comparison with what, in a manner, constitutes the soul of the camp; I mean the wisdom of command, the attention and vigilance of the general, the perfect submission of the subaltern officers, the entire obedience of the soldiers to the orders of their chiefs, and the military discipline, observed with unexampled strictness and severity: qualities which ranked the Roman people above all nations, and at length made them their masters. The Roman manner of encamping must have been very excellent and perfect, as they observed it inviolably for so many ages, and with so great success, and there is almost no example of their camp's being forced by their enemies.

This custom of fortifying camps regularly, which

the Romans considered as one of the most essential parts of military knowledge and discipline, has been disused by the moderns. The number of troops of which armies are now composed, and that occupies a considerable extent of ground, seems to render this work impracticable, which would become infinite. The people of Asia, whose armies were far more numerous than ours, never failed to enclose their camp, at least with very deep trenches, though they stayed only a day or a night; and often fortified it with good palisades.² Xenophon observes, that it was the great number of their troops itself, that rendered this practice easy.

It is agreed, that no people ever carried the knowledge and practice of the art of war to an higher degree of perfection than the Romans; but it must be confessed, that their principal excellency lay in the art of encamping, and in drawing up armies in battle array. And this is what Polybius admires most in it, who was a good judge of military affairs, and had been long a witness of the excellent discipline observed amongst the Roman troops. When Philip, the father of Perseus, and before him Pyrrhus, prejudiced by their esteem for the Greeks, and full of contempt for all other nations, whom they treated as Barbarians, saw for the first time the distribution and order of the Roman camp, they cried out with surprise and admiration: *Sure that cannot be the disposition of Barbarians!*

But what ought to surprise us most, and what it is even difficult to conceive, so remote are our manners from it, is the character of this people, inured to the rudest toils, and invincible to the severest fatigues. We see here the effects of a good education, and wholesome habits contracted from the most early youth. Most of these soldiers, though Roman citizens, had estates, and cultivated their inheritances with their own hands. In times of peace they exercised themselves in the most painful labours. Their hands, accustomed daily to wield the spade, turn up the land, and guide an heavy plough, only changed exercises, and even found rest in those imposed upon them by the military discipline; as the Spartans are said never to have been more at their ease than in the army and camp, so hard and austere their manner of living at all other times. Who could believe, that there was nothing, even to cleanliness, of which particular care was not taken in the Roman camp. As the great street situated in the front of the *Prætorium*, was much frequented by the officers and soldiers, who passed through it to receive and carry orders, and upon their other occasions, and thereby exposed to much dirt; a number of soldiers were appointed to sweep and clean it every day in winter, and to water it in summer, to prevent the dust.

SECTION V.—EMPLOYMENTS AND EXERCISES OF THE ROMAN SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS IN THEIR CAMP.

THE camp being prepared in the manner we have described, the tribunes assembled to take the oath of all the men in the legions, as well free as slaves. All swear in their turn; and their oath consists in a promise not to steal any thing in the camp, and to bring whatever they should find in it to the tribunes. The soldiers had before taken a like oath, at the time they were listed: I deferred repeating it till now, that being joined with the other, its force might be better conceived. By this first oath "the soldier engages to steal nothing alone or in concert with others, either in the army or within ten thousand paces of it; and to carry to the consul, or to restore to its lawful owner, whatever he may find exceeding the value of one sesterius, that is to say, about five farthings, excepting certain things mentioned in the oath."³ What is said here of ten thousand paces from the army, does not mean, that the soldiers were allowed to steal beyond that distance: but whatever they found without those bounds, they were not obliged to carry to the consul. Amongst things excepted, were the fruit of a tree, *panum*. Marcus Scaurus tells us,⁴ however, as a

¹ Liv. l. xxvii. n. 46.

² Liv. l. xl. c. 27.

³ Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. ii. p. 80.

⁴ Aul. Gell. l. xvi. c. 4. ⁵ Frontin. Stratag. l. iv. c. 3.

memorable example of the Roman abstinence, that a fruit-tree happening to grow within the enclosure of the camp, when the army quitted it the next day, nobody had touched it. Scaurus commanded the army at that time. This oath shows, how far the Romans carried their attention, and exactness in preventing all rapine and violence in the army, because theft is not only prohibited the soldiery, upon pain of the most indispensable severities, but they are not even permitted to appropriate what they find on their way, and chance presents to them. Hence the laws actually treat as theft, the retaining any thing of another's after having found it, whether the owner were known or not. *Qui alienum jacens lucri faciendi causa sustulit, furti obstringitur, cive scilicet ejus sit sive nascit.*¹

I have said, that theft was prohibited with inexorable severity. There is a very terrible example of this under the emperors.² A soldier had stolen a fowl from a peasant, and had eat it, with the nine other men in his mess. The emperor Pescennius Niger condemned them all to die, and only spared their lives at the earnest request of the whole army, obliging each of them to give the countryman ten fowls, and affixing a mark of public infamy upon them during the rest of the war. How many crimes is so wholesome a rigour capable of preventing! What a sight is a camp under such regulations! But what a vast difference is there between soldiers obedient to such a discipline in the midst of paganism, and our marauders, who call themselves Christians, and fear neither God nor man! The enclosure of the camp was a good barrier against disorders and license; and we shall soon see, that even upon marches, severity of discipline had no less effect than lines and intrenchments.

A wonderful order was observed night and day throughout the whole camp, in respect to the watchword, centinels and guards; and it was in this its security and quiet consisted. To render the guard more regular and less fatiguing, the night was divided into four parts or watches, and the day into four stations. Every one had his duty fixed, both in regard to time and place; and in the camp, all things were regulated and disposed, as in a well ordered family.

I have already spoken elsewhere of the simplicity of the ancients in regard to their provisions and equipage. The second Scipio Africanus would not suffer a soldier to have any more than a kettle, a spit, and a wooden bowl. Epaminondas,³ the glorious Theban general, had only this furniture both for the field and city. The ancient generals of Rome were not more magnificent. They did not know what silver plate was in the army; and had only a bowl and a saltcellar of that metal for sacrifices.⁴ The horses glittered also with silver ornaments. The hours of dining and supping were made known by a certain signal. We have observed, that most of the Roman emperors ate in public, and often in the open air. It has been remarked, that Pescennius made no use of coverings against the rain.⁵ The meals of these emperors, as well as of the ancient generals, of whom Valerius Maximus speaks, were such as might be eaten in public without any reserve! the meats of which they consisted had nothing in them, that it was necessary to conceal from the eyes of the soldiers, who saw with joy and admiration, that their masters were no better fed than themselves.⁶

What was most admirable in the Roman discipline, was the continual exercise to which the troops were

kept, either within or without the camp; so that they were never idle, and had scarce any respite from duty.⁷ The new raised soldiers performed their exercise regularly twice a day, and the old ones once. They were formed to all evolutions, and other parts of the art military.⁸ They were obliged to keep their arms always clean and bright.⁹ They were made to take hasty marches of a considerable length, laden with their arms and several palisades; and that often in steep and craggy countries. They were habituated always to keep their ranks, even in the midst of disorder and confusion, and never to lose sight of their standards. They were made to charge each other in mock battles, of which the officers, generals, and even the consul himself were witnesses, and in which they thought it for their glory to share in person. When they had no enemy in the field, the troops were employed in considerable works, as well to keep them in exercise, as for the public utility. Such in particular are the highways, called for that reason *via militares*, which are the fruits of this wise and salutary custom. *Stratum militari labore iter.*¹⁰ We may judge whether, amidst these exercises, which were almost continual, the troops could find time for those unworthy diversions, equally pernicious in the loss of time and money. This itch, this frenzy for gaming, which to the shame of our times has forced the intrenchments of the camp, and abolished the laws of military discipline, had been regarded by the ancients as the most sinister of omens and the most terrible of prodigies.

ARTICLE V.

OF BATTLES.

SECTION I.—THE SUCCESS OF BATTLES PRINCIPALLY DEPENDS UPON THE GENERALS OR COMMANDERS IN CHIEF.

In this view, the value of military merit appears in all its force. To know whether a general were worthy of that name, the ancients examined his conduct in battle. They did not expect success from the number of troops, which is often a disadvantage, but from his prudence and valour, the cause and assurance of victory. They considered him as the soul of his army, who directs all its motions, to whose dictates every thing obeys, and upon whose conduct the event of the engagement generally depends. The affairs of the Carthaginians were absolutely desperate, when Xanthippus the Lacedæmonian arrived. Upon the account they gave him of what had passed in the battle, he attributed the ill success of it solely to the incapacity of their generals; and fully proved the truth of his opinion. He had brought with him neither infantry nor cavalry, but knew how to use both. Every thing had soon a new aspect, and demonstrated that one good head is of more value than a hundred thousand arms. The three defeats of the Romans by Hannibal taught them the effects of a bad choice. The war with Persus had continued three years, through the ill conduct of three consuls, who had been charged with it: Paulus Æmilius terminated it gloriously in less than one. It is on these occasions the difference between man and man is most evident.

The first care of a general, and that which demands great judgment and prudence, is to examine whether it be proper or not to come to an engagement: for both may be equally dangerous. Mardonius perished miserably with his army of three hundred thousand men, for not having followed the advice of Artabazus, which was to decline battle, and to use rather gold and silver against the Greeks than iron. It was contrary to

¹ Sabin. ex lib. Jur. Civil. ii.

² Spartian. in Pescen.

³ Epaminondas, Dox Thebanorum tantæ abstinentiæ fuit, ut in suppellectili ejus, præter anenum et veru unicum, nihil inveniretur. *Frontin. Stratag.* l. iv. c. 3.

⁴ Præter equos virosque et si quid argenti, quod plurimum in phaleris eorum, (nam ad vescendum facto per exigua, utrique militantes, utebantur) omnia cetera præda diripienda militi data est. *Liv.* l. xvii. n. 52.

⁵ Idem in omni expeditione, ate omnes militarem cibum sumpti—nec sibi unquam, vel contra imbres, quesivit teeti suffragium. *Capitol.*

⁶ Fuit illa simplicitas antiquorum in cibo capiendi, humanitatis simul et continentiæ certissima index. Nam maximis vires prandere et cænnare in propatulo, voracundie non erat. Nec sanè ullæ epulas habebant, quos oculis populi subjicere crubescerent. *Fal. Max.* l. ii. c. 5.

⁷ Opere faciundo milites se circumspiciendi non habebant facultatem. *Iliad.* in *Bell. Afric.*

⁸ Ibi quia otiosa castra erant, crebro decurrere milites cogebat (Sempronius) ut tyrones assuescerent signa sequi, et in acie cognoscere ordines suos. *Liv.* l. xxiii. n. 35.

⁹ Primo die legiones in armis quatuor millium spatio decurrerunt. Secundo die arma curru et tergere ante tentoria jussit (Scipio Africanus.) Tercio die sudibus inter se in modum justæ pugnae concurrerunt, præpilatisque missilibus jaculati sunt. *Liv.* l. xxvi. n. 51.

¹⁰ Acvere alii gladiis; alii galens bucalisque, scuta alii, loricaeque tegere. *Liv.* l. xlv. n. 34.

¹¹ Quint. l. ii. c. 14.

the opinion of the wise Memnon, that Darius's generals fought the battle of the Granicus, which gave the first blow to the empire of the Persians. The blind temerity of Varro, notwithstanding his colleague's remonstrances and the advice of Fabius, drew upon the republic the unfortunate battle of Cannæ; whereas a delay of a few weeks would probably have ruined Hannibal for ever. Persens, on the contrary, let slip the occasion of fighting the Romans, in not having taken advantage of the ardour of his army, and attacked them instantly after the defeat of their horse, which had thrown their troops into disorder and consternation. Cæsar had been lost after the battle of Dyrrachium, if Pompey had known how to improve his advantage. Great enterprises have their decisive moments. The important point lies in wisely resolving what to choose, and in seizing the present occasion that never returns when once neglected: and in this the whole depends upon the general's prudence.¹ There is a distribution of cares and duties in an army.² The head decrees; the arms execute. "Think only," says Otho to his soldiers, "of your arms, and of fighting with bravery, and leave the care of taking good measures, and directing your valour aright, to me."³

SECTION II.—CARE TO CONSULT THE GODS AND HARANGUE THE TROOPS BEFORE A BATTLE.

The moment before a battle, the ancients believed themselves called upon to consult the gods, that they might incline them in their favour. They consulted them by the flight or singing of birds, by the inspection of the entrails of victims, by the manner in which the sacred chickens pecked their corn, and by things of the like nature. They laboured to render them propitious by sacrifices, vows and prayers. Many of the generals, especially in the earlier times, discharged these duties with great solemnity and sentiments of religion, which they carried sometimes to a puerile and ridiculous superstition: others either despised them in their hearts, or openly made a jest of them; and people did not fail to ascribe the misfortunes, which their ignorance or temerity drew upon them, to that irreligious contempt. Never did prince express more reverence for the gods than Cyrus the Great. When he was marching to charge Cræsus, he sung the hymn of battle aloud, to which the whole army replied with great cries, invoking the god of war. Paulus Æmilius, before he gave Perseus battle, sacrificed twenty oxen successively to Hercules, without finding any favourable sign in all these victims: it was not till the twenty-first that he believed he saw something which promised him the victory. There are also examples of a different kind. Epaminondas, no less brave, though not so superstitious as Paulus Æmilius, finding himself opposed in giving battle at Leuctra upon account of bad omens, replied by a verse of Homer's, of which the sense is: "The only good omen is, to fight for one's country." A Roman consul, who was fully determined to fight the enemy as soon as he came up with them, kept himself close shut up within his litter, during his march, to prevent any bad omen from frustrating his design. Another did more: seeing that the chickens would not eat, he threw them into the sea, saying, "If they won't eat let them drink." Such examples of irreligion were uncommon, and the contrary opinion prevailed. There was without doubt superstition in many of these ceremonies: but the sacrifices, vows, and prayers, which always preceded battles, were proofs that they expected success from the divinity, who alone disposed of it.

After having paid these duties to the gods, they applied themselves to men, and the general exhorted his soldiers. It was an established custom with all nations to harangue their troops before battle; which

custom was very reasonable, and might contribute very much to the victory. It is certainly right, when an army is upon the point of engaging with the enemy, to oppose the fear of a seemingly approaching death with the most powerful reasons, and such as, if not capable of totally extinguishing that fear so deeply implanted in our nature, may at least combat and overcome it: such reasons, as the love of our country, the obligation to defend it at the price of our blood, the remembrance of past victories, the necessity of supporting the glory of our nation, the injustice of a violent and cruel enemy, the dangers to which the fathers, mothers, wives, and children, of the soldiers are exposed:—these motives, and many of the like nature, represented from the mouth of a general, beloved and respected by his troops, may make a very strong impression upon their minds. Military eloquence consists less in words, than in a certain easy and engaging air of authority, that at once advises and commands; and still more in the inestimable advantage of being beloved by the troops, which might supply its place if wanted.⁴ It is not, as Cyrus observes,⁵ that such discourses can in an instant change the disposition of soldiers, and from timorous and abject, as they might be, make them immediately bold and intrepid: but they awaken, they rouse the courage nature has before given them, and add a new force and vivacity to it.

To judge rightly of the custom of haranguing the troops, as generally and constantly practised by the ancients, we must go back to the ages wherein they lived, and consider their manners and customs with particular attention.

The armies of the Greeks and Romans were composed of the same citizens, to whom, in the city and in time of peace, it was customary to communicate all the affairs of the state. The general did no more in the camp, or in the field of battle, than he would have been obliged to do in the *Rostrum* or tribunal of harangues. He did his troops honour, and attracted their confidence and affection, in imparting to them his designs, motives, and measures. By that means he interested the soldier in the success. The sight only of the generals, officers, and soldiers assembled, communicated a reciprocal courage and ardour to them all. Every one piqued himself at that time upon the goodness of his aspect and appearance, and obliged his neighbour to do the same. The fear of some was abated or entirely banished by the valour of others. The disposition of particular persons became that of the whole body, and gave their aspect to affairs in general. There were occasions when it was most necessary to excite the good will and zeal of the soldier: for instance, when a difficult and hasty march was to be made, to extricate the army out of a dangerous situation, or to obtain one more commodious: when courage, patience, and constancy, were necessary for supporting famine and other violent distresses, conditions painful to nature: when some difficult, dangerous, but very important enterprise was to be undertaken: when it was necessary to console, encourage, and re-animate the troops after a defeat: when a hazardous retreat was to be made in view of the enemy, in a country he was master of: and lastly, when only a generous effort was wanting to terminate a war, or some important enterprise. Upon these and the like occasions the generals never failed to speak in public to the army, in order to sound their disposition by their acclamations, more or less strong; to inform them of their reasons for such and such conduct, and to conciliate them to it; to dispel the false reports which exaggerated difficulties, and discouraged them; to let them see the remedies preparing for the distresses they were under, and the success to be expected from them; to explain the precautions it was necessary to take, and the motives for taking them. It was the general's interest to flatter the soldier in making him the confidant of his designs, fears, and expedients, in order to engage him to share in them, and act in

¹ Si in occasioneis momento, enjus prætervolat opportunitas, cunctatus paulum fueris, nequequam mox amissam quaeras. *Liv.* l. xxv. n. 38.

² Divisa inter exercitum, decesque munia. Militibus cupido pugnandi covenit: duces providendo, consultando prosunt. *Tacit. Hist.* l. iii. c. 20.

³ Vobis arma et animus sit, mihi consilium et virtutis vestræ regimen reliquit. *Id.* l. i. c. 84.

⁴ Caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis. *Tacit. in Agr.* col. c. 16.

⁵ Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. iii. p. 84.

concert and from the same motives with himself. The general in the midst of soldiers, who, as well as himself, were all, not only members of the state, but had a share in the authority of the government, was considered as a father in the midst of his family.

It may not be easy to conceive how he could make himself heard by the troops, but that difficulty will vanish if we remember, that the armies of the Greeks and Romans were not very numerous—those of the former seldom exceeding ten or twelve thousand men, and, of the latter, very rarely twice that number; I do not speak of the later times. The generals were heard, as the orators were in the public assemblies, or from the tribunal for harangues. Every individual did not hear: but the whole people were informed at Rome and Athens; the whole people deliberated and decided, and none of them complained of not having heard. It sufficed, that the most ancient, the most considerable, the principals of companies and quarters were present at the harangue, of which they afterwards gave the account to the rest. On the column of Trajan, the emperor is seen haranguing the troops from a tribunal of turf raised higher than the soldiers' heads, with the principal officers around him upon the platform, and the multitude forming a circle at a distance. One would not believe in how little room a great number of unarmed men will stand upright, when they press close to each other; and these harangues were usually made in the camp to the soldiers quiet and unarmed. Besides which, they accustomed themselves from their youth to speak upon occasion with a strong and distinct voice. When the armies were more numerous, and upon the point of giving battle, they had a very simple and natural manner of haranguing the troops. The general on horseback rode through the ranks, and spoke something to the several bodies of troops in order to animate them. Alexander¹ did so at the battle of Issus, and Darius almost the same at that of Arbela,² though in a different manner. He harangued his troops from his chariot, directing his looks and gesture to the officers and soldiers that surrounded him. Without doubt, neither the one nor the other could be heard by any but those who were nearest them: but these soon transferred the substances of their discourses to the rest of the army.

Justin, who abridged Troguus Pompeius, an excellent historian that lived in the time of Augustus, repeats an entire harangue, which his author had put into the mouth of Mithridates.³ It is very long, which ought not to seem surprising, because Mithridates does not make it just before a battle, but only to animate his troops against the Romans, whom he had before overthrown in several battles, and intended to attack again. His army consisted of almost three hundred thousand men of twenty-two different nations, who had each their peculiar language, all which Mithridates could speak, and therefore had no occasion for interpreters to explain his discourse to them. Justin, where he repeats the speech in question, barely says, that Mithridates called an assembly of his soldiers: *Ad consensum milites vocat*. But what did he do to make twenty-two nations understand him? Did he repeat to each of them the whole discourse quoted by Justin? That is improbable. It were to be wished, that the historian had explained himself more clearly, and given us some light upon this head. Perhaps he contented himself with speaking to his own nation, and making known his views and designs by interpreters. Hannibal acted in this manner.⁴ When he was going to give Scipio battle in Africa, he thought it incumbent on him to exhort his troops: and as every thing was different amongst them, language, customs, laws, arms, habits, and interests, so he made use of different motives to animate them. "To the auxiliary troops,

he proposed an immediate reward, and an augmentation of their pay out of the booty that should be taken. He inflamed the peculiar and natural hatred of the Gauls against the Romans. As for the Ligurians, who inhabited a mountainous and barren country, he set before them the fertile valleys of Italy, as the fruit of their victory. He represented to the Moors and Numidians the cruel and violent government of Massinissa, to which they would be subjected, if overcome. In this manner he animated these different nations, by the different views of hope and fear. As to the Carthaginians, he omitted nothing that might excite their valour, and addressed himself to them in the warmest and most pathetic terms: the danger of their country, their household gods, the tombs of their ancestors, the terror and consternation of their fathers and mothers, their wives and children; in fine, the fate of Carthage, which the event of that battle would either ruin and reduce into perpetual slavery, or render mistress of the universe; every thing being extreme which she had either to hope or fear."⁵ This is a very fine discourse. But how did he make these different nations understand it? Livy informs us: he spoke to the Carthaginians himself, and ordered the commanders of each nation to repeat to them what he had said. In this manner, the general sometimes assembled the officers of his army, and after having explained what he desired the troops might be told, he sent them back to their several brigades or companies, in order to report what they had heard, and animate them for the battle. Arrian observes⁶ this in particular of Alexander the Great before the famous battle of Arbela.

SECTION III.—MANNER OF EMBATTLING ARMIES, AND OF ENGAGING.

THE manner of drawing up armies in battle, was not always alike with the ancients, and could not be so, because it depends on circumstances that vary perpetually, and consequently require different dispositions. The infantry were generally posted in the centre, in one or more lines, and the horse upon the wings.

At the battle of Thymbraea, all the troops of Cræsus, as well horse as foot, were drawn up in one line thirty men deep, except the Egyptians, who amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand men.⁷ They were divided into twelve large bodies or square battalions, of ten thousand men each, a hundred in front, and as many in depth. Cræsus with all his endeavours could not make them change this order, to which they were accustomed: this rendered the greatest part of those troops useless, who were the best in the army, and did not a little contribute to the loss of the battle. The Persians generally fought fourscore deep. Cyrus, to whom it was of great importance to extend his front as far as possible, in order to prevent being surrounded by the enemy, reduced his files to twelve deep only. The reader knows the event of this battle. In the battle of Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians who had of their own troops and their allies, four and twenty thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, were drawn up twelve deep; and the Thebans fifty, though not above six thousand foot, and four hundred horse.⁸ This seems contrary to rule. The design of Epaminondas was to fall directly with the whole weight of his heavy battalion upon the Lacedæmonian phalanx, well assured, that if he could break that, the rest of the army would be soon put to the rout: and the effect answered the design.

I have described elsewhere the Macedonian phalanx, so famous among the ancients. It was generally divided, according to Polybius, into ten battalions, each consisting of sixteen hundred men, a

¹ Alexander ante prima signa ihat.—Cumque agmen obequitaret, varia oratione, ut cujusque animis aptum erat, milites alloquebatur. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 10.

² Darius sicut curru eminebat, dextra levayæ ad circumstantium agmina oculos manuque circumferens, &c. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 14.

³ Justin l. xxxviii. c. 4—7.

⁴ Liv. l. xxx. n. 33.

⁵ Carthaginiensibus mœnia patriæ, dii penates, se pulcra majorum, liberi cum parentibus, conjugibus pavide, aut excidium servitutisque, aut imperium orbis terrarum; nihil aut in metum aut in spem medium ostentat.

Arrian, l. iii. p. 117.

⁶ Xenoph. in Cyrop. l. vi. p. 153, &c.

⁷ Xenoph. Hist. l. vi. p. 595, &c.

hundred in front, and sixteen deep.¹ Sometimes the latter number were doubled, or reduced to eight, according to the exigency of the occasion.² The same Polybius makes a squadron consist of eight hundred horse, generally drawn up a hundred in front and eight in depth: he speaks of the Persian cavalry.

As to the Romans, their custom of drawing up their infantry in three lines continued long, and with uniformity enough. Among other examples, that of the battle of Zama between Scipio and Hannibal may suffice to give us a just idea of the manner in which the Romans and Carthaginians embattled their troops. Scipio placed the *Hastati* (or pikes) in the front line, leaving spaces between the cohorts. In the second he posted the *Principes*, with their cohorts not fronting the spaces of the first line, as was usual with the Romans, but behind the cohorts of the *Hastati*, leaving spaces directly opposite to those of the front line; and this because of the great number of elephants in the enemy's army, to which Scipio thought proper to leave free passage. The *Triarii* composed the third line, and were a kind of corps de reserve. The cavalry were distributed upon the two wings; that of Italy upon the left commanded by Lælius, and the Numidians upon the right under Massinissa. Into the spaces of the first line he threw the light armed troops, with orders to begin the battle; in such a manner, however, that in case they were repulsed, or not able to support the charge of the elephants, they should retire, those who ran best, behind the whole army through the direct intervals, and those who should find themselves surrounded, through such openings as might be on the right or left. As to the other army, more than fourscore elephants covered it in front. Behind them Hannibal posted the foreign mercenaries, to the number of about twelve thousand Ligurians, Gauls, Balearians, and Moors: behind this first line, were the Africans and Carthaginians. These were the flower of his army, with which he intended to fall upon the enemy, when fatigued and weakened by the battle: and in the third line, which he removed to the distance of more than a hundred paces from the second (more than a stadium,) were the troops he had brought with him from Italy, on whom he could not rely, because they had been forced from their country, and he did not know whether he ought to consider them as allies or enemies. On the left wing he placed the cavalry of the Numidian allies, and on the right, that of the Carthaginians. I could wish that Polybius or Livy had informed us what number of troops there were on each side, and what depth the generals had given them in drawing them up. In the battle of Cannæ, some years before this, there is no mention of the *Hastati*, *Principes*, *Triarii*, that generally composed the three lines of the Roman armies. Livy, without doubt, supposes it a custom known to all the world.

It was usual enough, especially with some nations, to raise great cries, and to strike their swords against their bucklers, as they advanced to charge an enemy. This noise, joined to that of the trumpets, was very proper to suppress in them, by a kind of stupefaction, all fear of danger, and to inspire them with a courage and boldness, that had no view but victory, and defied death. The troops sometimes marched softly and coolly to the charge: and sometimes when they approached the enemy, they sprang forward with impetuosity as fast as they could move. Great men have been divided in opinion upon these different methods of attack. On the day of the battle of Thermopylæ, Xerxes's spy found the Spartans preparing to engage only by combing their hair.³ Never was danger, however, more great. This bravado suited only soldiers determined like them to conquer or die; besides, it was their usual custom.

The light armed troops generally began the action by a flight of darts, arrows, and stones, either against the elephants, if there were any, or against the horse

or infantry, to put them into disorder; after which they retired through the spaces behind the first line, whence they continued their discharges over the soldiers' heads. The Romans began a battle by throwing their javelins against the enemy, after which they came to blows with them; and it was then their valour was shown, and great slaughter ensued.

When they had broke the enemy and put them to flight, the great danger was, as it still is, to pursue them with too much ardour, without regard to what passed in the rest of the army. We have seen that the loss of most battles proceeded from this fault, the more to be feared, as it seems the effect of valour and bravery. Lælius and Massinissa, in the battle of Zama, after having broke the enemy and put them to flight, did not abandon themselves to so imprudent an ardour; but returning immediately from the pursuit, rejoined the main body, and falling upon Hannibal's rear, put the greatest part of his phalanx to the sword. Lycurgus had decreed, that after having pursued the enemy enough to secure the victory, the pursuit should cease; and that for two reasons: the first, because as the war was made between Greeks and Greeks, humanity required that they should not act with the greatest extremity against neighbouring people, in some sort their countrymen, who professed themselves vanquished by their flight. And the second, because the enemy, relying upon this custom, would be inclined to preserve their lives by retreating, rather than persist obstinately in a battle, during which they knew they had no quarter to expect.

The attack of an army by the flanks and rear must be very advantageous, as in most battles it is generally attended with victory. Hence we see in all battles that the principal care of the most able generals is to provide against this danger.

It is surprising that the Romans had so few cavalry in their armies; three hundred horse to four or five thousand foot. It is true, they made an excellent use of those they had. Sometimes they dismounted and fought on foot, their horses being trained to stand still in the mean while.⁴ Sometimes they carried light armed soldiers behind them, who got off and remounted with wonderful agility.⁵ Sometimes the horse charged the enemy on the full gallop, who could not support so violent an attack.⁶ But, however, all this amounted to no great service; and we have seen Hannibal indebted for his superiority in his four first battles chiefly to his cavalry. The Romans had made war at first upon their neighbours, whose country was woody, full of vineyards and olive trees, and situated near the Apennine mountains, where the horse had little room to act or draw up. The neighbouring people had the same reason for not keeping much cavalry; and hence it became customary on both sides to have few. The Roman legion was established upon the foot of three hundred horse, the allies furnishing twice that number; which custom in succeeding times had the force of a law.

The army of the Persians had no cavalry, when Cyrus first had the command of it. He soon perceived the want of it, and in a very short time raised a great body of horse, to which he was principally indebted for his conquests. The Romans were obliged to do the same, when they turned their arms against the East, and had to deal with nations, whose principal force consisted in cavalry. Hannibal had taught them what use they were to make of it.

I do not find any mention made of provisions for the sick and wounded in the armies of the ancients. No doubt they took care of them. Homer speaks of several illustrious physicians in the army of the Greeks at the siege of Troy; and we know that they acted as surgeons. Cyrus the younger, in the army with which he marched to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, did not omit to carry with him a considerable number of able physicians.⁷ Caesar tells us in more than one passage of his Commentaries, that after a battle, the wounded were carried into the nearest neighbouring city. There are many instances of generals going to visit the

¹ Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764, 767.

² Id. l. xii. p. 664.

³ Her. l. vii. c. 208.

⁴ Liv. l. iii. n. 62.

⁵ Liv. l. xxvi. n. 4.

⁶ Id. l. viii. n. 30.

⁷ Xenoph. Cyrop. l. i. p. 29.

wounded in their tents: which is a proof, that in quarters, where seven or eight comrades, citizens of the same district of the same city, lay, the soldiers took care of one another, when wounded.

Livy often mentions the *Cartel*, or agreement between nations at war for the ransom of prisoners.¹ After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal, having made himself master of the small camp of the Romans, agreed to restore each Roman citizen for three hundred pieces of money called *quadrigati*, which were *denarii*: that is, for about seven pounds, or an hundred and fifty livres; the allies for two hundred; and the slaves for one. The Romans, when they took Eretria, a city of Eubœa, where the Macedonians had a garrison, fixed the price of their ransom at three hundred pieces of money also, that is, at seven pounds, or an hundred and fifty livres.² Hannibal seeing the Romans were determined not to ransom their prisoners who had surrendered themselves to him, sold them to different nations.³ The Achæans bought a considerable number of them. When the Romans had re-established the liberty of Greece, the Achæans, out of gratitude, sent home all these prisoners, and paid their masters a certain sum of money per head; the total of which, according to Polybius, amounted to a hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns: for in Achæia, there were twelve hundred of these prisoners.

I do not believe that the use of writing in ciphers was known to the ancients. It is however very necessary, for conveying secret advices to officers, either remote from the army, or shut up in a city, or in other important occasions. Whilst Q. Cæsar was besieged in his camp by the Gauls, Cæsar wrote him advice that he was marching to his relief with several legions, and should soon arrive.⁴ The letter was written in Greek, that if it fell into the enemy's hands they might not know that Cæsar advanced.⁵ That precaution does not seem sufficiently certain; nor are signals, of which I have treated elsewhere, much more so: besides which, the use of them was very difficult, and at the same time perplexing and full of obscurity.

I shall relate a common and very remarkable custom amongst the Romans. When they were drawn up in line of battle, and ready to take their shields, and gird their robes close to their bodies, they made their wills without writing, by only appointing their heir before three or four witnesses. This was termed *testamenta in procinctu facere*.⁶

After the little I have said upon battles, not daring to engage myself farther in a subject so much out of my sphere, I proceed to the reward and punishments which followed good or bad success in battle.

SECTION IV.—PUNISHMENTS—REWARDS—TROPHIES—TRIUMPHS.

SOLON had reason to say, that the two great springs of human actions, and what principally set mankind in motion, are hope and fear; and that a good government cannot subsist without rewards and punishments; because impunity inboldens guilt; and virtue, when neglected and undistinguished, frequently becomes languid and declines. The truth of this maxim is more evident when applied to a military government, which, as it gives greater scope to license, requires also, that order and discipline should be annexed to it by ties of a stronger and more vigorous nature.

It is true, this rule may be abused and carried too far, particularly in regard to punishment. With the Carthaginians, the generals, who had been unfortunate in war, were generally punished with death; as if want of success were a crime, and the most excellent captain might not lose a battle without any fault on his side. They carried their rigour much farther. For they condemned him to death, who had taken bad measures, though successful.⁷ Amongst the Gauls,

when troops were to be raised, all the young men capable of bearing arms were obliged to be present at the assembly on a certain day.⁸ He who came last was condemned to die, and executed with the most cruel torments. What a horrid barbarity was this! The Greeks, though very severe in supporting military discipline, were more humane.⁹ At Athens, the refusal to bear arms, which is far more criminal than a delay of a few hours or moments, was only punished by a public interdiction and a kind of excommunication, which excluded the person from entering the assemblies of the people, and the temples of the gods. But to throw away his shield in order to fly, to quit his post or be a deserter, were capital crimes, and punished with death. At Sparta it was an inviolable law never to fly, however superior the enemy's army might be in number, never to abandon a post, nor surrender their arms.¹⁰ Those who had failed in these points, were declared infamous forever. They were not only excluded from all offices, employments, assemblies, and public shows; but it was scandalous to ally with them in marriage, and a thousand insults were offered them in public with impunity. On the contrary, great honours were paid to such as had behaved themselves valiantly in battle, or had died sword in hand in the defence of their country.

Greece abounded with statues of the great men who had distinguished themselves in battles. Their tombs were adorned with magnificent inscriptions, which perpetuated their names and memories. The custom of the Athenians in this point was of wonderful efficacy to animate the courage of their citizens, and inspire them with sentiments of honour and glory.¹¹ After a battle, the last duties were publicly rendered to those who had been slain. The bones of the dead were exposed for three days successively to the veneration of the people, who thronged to throw flowers upon them, and to burn incense and perfumes before them. After which, those bones were carried in pomp in as many coffins as there were tribes in Athens, to the place particularly allotted for their interment. The whole people attended this religious ceremony. The procession had something very august and majestic in it, and rather resembled a glorious triumph, than a funeral solemnity. Some days after, which far exceeds what I have just said, one of the best qualified Athenians pronounced the funeral oration of those illustrious dead before the whole people. The great Pericles was charged with this commission after the first campaign of the Peloponnesian war. Thucydides has preserved his discourse, and there is another upon the same subject in Plato. The intent of this funeral oration was to extol the courage of those generous soldiers who had shed their blood for their country; to inculcate the imitation of their example to the citizens, and especially to console their families. These were exhorted to moderate their grief by reflecting on the glory their relations had acquired for ever. "You have never," says the orator to the fathers and mothers, "prayed to the gods, that your children should be exempt from the common law, which dooms all mankind to die; but only that they should prove persons of virtue and honour. Your vows are heard, and the glory with which you see them crowned, ought to dry your eyes, and change your laments into thanksgiving." The orators often, by a figure common enough with them, especially upon great occasions, put these lively exhortations into the mouths of the dead themselves, who seemed to quit their tombs to cheer and console their fathers and mothers. They did not confine themselves to bare discourse, and barren praises. The republic, as a tender and compassionate mother, took upon herself the charge of maintaining and subsisting the old men, widows, and orphans, who stood in need of her sup-

cuntur, si prospero eventu pravo consilio, rem gesserunt, Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 48.

¹ Liv. l. xxii. n. 52.

² Liv. l. xxxii. n. 17.

³ Id. l. xxiv. n. 40.

⁴ Cæs. Bell. Gall. l. v.

⁵ Epistolæ Græcis conscriptam literis mittit, ne, intercepta epistola, nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur.

⁶ Plut. in Corneli. p. 217.

⁷ Apud Carthaginenses in crucem tolli imperatores didi-

⁸ Hoc, more Gallorum, est initium belli, quo, lege communis, omnes pulieres armati convenire coguntur; et, qui ex eis novissimus venit in conspectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus affectus necatur. Cæs. de Bell. Gall. l. v.

⁹ Aeschin. in Ctesiph. p. 457.

¹⁰ Her. l. vii. c. 104.

¹¹ Thucyd. l. ii. p. 131.

port. The latter were brought up suitably to their condition till they were of age to carry arms: and then publicly, in the theatre, and in the presence of the whole people, they were dressed in a complete suit of armour, which was given them, and declared soldiers of the republic.¹ Was there any thing wanting to the funeral pomp I now speak of, and did it not seem in some measure to transform the poor soldiers and common burghers of Athens into heroes and conquerors? Have the honours rendered amongst us to the most illustrious generals, any thing more animated and affecting? It was by these means that courage, greatness of soul, ardour for glory, and that zeal and devotion for their country, which rendered the Greeks insensible to the greatest dangers and death itself, were perpetuated amongst them. For, as Thucydides observes upon occasion of these funeral honours, "Great men are formed, where merit is best rewarded."²

The Romans were neither less exact in punishing offences against military discipline, nor less attentive in rewarding merit. The punishment was proportioned to the crime, and did not always extend to death. Sometimes a word of contempt sufficed for the punishment of the troops: at others, the general punished them by refusing them their share in the spoils. Sometimes they were dismissed, and not permitted to serve against the enemy. It was common enough to make them work in the intrenchments of the camp in a single tunic and without a belt. Ignominy was often more affecting than death itself.³ Cæsar's mutinous troops demanded with seditious complaints to be dismissed. Cæsar said only one word to them, which was, *Quirites*, as much as to say, citizens, whereas he used to call them, *Fellow-soldiers* or *comrades*; and immediately discharged them.⁴ That word was like a stroke of thunder to them. They believed themselves degraded and entirely dishonoured; and never ceased importuning him in the most humble and pathetic terms, till he consented, as the greatest of favours, that they should continue to carry arms for him. This punishment, whereby the soldiers were broke, was called *exactionatio*.

The Roman army, through the fault of the consul Minucius, who commanded it, was besieged in their camp by the Æqui, and very near being taken.⁵ Cincinnatus, appointed dictator for this expedition, marched to his aid, delivered him, and made himself master of the enemy's camp, which abounded with riches. He punished the consul's troops by giving them no share of the booty, and obliged Minucius to quit the consulship, and to serve in the army as his lieutenant, which he did without complaint or murmur: "In those times," observes the historian, "people submitted with so much complacency to the persons in whom they saw a superiority of merit joined with authority, that this army, more sensible of the benefit, than the ignominy they had received, decreed the dictator a crown of gold of a pound weight, and on his departure saluted him their patron and preserver."⁶

After the battle of Cannæ, wherein more than forty thousand Romans were left dead upon the spot, about seven thousand soldiers, who were in the two camps, seeing themselves without resource or hope, surrendered themselves and their arms to the enemy, and were made prisoners.⁷ Ten thousand, who had fled as well as Varro, escaped by different ways, and at length rejoined each other at Canusium under the consul. Whatever endeavours these prisoners, and their relations could make afterwards to obtain their

ransom, and how great soever the want of soldiers then was at Rome, the senate could never resolve to redeem soldiers, who had been so base as to surrender themselves to the enemy, and whom more than forty thousand men killed before their eyes, could not inspire with the courage to die in the field for their country. The other ten thousand, who had escaped by flight, were banished into Sicily, and their return prohibited so long as the war with the Carthaginians should continue.⁸ They demanded with earnest entreaties to be led on against the enemy, and that they might have an opportunity to expiate with their blood the ignominy of their flight. The senate remained inflexible, not believing that they could confide the defence of the republic to soldiers, who had abandoned their companions in battle. At length, upon the remonstrances and warm solicitations of the proconsul Marcellus, their demand was granted; but upon condition, that they should not set foot in Italy so long as the enemy should remain in it. All the knights of the army of Cannæ, banished into Sicily, were also severely punished.⁹ In the first review made by the censors after that battle, all the horses with which the republic furnished them, were taken away; which implied their being degraded from the rank of Roman knights; their former years of service were declared void, and they were obliged to serve ten more, supplying themselves with horses; that is to say, as many years as if they had never served at all; for the usual service of the knights was ten campaigns.

The senate, rather than ransom the prisoners, which would have cost less, chose rather to arm eight thousand slaves; to whom they promised liberty, if they behaved themselves valiantly.¹⁰ They had served almost two years with great bravery: their liberty, however, was not yet arrived, and with whatever ardour they desired it, they chose rather to deserve than demand it.¹¹ An important occasion arose, in which it was pointed out to them as the reward of their valour. They did wonders in the battle, except four thousand of them, who discovered some timidity. After the battle, they were all declared free. Their joy was incredible. Gracchus, under whose command they were, told them: "Before I make you all equal by the title of liberty, I would not willingly have made a difference between the valiant and the timorous. It is however but just that I should do so." He then made all those, who had not done their duty as well as the rest, promise upon oath, that, as long as they served, as a punishment for their fault, they should always stand at their meals, except when hindered by sickness: which was accepted and executed with entire submission. This of all the military punishments was the lightest and most gentle.

The punishments I have hitherto related scarce affected any thing besides the soldier's honour: there were others which extended to his life. One of the latter was called *Fustuarium*, the bastinado.¹² It was executed thus. The tribune taking a stick, only touched the criminal with it, and immediately after, all the soldiers of the legion fell on him with sticks and stones, so that he generally lost his life in this punishment.¹³ If any one escaped, he was not thereby entirely discharged. His return into his own country was entirely prohibited, and not one of his relations dared open his door to him. They punished a sentinel in this manner, who had quitted his post; whence may be judged the exact discipline they observed in respect to the guard by night, on which the safety and preservation of the whole army depended: all those who abandoned their posts, whether officers or soldiers, were treated in the same manner. Velleius Paterculus cites an example of this punishment, executed upon one of the principal

¹ Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 452, 453.

² Ἄλλα γὰρ οἱ καὶ ἀετὶς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐρίσσι πολεμικοῖσι.

³ Dion. Cass. l. xlii. p. 210.

⁴ Divus Julius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit, *Quirites*, vocando qui sacramentum ejus detrectabant. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 41.

⁵ Liv. l. iii. n. 29.

⁶ Adeo tam imperio meliori animas mansuetè obediens erat, ut beneficii magis quam ignominie libi exercitus memor et coronam auream dictatori libra pondo decreverit, et proficiscentem eum patronum salutaverit. Liv.

⁷ Liv. l. xlii. n. 50—60.

⁸ Liv. l. xxiii. n. 25.

⁹ Id. l. xxvii. n. 11.

¹⁰ Liv. l. xxii. n. 5. l. xxiv. n. 13—16.

¹¹ Nam alterum annum libertatem tacitè mereri, quàm postulare palam maluerunt. Liv.

¹² Si Antolius consul, fustuarium meruerunt legiones, quæ consulem reliquerunt. Cic. Philipp. l. iii. n. 14.

¹³ Polyb. l. vi. p. 481.

officers of a legion, for having shamefully taken to flight in battle: this was in the time of Anthony and young Octavius.¹ But what appears more astonishing, those were condemned to the same punishment, who stole in the camp. The reader may remember the oath taken by the soldiers upon their entering it.

When a whole legion or cohort were guilty, as it was not possible to put all that were criminal to death, they were decimated by lot, and he whose name was drawn the tenth, was executed. In this manner, fear seized all, though few were punished. Others were sentenced to receive barley instead of wheat, and to encamp without the intrenchments at the hazard of being attacked by the enemy. Livy has an example of a decimation as early as the infancy of the republic.² Crassus, when he put himself at the head of the legions who had suffered themselves to be defeated by Spartacus, revived the ancient custom of the Romans, which had been disused for several ages, of decimating the soldiers when they had failed in their duty; and that punishment had a very happy effect. This kind of death, says Plutarch, is attended with great ignominy; and as it was executed before the whole army, it diffused terror and horror throughout the camp. Decimation became very common under the emperors, especially in regard to the Christians, whose refusal to adore idols, or persecute believers, was considered and punished as a sacrilegious revolt. The Theban legion was treated in this manner under Maximian. That emperor caused it to be decimated three times successively, without being able to overcome the pious resistance of those generous soldiers.³ Mauritius, their commander, in concert with all the other officers, wrote a very short, but admirable letter to the emperor. "We are your soldiers, emperor, but the servants of God. We owe you our service, but him our innocence. We cannot renounce God to obey you; that God, who is our Creator and Master, and yours also, whether you will or no."⁴ All the rest of the legion were put to death without making the least resistance, and went to join the legions of angels, and to praise the God of armies with them for evermore.

These capital punishments were not frequent in the time of the republic. It was a capital crime, as we have said, to quit a post or fight without orders: and the example of fathers, who had not spared their own sons, inspired a just terror, which prevented faults, and occasioned the rules of military discipline to be respected.⁵ There is in these bloody executions a severity shocking to nature, and which however we could not venture absolutely to condemn: because if every great public example has something of injustice in it, on the other hand, whatever of that kind is contrary to the interest of particulars, is compensated by the utility which redounds to the public from it.⁶ A general is sometimes obliged to treat his soldiers with great rigour, to put a stop by timely severities either to a revolt just forming, or to an open violation of discipline. He would at such times be cruel if he acted with gentleness, and would resemble the surgeon, who out of a false compassion should choose rather to let the whole body perish, than cut off a mortified member. What is to be avoided on these occasions, is to seem to act from passion or hatred: for then the remedies improperly

applied would only aggravate the disease.⁷ This happened in the first example of decimation I cited, by which Appius had made himself so extremely odious to the soldiers, that they chose rather to suffer themselves to be beaten by the enemy, than to conquer with him and for him.⁸ He was of an obstinate disposition, and inflexibly rigid.⁹ Papirius, long after, acted much more wisely in a case not unlike this. His soldiers, expressly to mortify him, retreated in battle, and deprived him of a victory.¹⁰ He perceived like an able captain the cause of that behaviour, and found it necessary to moderate his severity, and soften his too imperious humour. He did so, and succeeded so well, that he entirely regained the affection of his troops. A complete victory was the consequence. Much art and prudence are requisite in punishing with success.

It was rather by the views of reward and sense of honour that the Romans engaged their troops to do their duty. After the taking of a town, or gaining a battle, the general usually gave the booty to the soldiers, but with admirable order, as Polybius informs us in his relation of the taking of Carthage. It is, says he, an established custom among the Romans, upon the signal given by the generals, to disperse themselves in order to plunder the city that has been taken: after which every one carries the booty he has got to his own legion. When the whole has been sold by auction, the tribunes divide the money into equal shares, which are given not only to those who are in other posts, but to those who have been left to guard the camp, the sick, and such as have been detached upon any occasion. And to prevent any injustice from being committed in this part of the war, the soldiers are made to swear before they take the field, and the first day they assemble, that they will not secrete any part of the booty, but faithfully bring in whatever they shall make. What a love of order, observance of discipline, and regard for justice does this argue, amidst the tumult of arms, and the very ardour of victory! Upon the day of triumph, the general made another distribution of money in greater or less proportions, according to the different times of the republic; but always moderate enough before the civil wars.

Honour was sometimes annexed to advantage, and the soldier was much more sensible to the one than the other: and how much more the officers!¹¹ P. Decius, the tribune, with a detachment which he conducted at the hazard of his life upon the brink of an eminence, had saved the whole army by one of the noblest actions mentioned in history. Upon his return, the consul, in the presence of all the troops, bestowed the highest praises upon him, and besides many other military presents, gave him a crown of gold, and an hundred oxen, to which he added another ox of extraordinary size and beauty with gilt horns. He decreed the soldiers, who had accompanied the tribune, a double portion of corn during the whole time they should serve: and for the present, two oxen and two complete dresses a man. The legions also, to express their gratitude, presented Decius with a crown of turf, which was the sign of a siege raised; and his own soldiers did the same. He sacrificed the ox with the gilt horns to Mars, and gave the other hundred to his soldiers: the legions also rewarded each of them with a pound of flour, and a gallon of wine.

Calpurnius Piso, surnamed *Frugi*, out of veneration for his virtues and great frugality, having variously rewarded most of those, who had assisted him in terminating the Sicilian war, thought himself obliged to reward also, but at his own expense, the services of one of his sons, who had signalized himself the most upon that occasion.¹² He declared publicly, that he had deserved a crown of gold, and assured

¹ Calvinius Domitius cum ex consulatu obtineret Hispaniam, gravissimi comparandis antiquis exemplis antiquis auctor fuit. Quippe principii centurionem, nomine Vibulum, ob turpem ex acie fugam, fuste, percussit. *Paterc. l. ii. c. 78.*

² Liv. l. ii. n. 59. *Plut. in Crass. p. 548.*

³ Ex epist. S. Eucherii Ludg. ad Sylv. Episc.

⁴ Militis sumus, imperator, tui sed tamen servi Dei. Tibi militiam debemus, illi innocentiam. Se qui imperatorem in hoc nequaquam possumus, ut auctorum nequeamus; Deum auctorem nostrum. Deum auctorem, velis nobis, tuum.

⁵ Præsidio decedere apud Romanos capital esse, et nece liberum etiam suorum eam legem parcas sanxisse. *Liv. l. xiv. n. 37.*

⁶ Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum, quod contra singulos, utilitate publica repperit. *Tacit. Annal. l. xiv. c. 44.*

⁷ Intempestivis remediis delicta accendebatur. *Tacit.*

⁸ Liv. l. viii. n. 35.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Cessatum à militie, ac de industria, ut obstrictetur de laudibus ducis, impedita victoria est. — Sensit peritus dux quæ res victoria obstaret: temperandum ingenium suum esse, et severitatem miscendum comitate. *Liv.*

¹¹ Liv. l. vii. n. 37.

¹² Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

him, that he would leave him one by his will, of the weight of three pounds: decreeing him that honour as general, and paying the price of the crown as father: *Ut honorem publice a duce, pretium privatim a patre acciperet.*

The crown of gold was a present scarce ever granted but to principal officers. There were several others for different occasions. The crown *Obsidionalis*, of which I have spoken before, for having delivered the citizens or troops from a siege, was composed of turf, and was the most glorious of all. The *Corona Civica*, for having saved the life of a citizen, was of oaken leaves, in remembrance, as is said, that men of old fed upon acorns. The *Mural crown*, *Pinnis*, for having been the first in scaling the walls of a place besieged, was adorned with a kind of battlements, like those to be seen upon the ancient walls of towns. The *Corona Navalis*, *Rostrea*, which was composed of ornaments like beaks of ships, was given to the admiral of a fleet, who had gained a victory. Instances of this honour are very rare. Agrippa, who obtained one, thought it very much for his honour:—

—Cui belli insigne superbum,
Tempora navali fulgent rostrata coronâ.
Virg. Æn. l. viii.

—Who bears war's glorious sign,
Beak'd with the naval crown whose temples shine.

Besides these crowns (for there were some others) the generals presented the soldiers or officers, who signalized themselves in a particular manner, with a sword, a shield, and other arms; and sometimes also with distinguishing military habits. We have seen an officer rewarded thirty-four times by the generals, and gain six civic crowns.¹ These presents and crowns were titles of nobility to them, and upon competitions with rivals for ranks and dignities, often determined the preference in their favour; and they did not fail to adorn themselves with them upon public solemnities. They also affixed to the doors of their houses the spoils they had taken from the enemy; nor was any future possessor permitted to take them down.² Upon this Pliny makes a fine reflection, which it is impossible to render in terms of equal spirit with his. "The houses," says he, "still triumphed, though they had changed their masters. What could more excite to glory, or be more offensive to an unworthy possessor, than walls, which reproached him as often as he entered, that they were honoured solely by the trophies of another."³

The praises given in the presence of the whole army made no less impression upon their minds; and are what a good general never spares on proper occasions. Agricola, says Tacitus, neither envied nor lessened any man's glory: centurion or prefect, in him they found a faithful witness of their exploits, to which he never failed doing the utmost justice.⁴ Cæsar⁵ upon being informed of the valour with which Q. Cicero, the famous orator's brother, had defended his camp against the great army of the Gauls, extolled publicly the greatness of the action, praised the legion in general, and apostrophized particularly to those of the centurions and tribunes, who, as Cicero has observed to him, distinguished themselves most.⁶ Upon another occasion, Scæva, a centurion, had contributed very much to the defence of a breach of great importance. When his buckler was brought to Cæsar with two hundred and thirty arrow shots through it; surprised and charmed with his bravery, he immediately made him a present of two hundred thousand sesterces (about twelve hundred pounds,) and raised him directly from the eighth to the first

rank of the centurions, appointing him Primipilus, a very honourable post, as I have observed elsewhere, and which had no superior but the tribunes, lieutenant generals, and commanders in chief. Nothing was equal to this latter method of rewarding, for inspiring the troops with valour. By a wise establishment, there were many degrees of honour and distinction in a legion, of which none were granted upon account of birth, or bought for money. Merit was the only means of attaining them, at least it was the most ordinary method. Whatever distance there was between the private sentinel and the consular dignity, the door lay open to it: it was a beaten path, and there were many examples of citizens, who from one degree to another, at length attained that supreme dignity. With what ardour must such a sight inspire the troops! Men are capable of every thing, when properly excited by the motives of honour and glory.

It remains for me to say something upon trophies and triumphs.

Trophies amongst the ancients, were originally a heap of arms and spoils taken from enemies, and erected by the victor in the field of battle, of which in after-times representations were made in stone and brass. They never failed, immediately after a victory, to raise a trophy, which was looked upon as a sacred thing, because always an offering to some divinity: for which reason none presumed to throw it down. Neither when it fell through age, was it permitted to be erected again; for which Plutarch gives a fine reason, that argues great humanity in the sentiments of the ancients. "To reinstate," says he, "and set up again the monuments of ancient differences with enemies, which time has conveniently demolished, has something odious in it, and seems to argue a desire to perpetuate enmity."⁷ We do not observe the same humanity in the Roman triumphs, of which I am still to speak. The generals, as well as the officers and soldiers, had also rewards in view. The title of *Imperator* granted after a victory, and the supplications, that is to say, the public processions, sacrifices, and prayers, decreed at Rome for a certain number of days, to thank the gods for the success of their arms, agreeably flattered their ambition. But the triumph exceeded every thing. There were two sorts of it, the lesser and the greater. The lesser triumph was called *Ovatio*. In that the general was neither seated on a chariot, dressed in triumphal robes, nor crowned with laurel. He entered the city on foot, or, according to some, on horseback, crowned with myrtle, and followed by his army. This kind of triumph was granted only, either when the war had not been declared, had been with a people little considerable, or not attended with any great defeat of the enemy. A triumph could properly be granted only to a dictator, a consul, or a prætor, who had commanded in chief. The senate decreed this honour, after which the affair was deliberated upon in the assembly of the people, where it often met with great difficulties. Several, however, triumphed without the senate's concurrence; provided the people had decreed them that honour. But if they could not obtain it from either the one or the other order, they went and triumphed upon the Alban mountain in the neighbourhood of the city. It is said, that to obtain this honour, it was necessary to have killed five thousand enemies in battle.⁸

After the general had distributed part of the spoils to the soldiers, and performed some other ceremonies, the procession began, and entered the city through the triumphal port to ascend to the capital. At the head of it were the players upon musical instruments, who made the air resound with their harmony. They were followed by the beasts that were to be sacrificed, adorned with fillets and flowers, many of them having their horns gilt. After them came the whole booty, and all the spoils, either displayed upon carriages, or borne upon the shoulders of young men in magnificent habits. The names of the nations conquered were written in great characters, and the cities, that had

¹ Quater et tricies virtutis causa donatus ab imperatoribus sum: sex civicas coronas accipit. *Liv. l. xlii. n. 34.*

² Liv. l. x. n. 7. l. xxiii. l. xxxviii. n. 43.

³ Triumphabant etiam dominis mutatis, domus ipsæ. Et erat hæc stimulatio ingens, exprobanibus teatibus quotidie imbecilem dominum iurare in alienum triumphum. *Plin. l. xxxv. c. ii.*

⁴ Nec unquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio, seu præfectus, incorruptum facti testem habebat. *Tacit. in Vit. Agric. c. xxii.*

⁵ Cæs. de Bell. Gall.

⁶ De Bell. Civ. l. iii.

⁷ Plut. in Quæst. Rom. p. 272.

⁸ Val. Max. l. 2. c.

been taken, represented. Sometimes they added to the pomp extraordinary animals, brought from the countries subjected, as bears, panthers, lions, and elephants. But what most attracted the attention and curiosity of the spectators, were the illustrious captives, who walked in chains before the victor's chariot; great officers of state, generals of armies, princes, and kings, with their wives and children. The consul followed (supposing the general to be so) mounted upon a superb chariot, drawn by four horses, and robed with the august and magnificent habit of triumph, his head encircled with a crown of laurel, holding also a branch of the same tree in his hand; and sometimes accompanied by his young children sitting near him. Behind the chariot marched the whole army; the cavalry first, then the infantry. All the soldiers were crowned with laurel, and those who had received particular crowns, and other marks of honour, did not fail to show them on so great a solemnity. They emulated each other in celebrating the praises of their general, and sometimes threw in expressions, sufficiently offensive, of raillery and satire against him, which savoured of the military freedom; but the joy of the ceremony entirely blunted their edge, and abated their bitterness. As soon as the consul turned from the forum towards the capitol, the prisoners were carried to prison; where they were either immediately put to death, or kept in confinement often for the rest of their lives. Upon his entrance into the capitol, the victor made this very remarkable prayer to the gods. "Filled with gratitude and joy, I return you thanks, O most good and most great Jupiter, and you queen Juno, and all the other gods, the guardians and inhabitants of this citadel, that to this day and hour you have vouchsafed by my hands to preserve and guide the Roman republic happily. Continue always, I implore you, to preserve, guide, protect, and favour it in all things."¹ This prayer was followed by sacrificing the victims, and a magnificent feast, given in the capitol, sometimes by the public, and sometimes by the person himself who triumphed. The reader may see in Plutarch the long and fine description he gives of the triumph of Paulus Æmilius.

It must be allowed that this was a glorious day for a general of an army; and it is not surprising that all possible endeavours should be used to deserve so grateful a distinction, and so splendid an honour. Nor had Rome any thing more magnificent and majestic than this pompous ceremony. But the sight of captives, the mournful objects of compassion, if those victors had been capable of any, obscured and effaced all its lustre. What inhuman pleasure—what barbarous joy—to see princes, kings, princesses, queens, tender infants, and feeble old men, dragged before them! We may remember the dissembled marks of friendship, the false promises, the treacherous caresses of young Caesar, called afterwards Augustus, in regard to Cleopatra, solely with the view of inducing that princess to suffer herself to be carried to Rome, to adorn his triumph, and gratify him in the cruel satisfaction of seeing the most potent queen of the world prostrate at his feet in the most depressed and forlorn condition possible to imagine. But she well knew the snare. Such conduct and such sentiments, in my opinion, dishonour human nature.

In relating the rewards granted by the Romans to the soldiery, I have omitted a very important circumstance—the establishment of colonies. When the Romans first carried their arms, and extended their conquests out of Italy, they punished the people who resisted them with too much obstinacy, by depriving them of part of their lands, which they granted to such of the Roman citizens as were poor, and especially to the veteran soldiers, who had served their full proportion of time in the army. By this means the latter saw themselves settled in tranquillity with a comfortable income, sufficient for the support of their families.

They became by degrees the most considerable persons in the cities to which they were sent, and obtained the first posts, and principal dignities in them. Rome by these settlements, which were the result of a wise and profound policy, besides rewarding her soldiers advantageously, kept the conquered nation in subjection by their means, formed them to the Roman manners and customs, and by degrees made them forget their own customs and habits, to embrace those of their victors. France has established a new kind of military reward, which merits a place here.

SECTION V.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL HOSPITAL OF INVALIDS AT PARIS.

WE do not find either among the Greeks or Romans, or any other people, any public foundations for the relief of the soldiery, whom long fatigues or wounds have made incapable of service. It was reserved for Louis XIV. to set other princes that example, which England soon began to imitate; and we may say, that among an infinite number of great actions which have rendered his name illustrious, nothing equals the glorious foundation of the *Hôtel royal des invalides*.

There has been lately published a book upon the royal hospital of invalids, which answers in some measure the magnificence of that foundation, in the beauty and number of its plates and ornaments. In this book, all that regards the revenues, expenses, buildings, discipline, and government temporal and spiritual of that house, are circumstantially explained. We are obliged to persons who take pains to preserve and transmit in this manner to posterity an exact knowledge of facts so worthy of remembrance. For my part, my intent is only to give a brief idea of them.

Every thing in this structure denotes the grandeur and magnificence of its august founder. We are struck with astonishment at the sight of a vast and superb edifice, capable of containing almost four thousand persons, in which art has known how to unite whatever could strike the eye on the outside by pomp and splendour, with all that can conduce to the uses and conveniences of life within. There, in tranquillity and repose, the officers and soldiers, whom their wounds or age have made unable to serve, and the narrowness of their fortunes incapable to support themselves; there, those brave warriors, freed from all care and disquiet, are lodged, fed, clothed, and maintained, as well in sickness as in health, in a decent manner, and find a safe retreat, and an honourable asylum provided for them, by the piety and paternal goodness of Louis XIV.

It is natural to conceive, that the expense for the support of such a house must be immense. Two thousand five hundred quarters of wheat, and about eleven thousand five hundred hogsheads of wine are annually consumed in it. Physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and servants, abound in this house. The infirmaries are served by thirty-five sisters, *Filles de la charité*, with surprising industry and cleanliness. But whence arise the funds necessary for such a multitude of wants and occasions? Who could believe it, or can sufficiently admire the wisdom that instituted such order and economy? It is the officer and soldier, who contribute with joy, and almost insensibly, to an establishment in which they hope one day to find tranquillity and repose, and a period of all their labours. The fund for all these expenses arise from three deniers (a twelfth part of a French penny) deducted from every livre of the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of war. This seems a small matter in itself, but the total amounts to a very considerable sum. During the war which ended 1714, in which an hundred millions of livres were yearly expended, these three deniers per livre, produced twelve hundred and fifty thousand livres a year.²

I have said nothing yet of what is most admirable in this foundation, is in a manner its soul, and does most honour to the memory of Louis XIV. I do not mean that magnificent temple, wherein the most famous masters in architecture, painting, and sculpture,

¹ Gratias tibi, Jupiter optime, maxime; tibi que Junoni reginæ, et ceteris tuius custodibus habitatoribusque arcis diis lubens hætusque ago, re Romana in hanc diem et horam, per manus quod voluisti, servata, benè gesta que. Eandem et servate, ut facitis, foveite, protegitte, propitiati, supplex oro. *Æt. Rosini. Antiq. Rom.*

² About sixty thousand pounds sterling.

the Mansards, Decottes, Coypelles, Girardons, Coustons, have exhausted their whole art to adorn that august pile. I mean that charitable care and Christian attention of that prince, after having provided, with a magnificence truly royal, for the temporal wants of the officers and soldiers, in providing also in this retreat for their spiritual necessities. It happens sometimes, that these warriors take upon them the profession of arms solely from the views of interest and ambition: that though most accomplished in military knowledge, they are utterly ignorant of religion: and that full of zeal and fidelity for their prince, they never give themselves any trouble about knowing their duty to God. How great an advantage and consolation is it to them to find, towards the close of their days, in the zeal and charity of wise and religious ministers of Jesus Christ, those instructions, which perhaps they have wanted in the former part of their lives; to recall in the bitterness of their hearts, whole years entirely past in vice and libertinism; and to retrieve by sincere repentance and sorrow the reward of all their actions, even of the most laudable, which were otherwise unfortunately lost to them from the badness of their motives. The pomp and magnificence of this temple are justly admired. But another object presents itself to our view at whatever hour of the day we enter it, a sight far more worthy of admiration, and which cannot be looked upon without tears in our eyes: ancient warriors maimed, crippled, without legs, arms, eyes, humbly prostrating themselves before the God of armies, whose majesty they adore with the most profound resignation; to whom they pay continual thanksgivings for having delivered them out of so many dangers, and especially for having taken them from the gates of hell; to whom, filled with the most lively sense of gratitude, they incessantly lift up their hands and voices to say: Be mindful, O Lord, of the prince who has opened this thy sacred asylum for us, and be merciful to him for the mercy which he hath shown to us thy servants!

CHAPTER II. OF SIEGES.

THE ancients distinguished themselves no less by the art of forming and sustaining sieges, than by that of making war in the field. It is agreed by all, that they carried these two parts of military knowledge to a very high degree of perfection, which it is difficult for the moderns to exceed. The use of muskets, bombs, cannons, and other fire-arms since the invention of powder, has occasioned the alteration of many things in the manner of making war, especially in sieges, the duration of which has been very much abridged by their means. But these changes have not been so considerable as is generally imagined, and have added nothing either to the merit or capacity of generals.

To treat of what relates to sieges with some order, I shall premise something upon the manner in which the fortifications of the ancients were formed; and shall then give some general idea of the principal machines of war used by them in sieges; and conclude with the manner of attacking and defending places. The Chevalier Follard has treated these several articles very extensively in the second and third volumes of his remarks upon Polybius, and has been my guide in a subject that required the direction of an able and experienced soldier.

ARTICLE I.

OF ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS.

How far soever we look back into antiquity, we find among the Greeks and Romans, cities fortified almost in the same manner with their fosses, curtains, and towers. Vitruvius,¹ in treating of the construction of places of war in his time, says, that the towers ought to project beyond the wall, in order that when the enemy approaches, the defenders upon the right and left may take them in flank: and that they ought to be round, and faced with many stones, because such as

are square, are soon beat down by the machines of war and battering rams, which easily break their angles. He adds after some remarks, that near the towers the wall should be cut within-side the breadth of the tower, and that the ways broke in this manner should only be joined and continued by beams laid upon the two extremities, without being made fast with iron, that in case the enemy should make himself master of any part of the wall, the besieged might remove this wooden bridge, and thereby prevent his passage to the other parts of the wall and into the towers.

The best towns of the ancients were situated upon eminences. They enclosed them sometimes within two or three walls and fosses. Berosus, cited by Josephus, informs us, that Nebuchadonosor fortified Babylon with a triple enclosure of brick walls of a surprising strength and height. Polybius, speaking of Syringa, the capital of Hyrcania, which Antiochus besieged, says, that city was surrounded with three fosses, each forty-five feet broad, and twenty-two deep; upon each side of these was a double intrenchment, and behind all, a strong wall. The city of Jerusalem, says Josephus, was surrounded by a triple wall, except on the side of the valleys, where there was but one, because they were inaccessible. To these they had added many other works, one of which, says Josephus, had it been completed, would have rendered the city impregnable. The stones, of which it was built, were thirty feet long by fifteen broad, which made it so strong, that it was in a manner impossible to sap or shake it with machines. The whole was flanked with towers from space to space of extraordinary solidity, and built with wonderful art.

The ancients did not generally support their walls on the inside with earth, in the manner of the Talus or slope, which made the attacks more dangerous. For though the enemy had gained some footing upon them, he could not assure himself of taking the city. It was necessary to get down, and to make use of part of the ladders by which he had mounted; and that descent exposed the soldier to very great danger. Vitruvius, however, observes, that there is nothing renders a rampart so strong as when the walls both of the curtain and towers are supported by earth. For then neither rams, mines, nor any other machines, can shake them.

The places of war of the ancients were not always fortified with stone walls. They were sometimes enclosed within good ramparts of earth of great firmness and solidity. The manner of coating them with turf was not unknown to them, nor the art of supporting the earth with strong fascines made fast by stakes, and of arming the top of the rampart with a rull or fraise of palisades, and the foot of the parapet or pas de souris with another: they often planted palisades also in the fosse to defend themselves against sudden attacks. They made walls also with beams crossed over one another, with spaces between them in manner of a chequer, the void parts of which they filled up with earth and stones. Such almost were the walls of the city of Bourges, described by Cæsar in his seventh book of the war with the Gauls.

What I shall say in the sequel, when I come to explain the manner of attacking and defending places, will show more distinctly what kind of fortifications those of the ancients were. It is pretended that the moderns excel them very much in this point. The thing is not so indisputable but it may be called in question; though no comparison can be made between them; because their manner of attacking and defending is entirely different. The moderns have retained all they could after the ancients. Fire-arms have obliged them to use other precautions. The same genius is evident in both. The moderns have imagined nothing, that the ancients could use, and have not used. We have borrowed from them the breadth and depth of fosses, the thickness of walls, the towers to flank the curtains, the palisades, the intrenchments within the ramparts and towers, the advantage of many flanks, in multiplying of which only modern fortification consists; this fire-arms makes the more easy to execute. I have heard these remarks make by very able and experienced persons,

¹ Vitruv. l. i. cap. 5.

who with a profound knowledge of the manner in which the ancients made war, unite a perfect experience of the modern practice of it.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE MACHINES OF WAR.

THE machines most used and best known amongst the ancients for besieging places, were the tortoise, the catapulta, the balista, the corvus or crane, the ram, and moving towers.

SECTION I.—THE TORTOISE.

THE tortoise was a machine composed of very strong and solid timber-work. The height of it to its highest beam, which sustained the roof, was twelve feet. The base was square, and each of its fronts twenty-five feet. It was covered with a kind of quilted mattress made of raw hides, and prepared with different drugs to prevent its being set on fire by combustibles. This heavy machine was supported upon four wheels, or perhaps upon eight. It was called tortoise, from its serving as a very strong covering and defence, against the enormous weight thrown down on it; those under it being safe in the same manner as a tortoise under his shell. It was used both to fill up the fosse, and for sapping.

For the filling up of the fosse, it was necessary to join several of them together in a line and very near one another. Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the siege of Halicarnassus by Alexander the Great, says, that he first caused three tortoises to approach, in order to fill up the ditch, and that afterwards he planted his rams upon the space filled up, to batter the wall. This machine is often mentioned by authors. There were, without doubt, tortoises of different forms and sizes.

The machine called *Musculus*, used by Cæsar in the siege of Marseilles, was believed to be also a tortoise, but very low, and of a great length; it would be called in these days a wooden gallery. It is likely that its length was equal to the breadth of the fosses. Cæsar caused it to be pushed on to the foot of the walls, in order to demolish them by sap. Cæsar, however, often distinguishes the tortoise from the *Musculus*.

There were also several other machines intended to cover the soldiers, called *crates*, *plutei*, *vinæ*, &c. that were used in sieges, which I shall not undertake to describe here, to avoid prolixity. They may be comprised in general under the name of mantles, or *sheds*.

Besides the tortoise, the wooden machine I have been speaking of, there was another composed of soldiers, which may be ranked in the number of machines of war. A body of soldiers, drawn up together, put their great shields, in the form of gutters, close to each other over their heads. Well practised in this exercise, they formed so firm a roof, that whatever efforts the besieged might make, they could neither break nor move them. Upon this first tortoise of soldiers, a second was made to mount; and by this means they sometimes rose to an equal height with the walls of the place besieged.

SECTION II.—CATAPULTA. BALISTA.

I join these two machines together, because though authors sometimes distinguish them, they also often confound them, and it would be difficult to settle exactly the difference between them. They were both intended for discharging darts, arrows, and stones. They were of different sizes, and consequently produced more or less effect. Some were used in battles, and might be called field-pieces, others were employed in sieges, which was the use most commonly made of them. The balistæ must have been the heaviest and most difficult to carry; because there was always a greater number of the catapultæ in the armies. Livy, in his description of the siege of Carthage, says, that there were an hundred and twenty great, and more than two hundred small catapultæ taken, with thirty-three great balistæ, and fifty-two small ones. Josephus mentions the same difference amongst the Romans, who had three hundred ca-

tapultæ, and forty balistæ, at the siege of Jerusalem.

These machines had a force, which it is not easy to comprehend, but which all good authors attest. Vegetius says, that the balista discharged darts with such rapidity and violence, that nothing could resist their force. Athenæus tells us, that Agesistratus made one of little more than two feet in length, which shot darts to the distance of almost five hundred paces. These machines were not unlike our crossbows. There were others of much greater force, which threw stones of three hundred weight, upwards of an hundred and twenty-five paces.

We find surprising effects of these machines in Josephus. "The darts and force of the catapultæ destroyed abundance of people. The stones from the machines beat down the battlements, and broke the angles of the towers. There was no phalanx so deep but one of these stones would sweep a whole file of it from one end to the other. Things passed this night that showed the prodigious force of these machines. A man who stood by Josephus, had his head taken off by a stone discharged from a distance of three hundred and seventy-five paces."

SECTION III.—THE RAM.

THE use of the ram is very ancient, and the invention of it ascribed to different people. It seems difficult, and hardly worth the trouble to discover the author of it. The ram was either slung or not slung. The swinging ram was composed of a large beam of oak, resembling a ship's mast, of prodigious length and thickness, with the end armed with a head of iron proportioned to the body, and in the shape of a ram's head, whence it had its name, because it strikes against the walls, as a ram doth with his head against all he encounters. The thickness of the ram should be conformable to its length. Vitruvius mentions one of four thousand talents in weight, that is, four hundred and fourscore thousand pounds,¹ which is not very extravagant. This terrible machine was suspended and balanced equally, like the beam of a pair of scales, with a chain or large cables, which supported it in the air in a kind of building of timber, which was pushed forwards upon the filling up of the fosse to a certain distance from the wall, by the means of rollers or wheels. The building was secured from being set on fire by the besieged by several coverings, with which it was cased over. This manner of working the ram seems the most easy, and requires no great strength. The heaviest body suspended in the air may be moved with considerable force.

But it is not so easy to comprehend how these rams were carried from place to place. For it is not to be imagined, that beams of such immense thickness and extraordinary length could be found wherever there was occasion for them, and it is certain that armies never marched without these machines. The Chevalier Follard, for want of information in this point from the writers of antiquity, conjectures, that they carried this ram-beam upon a four-wheel carriage of a particular form, composed of very strong timbers; the beam suspended short to a strong stay or cross-beam in form of a gibbet powerfully sustained by all the wood work capable of resisting the most violent shocks, and the whole joined and strengthened well with bindings and plates of iron.

There was another kind of ram which was not suspended or slung. We see upon the column of Trajan the Dacians besieging some Romans in a fortress, which they batter with a ram worked only by strength of arms. They are not covered with any thing, so that both the ram and those who work it, are exposed to the darts of the besieged. It could not in this method of using it produce any great effect.

It has been questioned whether the rams, fixed in the moving towers, or in a kind of tortoise, were slung or not, and there are strong reasons on both sides. My plan does not admit my entering into this dispute.

¹ The Roman pound weighed less than the French by almost a quarter.

I shall presently relate the prodigious effects of the ram. As it was one of the machines that hurt the besieged most, many methods were contrived to render it useless. Fire was darted upon the roof that covered, and the timbers that supported it, in order to burn them with the ram. To deaden its blows, sacks of wool were let down against the place at which it was levelled. Other machines were opposed against it to break its force, or to turn aside its head, when battering the works. Abundance of means were employed to prevent its effects. Some of them may be seen in the sieges I have cited in the beginning of this paragraph. Josephus relates a surprising action of a Jew, who, at the siege of Jotaphat, threw a stone of an enormous size upon the head of the ram with such violence, that he loosened it from the beam, and made it fall down. He leaped afterwards from the top of the wall to the bottom, took the head from the midst of the enemies, and carried it back with him. He received five arrows in his body, and notwithstanding those wounds, boldly kept in his post, till, through loss of blood and strength, he fell from the wall, and the ram's head with him, with which he would never part.¹

SECTION IV.—MOVING TOWERS.

VEGETIUS describes these towers in a manner, that gives a sufficiently clear idea of them.² The moving towers, says that author, are made of an assemblage of beams and strong planks, not unlike a house. To secure them against the fires thrown by the besieged, they are covered with raw hides, or with pieces of cloth made of hair. Their height is in proportion to that of their base. They are sometimes thirty feet square, and sometimes forty or fifty. They are higher than the walls or even towers of the city. They are supported upon several wheels according to mechanic principles, by the means of which the machine is easily made to move, how great soever it may be. The town is in great danger, if this tower can approach the walls. For it has stairs from one story to another, and includes different methods of attack. At bottom it has a ram to batter the wall, and on the middle story a draw-bridge, made of two beams with rails of basket-work, which lets down easily upon the wall of a city, when within reach of it. The besiegers pass upon this bridge, to make themselves masters of the wall. Upon the higher stories are soldiers armed with partisans, and missile weapons, who keep a perpetual discharge upon the works. When affairs are in this posture, a place seldom holds out long. For what can they hope who have nothing to confide in but the height of their ramparts, when they see others suddenly appear which command them?

ARTICLE III.

ATTACK AND DEFENCE OF PLACES.

I join the attack and defence of places together, in order to abridge this subject, which of itself is very extensive: I shall even treat only of the most essential parts of it, and in as brief a manner as possible.

SECTION I.—LINES OF CIRCUMVALLATION AND COUNTERVALLATION.

WHEN the cities were extremely strong and populous, they were surrounded with a fosse and intrenchment against the besieged, and by another fosse on the side next the country, against the troops which might come to the aid of the place; and these were called lines of circumvallation and countervallation. The besiegers pitched their camp between these two lines. Those of countervallation were against the besieged city, the others against attempts from without.

When it was foreseen, that the siege would be of long duration, it was often changed into a blockade, and then the two lines in question were solid walls of strong masonry, flanked with towers at proper distances. There is a very good example of this at the

siege of Platæa by the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, of which Thucydides has left us a long description. "The two surrounding lines were composed of two walls sixteen feet distant, and the soldiers lay in that space, which was divided into quarters: so that it might have been taken for only one wall with high towers from distance to distance, which occupied the whole interval, in order to enable the besiegers to defend at the same time against those within and those without. The quarters of the soldiers could not be gone round without crossing the towers of the wall, and the top of the wall was skirted with a parapet of osier. There was a fosse, on each side of which, the earth had been used to make bricks for the wall."³ In this manner Thucydides describes these two surrounding walls, which were of no very great circumference, the city being very small. I have elsewhere related with sufficient extent the history of this siege, or rather blockade, very famous among the ancients, and have observed in what manner, notwithstanding these fortifications, part of the garrison escaped.

The camp of the Roman army before Numantia took up a much greater extent of ground.⁴ That city was twenty-four stadia or a league in circumference. Scipio, when he invested it, caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn, which enclosed more than twice the ground the city stood upon. When this work was finished, another line was thrown up against the besieged, at a reasonable distance from the first, composed of a rampart of eight feet thick by ten high, which was strengthened with strong palisades. The whole was flanked with towers of an hundred feet from each other. It is not easy to comprehend in what manner the Romans completed these immense works; a line of circumvallation of more than two leagues in compass: but nothing is more certain than these facts.

SECTION II.—APPROACHES OF THE CAMP TO THE BODY OF THE PLACE.

THOUGH trenches, oblique lines, mines, and the like inventions, seem neither often nor clearly expressed in authors, we can hardly doubt with reason, that they were in use among the Greeks and Romans. Is it probable, that with the ancients, whose generals, among their other excellent qualities, had that of taking great care to spare the blood and lives of their soldiers, approaches were made in besieging without any precautions against the machines of the besieged, whose ramparts were so well provided, and whose defence was so desperate? Though there is no mention of this in any of the historians, who might possibly in the description of sieges, omit it as being well known to all the world; we should not conclude, that such able generals either did not know, or neglected, things, on the one side so important, and on the other so easy; and which must naturally have struck every man however little versed in attacking places. But several historians speak of them; and among the rest Polybius, who, describing the siege of the city of Echinoa by Philip, concludes with these words: "To cover from the arrows of the besieged, as well as those who went from the camp to the works, as those who returned from the works to the camp, trenches were drawn⁵ from the camp to the tortoises; and these trenches covered at top."⁶

Long before Philip, Demetrius Poliorcetes had used the same method at the siege of Rhodes. Diodorus Siculus tells us, "that famous warrior caused tortoises, and galleries, cut in the earth, or covered mines, to be made, for communication with the batteries of rams, and ordered a trench with blinds over head, to cover and secure the troops in going and coming from the towers and tortoises. The seamen and marines were appointed for this service; the work was four stadia in length, or five hundred paces."

It is certain therefore that the use of trenches was

¹ De Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 16.

² Veget. de re milit. l. vii. c. 17.

³ Thucyd. l. ii. p. 147, &c. ⁴ Appian in Iberic. p. 306.

⁵ Σχεγυγες χαταστροφες. Suidas understands by σκεγυγες, a long trench: τρεπιδες δ' αμειβει, fossa longa. Longus cuniculus, et meatus subterraneus. ⁶ Polyb. l. ix. p. 571.

well known to the ancients, without which they could have formed no siege. There were different sorts of them. They were either fosses parallel to the front of the attacks, or communications cut in the earth and covered over head, or open, and drawn obliquely to prevent being scoured by the enemy. These trenches are often expressed in authors by the Latin word *aggeres*, which does not always signify *cavaliers* or *platforms*.

The cavaliers were mounds of earth, on which machines were planted, and were thrown up in the following manner. The work was begun at a small distance from that side of the fosse next the country. It was carried on under the cover of mantles, or moving sheds, of considerable height, behind which the soldiers worked in security from the machines of the besieged. This sort of mantles or galleries were not always composed of hurdles and fascines, but of raw hides, mattresses, or of a curtain made of strong cables, the whole suspended between very high masts fixed in the ground, which broke the force of whatever was discharged against it.¹ The work was continued to the height of these suspended curtains, which were raised in proportion with it. At the same time the void places of the platform were filled up with stones, earth, and any thing; whilst some were employed in levelling and beating down the earth, to make it firm and capable of sustaining the weight of the towers and machines to be planted upon it. From these towers and batteries of balistas and catapultas a hail of stones, arrows, and large darts, were discharged upon the ramparts and works of the besieged.

The terrace which Alexander the Great caused to be raised against the rock of Coriennæ, was very surprising.² That rock, which was supposed impregnable, was two thousand five hundred paces high, and seven or eight hundred round. It was excessively steep on all sides, having only one path, hewn out of the rock, by which no more than one man could ascend without difficulty. It was besides surrounded with a deep abyss, which served it instead of a fosse, and which it was necessary to fill up, in order to approach it. All these difficulties were not capable of discouraging Alexander, to whose valour and fortune nothing was impossible. He began therefore by ordering the high fir trees, that surrounded the place in great numbers, to be cut down, in order to use them as stairs to descend by into the fosse. His troops worked night and day in filling it up. Though the whole army were employed in their turn upon this work, so difficult was it, that they could do no more than thirty feet a day, and something less a night. When it was more advanced, and began to come nearer the due height, they drove piles into both sides of the fosse, at proper distances from each other, (with beams laid cross) in order to support the weight to be laid on it. They then formed a kind of floor or bridge of wicker and fascines, which they covered with earth to equal the height of the side of the fosse, so that the army could advance on a way even with the rock. Till then the barbarians had derided the undertaking, believing it utterly impracticable. But when they saw themselves exposed to the darts of the enemy, who worked upon their terrace behind mantles, they began to lose courage, demanded to capitulate, and soon after surrendered the rock to Alexander.

The filling up of the fosses was not always so difficult as in this instance, but always required great precautions and labour. The soldier worked under cover in the tortoises, and the like machines. To fill up the fosses, they made use of stones, the trunks of trees, and fascines, the whole mingled with earth. It was necessary that these works should be of great solidity, to bear the prodigious weight of the machines planted upon them, which would have made them fall in, if this kind of causeway had been composed only of fascines. If the fosses were full of water, they began by drawing it off either entirely or in part by different drains, which they cut for that purpose. Whilst these works were carrying on, the besieged were not

idle. They ran many mines under the fosse to the part of it filled up, in order to carry off the earth, which they handed from man to man into the city: this prevented the work from advancing, the besieged carrying off as much as the besiegers laid on it. They used also another more effectual stratagem, which was to cut large cavities underneath the works of the latter. After having removed some of the earth without its being discovered, they supported the rest with props or large beams, which they smeared over with grease and other combustibles. They then filled up the void space between the props with dry wood, and such things as would soonest burn, and set them on fire: hence when the props gave way, the whole fell into a kind of gulf, with the tortoises, battering rams, and men employed in working them.

The besiegers used the same artifice to make the walls of places fall down. When Darius besieged Chalcedon, the walls were so strong, and the place so well provided with all necessaries, that the inhabitants were in no pain about the siege.³ The king did not make any approaches to the walls, nor lay waste the country. He lay still as if he expected a considerable re-enforcement. But whilst the people of Chalcedon had no other thoughts than of guarding their walls, he opened at the distance of three-quarters of a league from the city a mine, which the Persians carried on as far as the market-place. They judged themselves directly under it from the roots of the olive-trees, which they knew grew there. They then opened their mine, and entering by that passage, took the place whilst the besieged were still employed in keeping guard upon the walls.

In the same manner, A. Servilius the dictator took the city of Fidene, having caused several false attacks to be made on different sides, whilst a mine carried on as far as the citadel, opened him a passage there for his troops.⁴ Another dictator (the celebrated Camillus) could not terminate the long siege of Veii, but by this stratagem.⁵ He undertook to run a mine as far as the citadel of that place. And that the work might not be discontinued, or the troops discouraged by the length of it, he divided them into six brigades, who relieved each other every six hours. The work being carried on night and day, it extended at length to the citadel, and the city was taken.

At the siege of Athens by Sylla, it is astonishing to consider the mines and countermines used on both sides.⁶ The miners were not long before they met and fought furiously under ground. The Romans having cut their way as far as the wall, tapped a great part of it, and supported it in a manner in the air on props of wood, to which they set fire without loss of time. The wall fell suddenly into the fosse with an incredible noise and ruins, and all that was upon it perished. This was one of the methods of attacking places.

SECTION III.—MEANS USED IN REPAIRING BREACHES.

THE ancients used several methods to defend themselves against the enemy after the breach was made. Sometimes, but not so frequently, they made use of trees cut down, which they extended along the whole front of the breach very near each other, in order that the branches might mingle together; they tied the trunks very firmly to one another, so that it was impossible to separate these trees, which formed an impenetrable fence, behind which a multitude of soldiers were posted, armed with pikes and long partizans. The breaches were sometimes made so suddenly, either by saps above, or under ground, or by the violent blows of the rams, that the besieged often found their works laid open, when they least thought of it. They had recourse on such occasions to a very simple refuge in order to gain time, and to intrench behind the breach. They threw down upon the ruins of the wall a prodigious quantity of dry wood, and other combustible matter, to which they set fire: this occasioned so violent a flame, that it was impossible for the besiegers to pass through it or approach the breach.

¹ Cæsar made use of such a curtain at the siege of Marseilles. De bell. civ. l. iii.

² Arrian, l. iv. p. 150.

³ Polyb. l. v. c. 5.

⁵ Ibid. l. v. n. 19.

⁴ Liv. l. iv. n. 22.

⁶ Appian de bell. Mithrid. p. 193.

The garrison of Haliartus in Bœotia thought of this remedy against the Romans.¹ But the most usual method was to erect new walls behind the breaches, which are now called in French, *retirades*, retrenchments. These works generally were not parallel with the ruined walls. They described a kind of semicircle towards the place, of which the two ends joined the two sides of the wall that remained whole. They did not omit to cut a very large and deep fosse before this work, in order to oblige the assailants to attack it with the whole train of machines, which would be used against walls of the greatest strength.

Sylla, having beat down great part of the walls of the Piræum with his battering rams, caused the breach to be immediately attacked, where so furious a battle ensued, that he was obliged to sound a retreat.² The besieged, improving the opportunity this gave them, immediately ran a second wall behind the breach. Sylla, perceiving it, made his machines advance to batter it, rightly judging, that being newly built, it could not long resist their violence. The effect answered with no great difficulty, and he immediately ordered the assault to be given. The action was warm and vigorous; but he was at last repulsed with loss, and obliged to abandon his design. History abounds with examples of this kind.

SECTION IV.—ATTACK AND DEFENCE OF PLACES BY MACHINES.

THE machines most used in sieges were, as I have observed before, the catapultæ, balista, tortoises, battering rams, and moving towers. To know the force of them, the reader need only turn back to the relations of the most important sieges treated in this history, such as those of Lilybæum in Sicily by the Romans; of Carthage by Scipio; of Syracuse, first by the Athenians, and afterwards by Marcellus; of Tyre by Alexander; of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorcetes; and of Athens by Sylla.

I shall cite here no more than one, of which I shall repeat only some detached, but very proper, circumstances, in my opinion, to show the manner in which the ancients attacked and defended places, and the use they made of machines of war. This is the famous siege of Jerusalem by Titus, related at large by the historian Josephus, who was an eye-witness of the whole.

The city of Jerusalem was fortified with a triple wall, except on the side of the valleys, where there was but one, because they were inaccessible.³ Titus began by causing all the trees in the neighbourhood to be cut down, and made use of that wood in erecting several platforms or terraces. The whole army were employed in this work; the workmen were covered by hurdles and gabions. The Jews omitted nothing on their side, that might contribute to their defence: the ramparts were soon covered with a great number of machines.

The first wall was first attacked. When the platforms were erected, Titus caused the rams to be planted upon them, with the other machines to annoy the enemy, and battered the wall in three different places. The Jews perpetually poured an incredible number of fires and darts upon these machines, and the soldiers that worked the rams. They made also several sallies to set them on fire, and were repulsed with great difficulty. Titus had caused three towers to be erected on these platforms, each of seventy-five feet in height, to command the ramparts and works of the place. In the night, one of these towers fell of itself, and occasioned a great consternation throughout the whole army. They galled the besieged exceedingly, for they were full of portable machines, slingers, and archers, who poured a continual shower of darts, arrows, and stones, upon them, which they did not know how to remedy, because they could neither raise platforms of an equal height with those towers, nor throw them down, they were so strong; nor burn them, because they were covered all over with plates of iron. Nothing, therefore, being able

to retard the effect of the rams, and those dreadful machines perpetually advancing, the Jews abandoned the first wall, after a defence of fifteen days. The Romans entered the breach without difficulty, and opened the gates to the rest of the army.

The second wall gave them no great trouble: Titus soon made himself master of that with the new city. The Jews then made very extraordinary efforts, and drove him out of them, and it was not till after a continued and very rude battle of four days, that he regained them.

But the third wall cost him much labour and blood, the Jews refusing to hearken to any proposals of peace, and defending themselves with an obstinacy, that resembled rather the madness and fury of men in despair, than valour and fortitude.

Titus divided his army into two bodies, in order to form two attacks on the side of the fort Antonia, and made his troops work in erecting four terraces, upon each of which a legion was employed. Though the work was carried on night and day, it took up above fifteen days to complete it; at the end of which the machines were planted upon it. John and Simon were at the head of the seditions, who ruled all things in the city. The first caused a mine to be run as far as the terrace in the front of the fort Antonia, the ground under it to be supported by props, a great quantity of wood prepared with rosin and pitch to be carried into it, and then ordered it to be set on fire. The props being soon consumed, the terrace fell in with a dreadful noise. Two days after, Simon attacked the other terraces, on which the besiegers had placed their rams, and begun to batter the wall. Three young officers, followed by soldiers as determinate as themselves, opened their way, with torches in their hands, through the midst of their enemies, as if they had nothing to fear from the multitude of darts and swords, and did not retire till they had set fire to the machines. When the flames began to rise, the Romans ran from their camp to save their machines. The Jews repulsed them by the shower of darts from the top of their walls, where they had three hundred catapultæ and forty balistæ. They also sallied in large bodies, and despising danger, came to blows with those who advanced to extinguish the fire. The Romans used their utmost endeavours to draw off their rams, of which the covers were burnt; and the Jews, to prevent them, continued amidst the flames without giving way. The fire from the machines caught the terraces, the Romans not being able to hinder it. So that, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides with the flames, and despairing of all means to preserve their works, they retreated to their camp. They were inconsolable for having lost in one hour, by the ruin of their works, what had cost them so much time and pains, and many, seeing all their machines destroyed, despaired of ever being able to take the place.

But Titus did not lose courage. Having called a great council of war, he proposed the building of a wall round the city, to deprive the besieged of all hopes of receiving aid or provisions, of which they began to be in want. This advice was generally approved of, and the troops recovered spirit. But what seems incredible, and was truly worthy of the Romans, is, that this great work, which appeared to require three months for the execution of it, the city being two leagues in circumference, was begun and finished in three days. The city being enclosed in this manner, the troops were posted in the towers with which the new wall was flanked at proper distances. Titus at the same time caused four more terraces to be raised against the fort Antonia, larger than the former. They were completed in twenty-one days, notwithstanding the difficulty of finding the wood necessary for so great a work.

John, who commanded in fort Antonia, in order to prevent the danger consequent upon a breach being made by the besiegers, lost no time in fortifying himself; and to try all things before the rams began to batter, he made a sally with torches in hand, in order to set fire to the enemy's works, but was obliged to return without being able to approach them.

¹ Liv. l. xlii. n. 63. ² Appian de bell. Mithrid. p. 194.

³ Joseph. bell. Jud. l. i.

The Romans then advanced their rams to batter the tower Antonia: but seeing, notwithstanding reiterated efforts, that they could not make a breach, they resolved to sap it, and covering themselves with their bucklers in form of a tortoise, against the quantity of stones and flints, which the Jews poured down upon them, they persevered to work in such a manner with their levers and hands, that they loosened four of the stones in the foundation of the tower. Night obliged both sides to some respite: and in that time, the part of the wall, under which John had caused the mine to be run, by the means of which he had ruined the first terraces of the Romans, being weakened by the strokes they had given it, fell down on a sudden. The Jews the same moment raised another wall behind it. As it was so newly built, it was expected that it would be the more easily thrown down: but nobody dared be the first to assault it, so much the determined courage of the Jews had dismayed the troops. Several attempts were however made, but without success. Providence opened them another way. Some soldiers, who guarded the terraces, got up without noise towards the close of the night by the ruins of the wall into the fort Antonia. They found the sentinels upon the advanced posts asleep, and slew them. Having made themselves masters of the wall in this manner, they caused their trumpets to sound, which they had taken care to bring with them. Upon that alarm, the guard at the other posts, imagining the number of the Romans much greater than it was, were seized with such fear that they fled. Titus came up soon after with part of his troops, and entering by the same ruins, pursued the Jews to the gates of the temple, which they defended with incredible valour. The action was very hot, and continued at least ten hours. But at length the fury and despair of the Jews, who saw their safety depended upon the success of this battle, prevailed over the valour and experience of the Romans. The latter thought proper to content themselves with having taken fort Antonia, though only a part of their army was present in the battle.

Several other assaults passed which I omit. The greatest of the rams that Titus had caused to be made, and planted upon the platform, battered the walls of the temple continually for six days, without being able to make any more progress than the rest; of such proof was that superb edifice against their efforts. The Romans having lost all hopes of succeeding by attacks of this kind, resolved to proceed by scaling the walls. The Jews, who had not foreseen it, could not prevent them from planting their ladders. But never was resistance greater than theirs. They threw down such as had got on the wall, killed those upon the upper steps of the ladders before they could cover themselves with their shields, and even threw down the ladders quite covered with soldiers, which cost the Romans many men. The rest were obliged to retire without being able to succeed in the attempt.

The Jews made many sallies, in which they fought with the utmost fury and desperation, and killed many of the Romans. But Titus at last made himself master of the temple, to which, notwithstanding the most severe orders to the contrary, a soldier set fire, and it was consumed entirely. And thus the prediction of Jesus Christ concerning it was accomplished.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE NAVIES OF THE ANCIENTS.

I HAVE spoken elsewhere of the maritime affairs of the ancients, their vessels, and naval troops. I must beg the reader to have recourse to what I have said there, to supply what may be wanting in this place.

Nothing certain can be said concerning the origin of navigation. We may, however, be assured, that the oldest vessel mentioned in history, is Noah's ark, of which God himself gave the design, and directed the form and all the measures, but solely with the view which he had of its containing the

family of Noah, and all the animals of the earth and air. This art, without doubt, was in its beginnings gross and imperfect: planks, rafts, small boats, and little barks. The manner in which fish move in the water, and birds in the air, might suggest to mankind the thought of imitating the aids nature has given those animals by oars and sails. At all events, they have attained by degrees the art of building vessels in the perfection we now see them.

The ships of the ancients may be divided into two kinds:—those for transporting merchandise, *onerarie naves*; and ships of war, often called long ships, *longæ naves*.¹

The first were small vessels, which were commonly called *open barks*, because they had no deck. These little barks had no beaks, called *rostra*, used in sea fights, to run against and sink the enemy's ships.

The long ships used in war were of two sorts. The one had only one bench of oars on each side, the other more. Of those which had only one bench, some had twenty oars, *εἰκοσῆροι*; others thirty, *τριηκόντεςροι*; some fifty, *πεντηκόντεςροι*; or even an hundred, *εκατόντεςροι*. Nothing is more common than names of these ships in Greek authors. The rowers were placed half on one side of the vessel, and half on the other, on the same line. Among the vessels of several benches of oars, some had two only, *biremes*; others three, *triremes*; some four, *quadrيرهmes*; others five, *quinqueremes*; and others a greater number, as we shall see in the sequel. Those most spoken of by authors, and of which the ancients made most use in battles, were the *triremes* and *quinqueremes*: by which names the reader will permit me to express the vessels with three and five benches of oars.

We find in all the ancient authors a clear and evident distinction between these two sorts of vessels. Some were called *τριηκόντεςροι*, *ships of thirty oars*; *πεντηκόντεςροι*, *ships of fifty oars*, &c. and these were ranked in the number of small ships. We shall see presently the difference there was in the number of the crews on board each of them. The latter were distinguished by their several benches of oars, as well as magnitude. And Livy says expressly: *Quinqueremis Romana—pluribus remorum ordinibus scindentibus vortices*; ² as well as Virgil, *Terno consurgunt ordine remi*?³ It is therefore not to be doubted, that the ancients had vessels with several benches of oars, from two, three, four, five, six, to thirty or forty: but those only of a small number of benches were of use; the rest being chiefly for show.

To know how these several benches of oars could be put in motion, is a difficulty, and has always been a matter of dispute among the learned moderns, which in all probability may continue for ever undecided. The most able and experienced persons on naval affairs among us, believe the thing utterly impossible. And indeed it would be so, if we suppose, that these different ranks of oars were placed perpendicularly over one another. But we see the contrary upon Trajan's column, on which the biremes and triremes have their benches placed obliquely, and as it were by steps one above the other. The arguments opposed to the opinion of those who admit several ranks of oars in vessels, are, it must be owned, very strong and conclusive: but what force can the best reasons in the world have against real facts, and an experience confirmed by the testimony of all the ancient writers.

It appears, that the rowers were distinguished from the place or step where they sat.⁴ The lowest were called *Thalamites*, those in the middle *Zugites*, and those above, *Thranites*.⁵ The latter had larger pay than the others, without doubt, because they handled longer and heavier oars than those of the lower benches. It is still a question, whether in large vessels each oar had only one man to it, or more, as now in the galleys of France. In the biremes and triremes

¹ Bomilear centum triginta navibus longis, et septingentis onerariis profectus. Liv. l. xxv. n. 27.

² Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 30.

³ Æn. l. v.

⁴ Interp. Aristoph. in Ranis. ⁵ Thucyd. l. vi. p. 431.

on the column of Trajan, there is only one rower to a bench on each side. It is very probable, that there were more in larger vessels: but I avoid entering into discussions, which would carry me a great way beyond the extent of my plan.

There are descriptions in Athenæus of ships of astonishing and incredible magnitude. The two first were Ptolemy Philopator's, king of Egypt.¹ One of them carried forty benches of oars, and was four hundred feet long, and fifty-seven broad. Four thousand rowers hardly sufficed to put this enormous hulk in motion. It was launched by a machine, composed of as much wood as would have made fifty vessels of five benches of oars. How shall we conceive the practical use of the fifty benches of oars in this vessel? But indeed they were chiefly for show.

The other ship, called *Tulamaga*, because it had beds and apartments in it, was three hundred twelve and a half feet in length, and forty-five in its greatest breadth. Its height, including the tent or pavilion upon its deck, was almost sixty feet. All around it, (except the head,) there was a double gallery of immense extent. It was really a floating palace. Ptolemy caused it to be built to carry himself and his whole court upon the Nile. Athenæus does not mention the number of its ranks or benches of oars.

The third vessel is that which Hiero II. king of Syracuse, caused to be built under the directions of the famous Archimedes.² It had twenty benches of oars, and was of incredible magnificence. No part of Sicily being capable of containing it, Hiero made a present of it to Ptolemy Philopator, and sent it to Alexandria. Though the hold or sink was very deep, one man emptied it by the means of a machine invented by Archimedes.

These vessels, which were chiefly for show, have, properly speaking, no relation to the subject I treat. As much may be said of that of Philip, the father of Perseus, mentioned by Livy. It had sixteen benches of oars, but could scarce be made to move, on account of its magnitude.

What Plutarch says of the galleys of Demetrius Poliorcetes is very surprising, and he takes care to apprise the reader that he speaks with the strictest truth, and without any exaggeration.³ That prince, who it is known, was well versed in the arts, and very inventive in regard to machines of war, had also caused several galleys of fifteen and sixteen benches of oars to be built; not merely for ostentation, as he made a wonderful use of them in battles and sieges. Lysimachus not being able to believe what was said of them, sent to desire him, though his enemy, to let his galleys row before him; and when he had seen their swift and easy motion, he was inexpressibly surprised, and could scarce venture to believe his own eyes. These vessels were of astonishing beauty and magnificence; but their lightness and agility seemed still more worthy of admiration, than their size and splendour. But we will confine ourselves to those which were more known and common, I mean principally the galleys of three, four, and five benches of oars; and make some observations upon their use in battle.

There is no mention in Homer of vessels with several benches of oars;⁴ it was not till after the Trojan war that the use of them was introduced: the particular era is unknown. The Corinthians were the first who changed the ancient form of the galleys, and built those of three benches of oars, and perhaps also of five. Syracuse, a Corinthian colony, piqued herself, especially in the time of Dionysius the elder, upon imitating the industry of the city, from which she derived her origin; and even at length surpassed it, by carrying that to perfection, which the former had only designed. The wars, which she had to support against Carthage, obliged her to devote all her care and application to naval affairs. These two cities were at that time the greatest maritime powers in the world. Greece, in general, had not yet distinguished herself in this respect. It had been the plan and design of Lycurgus absolutely to prohibit the use of

navigation to his citizens; and that from two motives, equally worthy the wise and profound policy of that legislator. His first view was to remove from his republic all commerce with strangers, lest such intercourse should alter the purity of its manners, and weaken the severity of the maxims he had established. In the second place, he was for banishing from the Lacedæmonians all desire of aggrandizing themselves, and all hope of making conquests; considering that dire ambition as the ruin of states. Sparta therefore at first had only a very small number of ships. Athens was originally no better provided with them. It was Themistocles, who, penetrating into the future, and foreseeing at a distance what they had to apprehend from the Persians, converted the whole power of Athens into a maritime force, equipped upon a different pretext a numerous fleet, and by that wise provision, preserved Greece, obtained immortal glory for his country, and put it into a condition to become in a short time superior to all the neighbouring states.

During almost five ages, Rome, if Polybius may be believed, was entirely ignorant of what a vessel, galley, or fleet was. As she was solely employed in subjecting the surrounding states, she had no occasion for them. When she began to send her troops into Sicily, she had not a single bark of her own, and borrowed vessels of her neighbours to transport her armies.⁵ But she soon perceived that she could not oppose the Carthaginians, whilst they were masters of the sea. She therefore conceived the design of disputing the empire of it with them, and of equipping a fleet. A quinquereinis, which the Romans had taken from the enemy, gave birth to the thought, and served them for a model. In less than two months they built an hundred galleys of five, and twenty of three benches of oars. They formed mariners and rowers by an exercise before unknown to them; and in the first battle they gave the Carthaginians, they overcame them, though the most powerful nation of the world by sea, and the most expert in naval affairs.

The fleet of Xerxes, when he set out from Asia to attack Greece, consisted of more than twelve hundred galleys with three benches of oars, of which each carried two hundred and thirty men; and three thousand galleys of thirty or fifty oars, besides transports, which on an average carried fourscore men.⁶ The other galleys, supplied by the province of Europe, had each two hundred men on board. Those which set out from Athens, during the Peloponnesian war, to attack the Syracusans, carried as many. Hence we may suppose the usual complement of those vessels was two hundred men. I could have wished, that historians had distinguished clearly in regard to these two hundred men, who were the complement of the ships; how many of them were merely seamen, and how many soldiers. Plutarch, in speaking of those of the Athenians, that were in the battle of Salamis, observes that each of the hundred and fourscore galleys, of which their fleet consisted, had only eighteen fighting men on board, of whom four were archers, and the rest heavy armed troops: which is a very small number.⁷

The battle of Salamis is one of the most famous of antiquity: but we have no very particular account of it.⁸ The Athenians distinguished themselves in it by invincible valour, and their commander still more by his ability and prudence. He persuaded the Greeks, not without much difficulty, to stop in a strait, which rendered the superiority in number of the Persian vessels useless: and he delayed engaging, till a certain wind very contrary to the enemy began to blow.

The last battle of the Athenians, in the port of Syracuse, occasioned their ruin. Apprehending the beaks of the enemy's galleys, of which they had a good experience in the former actions, Nicias provided grappling irons in order to prevent their effect, and to come immediately to blows as upon shore. But the enemy, who perceived it, covered the heads and upper parts of their galleys with leather, in order to give less hold to the grapples, and avoid being board-

¹ Athen. l. iii. p. 204—206.

² Ibid. p. 206, 209.

³ Plut. in Demetr. p. 897.

⁴ Thucyd. l. i. p. 8—10.

⁵ Polyb. l. i. p. 25.

⁶ Herod. l. vii. c. 89

⁷ Plut. in Themist. p. 119.

⁸ Herod. l. vii. c. 84—90

ed. Their discharges did much greater execution. The Athenians were overwhelmed by a hail of stones, which never missed their aim, whilst their darts and arrows were almost always ineffectual, from the motion and agitation of the vessels. Their ancient glory and power suffered shipwreck in this last battle.

Polybius has a short but very fine description of a sea-fight, which was to the Romans a happy omen of the future, and made way for the conquests, which were to assure them of the empire of the sea. It is that of Mylia in Sicily against the Carthaginians, in which the consul Duilius commanded. I have related it in the history of the Carthaginians. What is particular in this battle, is a machine of a new invention, made fast to the top of the heads of the Roman ships, and called *Corvus*. It was a kind of crane, drawn up on high and suspended by cords, which had a heavy cone of iron, called *Corvus*, at its extremity, that was let down with impetuosity upon the ships of the enemy, to break through the planks of the decks, and grapple them. This machine was the principal cause of the victory, the first the Romans ever gained at sea.

The same Polybius describes more extensively a famous naval battle near Ecomia, a city of Sicily. The Romans, commanded by the consuls Attilius Regulus, and L. Manlius, had three hundred and thirty deck-ships, and a hundred and forty thousand men, each vessel carrying three hundred rowers, and one hundred and twenty soldiers. The Carthaginian fleet commanded by Hanno and Amilcar had three hundred and fifty vessels, and above one hundred and fifty thousand men. The design of the former was to carry the war into Africa, which the others were extremely interested to prevent. Every thing therefore was disposed for a battle. The order of battle of the Romans at this time was quite unusual. They did not draw up in one or more lines, which was very common, lest the enemy should get between their lines with the advantage of their number, and they took care to face on all sides. Besides, as the enemy's strength consisted in the agility of their ships, they thought it necessary to row in an oblique line, and observe an order of battle not easy to be broken. For this purpose, the two ships of six benches, on board of which were the consuls Regulus and Manlius, were placed in front, side by side. They were each followed by a file of ships: called the first and second fleet. The vessels of each file stood off, and enlarged the file as they drew up, turning their heads outwards. The two first fleets being thus drawn up in the form of a beak or wedge, the third line of ships was formed, called the third fleet. This closed the space, and faced the enemy; so that this order of battle had the form of a triangle. These three lines composed a kind of divided whole, consisting of three fleets: for so they were called. This third line, or third fleet, towed the transports, on board of which were the cavalry, which formed a second body. And lastly, the fourth fleet, or the Triarii, (for so it was called) brought up the rear, in such a manner, that it extended beyond the two sides of the line in front of it: and this was the third body. In this disposition the order of battle represented a wedge or beak, of which the forepart was hollow, and the base solid; but the whole strong, fit for the action, and hard to break.

The Carthaginians, on their side, drew up almost their whole fleet in one line. The right wing commanded by Hanno, and consisting of the lightest and nimblest galleys, advanced very much ahead of the fleet, to surround those of the enemy, that were opposite to it, and had their heads all facing towards it. The left wing, consisting of the fourth part of the fleet, was drawn up in form of a hornwork, or gibbet, and inclined towards the coast. Amilcar, as admiral, commanded the centre, and this left wing. He made use of stratagem to separate the Roman fleet. The latter, who assured themselves of victory over a fleet drawn up with so great an extent, began by attacking the centre, which had orders to retire by little and little, as if giving way to the enemy, and preparing to fly. The Romans did not fail to pursue them. By

which movement the first and the second fleet (we have before observed which to distinguish by those names) parted from the third, that had the transports in tow, and the fourth, in which were the Triarii designed to support them. When they were at a certain distance, upon a signal given from Amilcar's galley, the Carthaginians fell all at once upon the vessels that pursued them. The Carthaginians had the advantage of the Romans in the nimbleness of their ships, and the address and facility with which they either advanced or retired: but the vigour of the Romans in the charge, their cranes for grappling the enemy's vessels, the presence of the two consuls, who fought at their head, and in whose sight they were ardent to signalize themselves, inspired them with no less confidence, than the Carthaginians had on their side. Such was the engagement here.

At the same time Hanno, who commanded the right wing, fell in with the ships of the Triarii, and put them into disorder and confusion. On the other side, the Carthaginians, who were in form of a fork or gibbet, and near shore, drew up in a line, and charged the ships that towed the transports. The latter immediately let go the cords and came to blows with them, so that the whole battle was divided into three parts, which made as many different fights at considerable distances from each other.

As the forces were very nearly equal on both sides, so was the advantage at first. At length the squadron commanded by Amilcar, not being able to resist any longer, was put to flight, and Manlius made fast the ships he had taken to his own. Regulus, at the same time, went to the aid of the Triarii and transports, with the vessels of the second fleet, which had not suffered at all. Whilst he engaged Hanno, the Triarii, who had before given way, resumed courage, and returned to the charge with vigour. The Carthaginians, attacked in front and rear, could not resist long, and fled. While this passed Manlius returned, and perceived the third fleet driven close to the shore by the left wing of the Carthaginians. The transports and Triarii being safe, they joined him and Regulus, to make haste and extricate it out of the danger in which they saw it; and it would have been entirely defeated, if the Carthaginians, through fear of being grappled, and thereby reduced to come to blows, had not contented themselves with shutting it in near the shore, without daring to attack it. The consuls coming up at very good time, surrounded the Carthaginians, and took fifty sail of them with their whole complements. Such was the event of this sea-fight, in which the Romans were entirely victorious. Twenty-four of their ships, and above thirty of the Carthaginians perished in it. None of the Roman ships of war fell into the enemy's hands, who lost more than sixty-four.

The Romans never, even in the time of their greatest power, as Polybius observes, fitted out in their own names, and alone, so great a fleet as this we now speak of. Four years before they were absolutely ignorant of what a fleet was; and now they set sail with three hundred and thirty deck-ships.

When we consider the rapidity with which these vessels were built, we are tempted to imagine, that they were of a very small size, and could not contain abundance of hands. We find here the contrary. Polybius tells us a circumstance, which is no where else so clearly explained, and which it is extremely important to know, namely, that each galley carried three hundred rowers, and one hundred and twenty soldiers. How much room must the rigging, provision, water, and other stores of such a galley require? We see in Livy, that they sometimes carried provisions and water for forty-five days, and without doubt sometimes for a longer term.

The *Corvus*, or crane, of which mention is often made in sea fights, a machine for grappling ships, shows us, that the ancients found no means so effectual to assure themselves of victory, as to join in close fight, or board the enemy. They often carried balistæ and catapultæ on board to discharge darts and

stones. Though these machines, which served them instead of our cannon, had surprising effects, they only used them, when ships were at a certain distance, and boarded them as soon as possible. It is in this, indeed, and only in this, that the valour of troops really appears.

The galleys, of which these two fleets consisted,

were of three benches of oars, or at most of five, except those of the two consuls, which had six. At the battle of Myla, the admiral galley had seven benches of oars. It is easy to judge, that these admiral galleys were not merely for show, and that they must have been of more service in the battle than any of the rest.

OF GRAMMARIANS AND PHILOGOGERS.

INTRODUCTION.

WE are at length arrived at the arts and sciences, which relate merely to the mind, and are intended to enrich it with all the branches of knowledge, necessary to instruct man; to give his nobler part all the perfection of which it is capable; to form his understanding and heart, and in a word, to enable him to discharge the several functions, to which divine providence shall vouchsafe to call him. For we must not deceive ourselves in this respect: The end of the science is neither to become learned solely for ourselves, nor to satisfy a restless and barren curiosity, which draws us on by a seducing pleasure from object to object; but to contribute, each in his way, to the general advantage of society. To confine our labours and studies to our own satisfaction, and to centre every thing in our own self, is to be ignorant that man is the part of a whole, to which he ought to adhere, and of which the beauty consists essentially in the union and harmony of the parts that compose it; all which parts tend, though by different means, to the same end,—public utility.

It is in this view God distributes to mankind their different talents and inclinations, which are sometimes so strongly implanted, that it is almost impossible to resist them. Every body knows what an inclination the famous Mr. Paschal had from his earliest infancy for geometry, and what a wonderful progress he made in it by the pure force of his genius, notwithstanding the care taken by his father to hide all the books and instruments from him, which could give him any idea of it. I could quote a great number of the like examples in every art and science. A sequel and effect of these natural inclinations, which always denote great talents, is the industrious application of the learned to certain studies, often abstract and difficult, and sometimes even disagreeable and tedious, to which, however, they find a secret pleasure attach them with an almost irresistible force. Who can doubt but this pleasure is a kind of attractive charm, which providence annexes to certain severe and painful labours, in order to soften the rigours to these pursuits, and to make them surmount with courage the obstacles which sooner or later might disgust them, if not passionate after their object, and actuated by a taste superior to all difficulty? But do we not also see, that the design of God, in dispensing the talents and inclinations of men with so astonishing a diversity, has been to enable the learned to be useful to society in general, and to obtain for it all the aids in their power? And what can be more glorious and more grateful to them, if they understand aright their true glory, than to perceive themselves selected from all mankind, to be ministers and co-operators in the cares of the divine providence with regard to man, in that very circumstance, wherein those cares are greatest and most divine; which is in being the guide of the understanding, and the light of the soul.

Should I be suffered, when I behold the infinite variety of the branches of knowledge intended for the instruction of man, from Grammar, which is their base, to those which are more exalted and sublime, if I compared them with the assemblage of the stars

dispersed throughout the vast extent of the firmament to dispel the darkness of night? I seem to see in those bodies a wonderful relation with learning and learned men. They have each their allotted sphere, in which they constantly remain. They all shine, but with different splendour, some more, some less, without envying each other. They keep always within the paths assigned them, without ever deviating to the right or left. In fine, and this, in my opinion, is most worthy of attention, they do not shine for themselves, but for him who made them. *Stellæ dederunt lumen in custodiis suis, et latetæ sunt. Vocatæ sunt, et dixerunt Adsumus; et luxerunt ei cum jucunditate qui fecit illas.*¹ “The stars shined in their watches, and rejoiced: when he calleth them they say, Here we are; and with cheerfulness they showed light unto him that made them.” This is our duty and our model.

This book contains what relates to grammarians, philologists, (which term I shall explain in its place) rhetoricians, and sophists. I must premise to the reader, that he will find in his progress here some thorns and difficulties. I have removed many, and have left only such as could not from the nature of the subjects upon which I treat, be excluded.

CHAPTER I.

OF GRAMMARIANS.

GRAMMAR is the art of speaking and writing correctly.

There is nothing more admirable, or more worthy of our attention, than the double gift God has conferred upon us of speech and writing. We make continual use of them, almost without ever reflecting that we do so, and without considering the amazing wonders both the one and the other include.

Speech is one of man's greatest advantages over all other animals. It is one of the greatest proofs of his reason, of which it may be said to be the principal evidence. But by what rare art is it produced, and for how many different parts was it necessary to unite and concur with each other, to form the voice at the first motion of the soul!

I have a thought within me, that I desire to communicate to others, or some doubt, in which I would be satisfied. Nothing is more of the nature of spirit, and consequently more remote from sense, than thought. In what manner therefore shall I be able to transfer it from myself to the persons around me? If I cannot effect this, confined within myself, reduced to me alone, deprived of all commerce, discourse, and consolation, I suffer inexpressible torments: the most numerous assembly, the whole world itself, is to me no more than a hideous solitude. But the divine providence has spared me all these pains, in affixing sounds to my ideas, and in making those sounds subservient to my will, by a natural mechanism never to be sufficiently admired. At the very instant, the exact moment, I would communicate my thoughts to others, my lungs, throat, tongue, palate, teeth, lips, and an infinity of other organs, which depend on, and

¹ Bar. iii. 34.

are parts of them, put themselves in motion, and execute my orders with a rapidity, which almost prevents my desires. The air from my lungs, varied and modified an infinity of ways, according to the diversity of my sentiments, issue forth to carry the sound of them into the ears of my auditors, and to inform them of all that passes within me, and of all I desire they should know. To instruct me in producing such wonderful effects, have I had occasion for tutors, lessons, precepts? Nature, that is to say divine providence, has made every thing within me and for me. It has formed in my body all the organs necessary for producing such wonderful effects; and that with a delicacy the senses can hardly trace, and with a variety, multiplicity, distinction, art, and activity, which the naturalists confess above all expression and admiration. This is not all. It has imparted to us an absolute authority over all these organs, in regard to which our mere will is an indispensable command that they never disobey, and that immediately puts them in motion. Why are we not equally docile and submissive to the voice of the Creator?

The manner of forming the voice includes, as I have observed, innumerable wonders. I shall only repeat one circumstance in this place, from which we may judge of the rest. It is extracted from the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, An. 1700.

In our throat, at the top of the trachean artery, that is, the canal through which the air enters and is respired from the lungs, there is a small oval cleft, capable of being more or less extended, called the *Glotta*. As the opening of this little mouth is very small, in proportion to the largeness of the trachea, the air cannot pass through it from the trachea, without extremely augmenting its velocity, and precipitating its course. Hence, in passing, it violently agitates the small parts of the two lips of the glotta, sets them in motion, and causes them to make vibrations, which produce sound. This sound so formed, goes on to utter itself in the cavity of the mouth and nostrils. This mouth of the trachea forms the different tones or notes, as well as sounds; which it can only do by the different changes of its opening. It is oval, as I said before, and capable of extending or closing itself in certain degrees; and thereby the fibres of the membranes, of which it is composed, become longer in low, and shorter in high, tones. We find by Mr. Dodart's exact calculation of the tones or notes, and half notes of an ordinary voice, that for all the small parts of tone, with which it can raise an octave without straining itself, for the more or less force it can give sound without changing the tone or note, we must necessarily suppose that the little diameter of the *glotta*, which is at most a line, or the twelfth of an inch, and which changes its length with all these changes, must be, and actually is divided into 9,632 parts; that even these parts are not all equal, and that consequently some are much less than the 1.9632 part of a line. By what means could the art of man attain to so fine and exquisite divisions? And is it not amazing, that nature itself was capable of executing them? On the other hand, it is no less surprising that the ear, which has so just a sense of tones, perceives, when the voice changes its note ever so little, a difference, of which the origin is no more than the 1.9632 part of less than a line, or twelfth of an inch.

The ear itself;—can we ever be weary of considering its structure, framed in an admirable manner to collect on all sides, in its anfractuons cavities, the flying impressions and undulations of sound, and to determine them afterwards by a pleasing sensation to the internal organ of hearing? It is for the naturalists to explain these wonders: but it is ours to admire with gratitude their infinite advantages, which we almost every moment enjoy, without reflecting much upon them. What manner of people would a nation of mutes be, who should inhabit the same place, with no power to impart their thoughts to each other, but by signs and gestures, nor to communicate their wants, their doubts, their difficulties, their joy, their sorrow, in a word, all the sentiments of their souls, in which the life of a rational creature properly consists?

WRITING is another wonder, which comes very near

that of *Speech*, and which adds a new value to it, from the extent it gives the use to be made of speech, and the permanence or kind of perpetuity speech derives from it. This invention is perfectly well described in the fine verses of Lucan:

Phœnicez primi, famæ si creditor, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

If fame speaks true, and facts believ'd of old,
Phœnicia's sons did first the art unfold,
Discourse in uncouth figures to confine,
And sound and sense to image and design.

It is still better expressed in Brebeuf's translation, which improves considerably upon the original:

C'est de lui que nous vient cet art ingénieux
De peindre la parole, et de parler aux yeux
Et par les traits divers de figures tracées,
Donner de la couleur et du corps aux pensées.

From him descended first the fine device
To paint the voice, and to discourse the eyes;
In forms and colours sense to clothe he taught,
And all the various features of a thought.

It is this invention which enables us to correspond and discourse with the absent, and to transfer our thoughts and opinions to them, notwithstanding the remotest distance of places. The tongue, which is the principal instrument and organ of speech, has no share in this equally useful and agreeable commerce.² The hand, instructed by use to trace sensible characters upon paper, lends it its aid, makes itself its interpreter, mute as it is, and becomes in its place the vehicle of discourse.

It is to the same invention, as Theodoretus further observes, whose words I have just quoted, that we are indebted for the inestimable treasure of the writings come down to us, and which has imparted to us the knowledge not only of the arts, sciences, and all past facts; but, what is of infinitely greater value, of the truths and mysteries of religion.

It is not easy to comprehend how men have been able to compose, out of twenty-five or thirty letters at most, that infinite variety of words, which having no resemblance in themselves to what passes in our minds, do however disclose all the secrets of them to others, and make those, who could not otherwise penetrate our sense, understand all we conceive, and all the different affections of our souls? Let us imagine ourselves in the countries, where the invention of writing has not reached, or where it is not practised; what ignorance! what stupidity! what barbarism do we not see! Can such people be called men? The reader may consult the learned dissertation of Mr. Freret upon the *principles of the art of writing*; which contains a great deal of very curious knowledge.³

Let us not blush to own it, and let us render due homage of gratitude to him, to whom alone we are indebted for the double advantage of speech and writing. Only God could teach mankind to establish certain figures to signify all sounds or words. And these are the first objects of grammar, which, as I have already said, is the art of speaking and writing correctly. It was infinitely more esteemed, and cultivated with much greater attention, by the Greeks and Romans, than with us, among whom it is fallen into great contempt, and almost generally neglected. This difference of sentiments and conduct in this point, arises from these two nations having bestowed considerable time and particular application in the study of their own tongue; whereas we very seldom learn ours by rudiments, which is certainly a great defect in our usual method of instructing youth.

¹ Cadmus the Phœnician.

² Ejusdem beneficio absentibus conversamur; et qui multorum dierum itinere distamus, atque immensis mansionum spatiis et intervallis se jungimus, ingeniorum concepta, et animorum sententias nobis invicem per manus transmittimus. El lingua quidem, quæ primarium orationis organum est, citosa cessat. Sermoni autem dextra ancillatur, quæ calamo arrepto, quod nobis cum amico transigendum erat negotium, papyro aut charta inscribit; et sermonis vehiculum est, non os, nec lingua, sed manus, quæ longi temporis usu artem edocuit, et alimentorum compositionem seu structuram probè edocet. *Theod. de Provid. orat. 4.*

³ Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, vol. vi.

We are surprised to read in Quintilian an exalted praise of grammar, which he says is necessary to youth, agreeable to age, a delightful employment in retirement, and of all studies, that which is attended with more utility than it promises.¹ This is not the idea we form of it. And indeed it is of far greater extent among the ancients than we give it. It did not confine itself to the laying down of rules for speaking, reading, and writing correctly, which is certainly a very important part of it. The understanding and explication of the poets were one of its branches, and we are not ignorant how many things that study necessarily includes. It added another part, which supposes a great fund of erudition and knowledge: this was *Criticism*. I shall soon show in what this consisted.

That kind of grammarians, called also Philologists, *Philologi*, were not confounded with the Grammarians, *Grammatistæ sive litteratores*, whose sole employment was to teach children the first elements of the Greek or Latin tongues. For which reason the latter did not enjoy the immunities or other privileges granted by the emperors to the grammarians.

I shall relate here in a few words what history tells us concerning those who distinguished themselves most in this way, either amongst the Greeks or Romans. Mr. Capperonier, my brother as fellow of the royal college, who has perfectly studied all that relates to grammar, has been so good as to communicate some of his remarks upon that subject to me.

ARTICLE I.

GRECIAN GRAMMARIANS.

I SHALL not enter into an examination of the origin of the Greek letters. Those who desire to be informed upon that head, may consult the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, vol. ii. in which it is treated with great erudition by the late Abbe Renaudot. I adhere to the common opinion of almost all the Greek and Latin authors, who agree, that Cadmus brought the first letters from Phœnicia, and communicated them to the Greeks, that were afterwards called Ionic, of which the origin is sufficiently denoted by their resemblance to the Hebrew and Phœnician alphabets. I shall confine myself in this place to speaking of those, who distinguished themselves most with regard to the Greek grammar.

PLATO is believed to be the first author in whom any traces of the art of grammar is to be found. And accordingly in his *Philæbus* he shows the method of teaching the knowledge of the letters. In his *Cratylus*, he treats the ancient and famous question, whether the signification of words be natural to them, or arbitrary, founded solely upon the will of mankind, who has thought fit to annex certain ideas to words? He divides words into two kinds: the primitive, which he ascribes to God; and the derivative, which are of human invention. He insinuates, that the Greek tongue is derived from the Hebrew, which he calls the language of the Barbarians. In the same dialogue, he examines the origin and etymology of several nouns; for which reason Phavorinus says, in Diogenes Laertius, that Plato was the first that discovered the propriety and use of grammar.

It seems however that ARISTOTLE might be considered as the first author of this science. He has distributed words into certain classes; of which he has examined the different kinds, and particular properties. The twentieth chapter of his Poetics begins with this enumeration. "The poetical style or elocution contains these eight parts. The element, the syllable, the conjunction, the noun, the verb, the article, the case or inflexion, the proposition or phrase."

Hermippus,³ cited by Diogenes Laertius, tells us, that EPICURUS taught grammar before reading the books of Democritus engaged him in the study of philosophy.

Quintilian³ says that the Stoic philosophers made a great many additions to what Aristotle and Theophrastus had introduced concerning grammar. Among these additions he reckons the prepositions, the pronoun, the participle, the adverb, and the interjection. The great etymologists Suidas, Hesychius, Stephanus, Byzantinus, Athenæus, Horporcoration, and other *polygraphical philologists*, mentioned several ancient grammarians, of whom some lived after Aristotle, and Alexander the Great, and others in the Augustan age. We shall say something of the most celebrated of them.

PHILETES, of the Island of Cos, may be placed in the first class of these, whom Ptolemy, the first of that name, king of Egypt, made preceptor to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus.

HECATEUS of Abdera, who composed a treatise upon the poems of Homer and Hesiod.

LYNCEUS of Samos, the disciple of Theophrastus.

ZENODOTUS of Ephesus, who first corrected the faults which had crept into the works of Homer.

CALLIMACHUS, uncle on the mother's side to that Callimachus, some of whose poems are still extant. The celebrated ERATOSTHENES, of whom I shall soon speak under the title of Philologer, was one of his disciples.

ARISTOPHANES of Byzantium was the scholar of Eratosthenes, and lived in the time of Ptolemy Philopator. He was in great estimation,

ARISTARCHUS, the disciple of Aristophanes, obscured by his reputation all the grammarians who preceded him, or lived in his own times. He was born in Samothracia, and had for his country by adoption the city of Alexandria. He was highly esteemed by Ptolemy Philometor, who confided the education of his son to his care. He applied himself extremely to criticism, and revised Homer's poems with incredible, but perhaps too magisterial, an exactness. For when a verse did not please him, he treated it as supposititious and interpolated: *Homeri versum negat, quem non probat*.⁴ It is said he marked the verses he condemned as supposititious, with the figure of a spit on the side of them; whence came the word *σπίτου*. How great soever the reputation and authority of Aristarchus were, appeals were often made from his decrees, and liberty taken to condemn this great critic's taste, who upon some occasions determined, that such and such verses should be transposed from the *Iliad* to the *Odyssey*. Transpositions of this kind are seldom very happy, and generally argue more presumption than judgment. Zenodotus was appointed to revise and examine the criticisms of Aristarchus. In the opinion of some authors, it was this Aristarchus, who divided the two great poems of Homer each into as many books as there are letters in the alphabet, and gave each book the name of a letter. He worked also upon Findar, Aratus, and other poets. He had many disputations in Pergamus with Crates the grammarian, of whom I shall soon speak.

Cicero calls Atticus his Aristarchus, because, as a good friend and an excellent critic, he used to revise and correct his harangues.⁵ Horace also makes use of the same name, to signify an exact and judicious critic,

Vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendit inertes, &c.

Fiet Aristarchus, nec dicet: Cur ego amicum

Offendam in nugis?

In Art. Poet.

Quintilian⁶ informs us, that these grammarian critics, not only took upon them to note, with a kind of censorial authority, the verses they did not approve, and to strike out whole books from an author's works, as offspring unjustly ascribed to him, but carried their power so far, as to assign authors their ranks, distinguishing some with peculiar hon-

¹ Lib. vi. c. 6.

² Lib. i. Epist. 10. ad Attic.

³ Cic. Epist. 11. l. iii. ad Famil.

⁴ Quo quidem ita se

verè sunt usi veteres Grammatici, ut. Quo quidem ita censorio quadam virgula notare, et libros, qui falsè viderentur inscripti, tanquam subdititios summovere familia permiserint, sibi: sed auctores alios in ordinem redegerint, alios omnino exemerint numero. Quintil. l. i. c. 4.

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⁵ Necessario pueris, jucunda senibus, dulcis secretorum comes, et quæ vel sola omni studiorum genere plus habet operis quam ostentationis. Quintil. l. iv. c. 4.

⁶ In Vit. Epic.

VOL. II.—57

ours, leaving many in the common herd, and entirely degrading others.

What I have said of Aristarchus, shows that criticism, in which the principal merit of the ancient grammarians consisted, was principally intent in discovering the true author of a work, or distinguishing the writings falsely ascribed to him, from such as were really his; and even in those, which were admitted to be genuine, in rejecting the passages, which a different hand had designedly inserted; in fine, to explain what was most beautiful, most solid, and most remarkable in works of wit, and to assign the reasons for their judgment. Now all this required much reading, erudition, taste, and, above all, a just and refined discernment. To know the usefulness of this art, and have a right sense of its value, we need only call to mind certain nations and ages, in which a profound ignorance reigned universally, and for want of critical knowledge, the grossest absurdities, and the most palpable falsifications of all kinds, passed for incontestable truths. It is the glory of our age, and the effect of the best studies, to have entirely dispelled all those clouds of darkness, by the lights of solid and judicious criticism.

CRATES of Mallos, a city of Cilicia, was Aristarchus' contemporary.¹ He was sent to Rome in quality of ambassador, by Attalus II. king of Pergamus. He introduced in that great city the study of grammar, which he had always made his principal occupation. He left nine books of corrections upon Homer's poems. After his death there were several other Greek critics at Rome; among the rest the two Tyrannions.

TYRANNION, a famous grammarian in Pompey's time, was of Anisus in the kingdom of Pontus.² He called himself at first Theophrastus: but from his violent behaviour in respect to his companion in study, and perhaps his disciples, he was surnamed Tyrannion. He was the disciple of Dionysius of Thrace, at Rhodes, and fell into the hands of Lucullus, when that general of the Romans had put Mithridates to flight, and possessed himself of part of his dominions. This captivity was no disadvantage to Tyrannion, as it gave him the opportunity of rendering himself illustrious at Rome, and of acquiring considerable riches. He employed them, among other uses, in collecting a library, according to Suidas, of more than thirty thousand volumes. Charles Stephens, and other authors, say only three thousand; which is more probable. Tyrannion's care in collecting books contributed very usefully to preserving the works of Aristotle. The fate of those works was something singular; as I have related elsewhere. His understanding, and particular industry in this respect, enabled him to do Cicero a very agreeable service, of which he was highly sensible. Every body knows the fondness which persons of study and science have for their books. They are, in a manner, their friends of all hours, their faithful companions; that entertain them agreeably at all times; that sometimes supply them with serious employment, and sometimes with necessary recreation; that go with them into the country, and when they travel; and in times of adversity are almost their sole consolation. Cicero's banishment had torn him from his dear library. It seemed to have been sensible of its master's disgrace: and during his absence, many of his books had been dispersed. One of his first cares, after his return, was to retrieve what remained of them, which he found more abundant than he expected. He commissioned Tyrannion to put them in order, and to dispose them into their several classes, in which he succeeded perfectly well. Cicero, in a letter, wherein he invites his friend Atticus to his house, assures him, that he will be charmed with the fine manner in which Tyrannion had disposed his library. *Perbelle feceris, si ad nos veneris. Offendit designationem mirificam in librorum meorum bibliotheca, quorum reliquæ multo meliores sunt quam putarum.*³ That dear friend, at his request,

had sent two of his slaves, very expert in what related to books, and in pasting them, called for that reason *glutinatores*. The books of the ancients, as every body knows, were not bound like ours, but were long rolls, consisting of many leaves of parchment or vellum, either tied or pasted together. Tyrannion had set these two slaves to work, who had done wonders: and my library disposed in so fine an order, says Cicero, seems to have given a new soul to my house. *Postea quam Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit, mens addita videtur meis ædibus: qua quidem in re mirifica opera Dionysii et Menophili tui fuit.*⁴

The merit of Tyrannion was not confined to disposing books; he knew how to use them.⁵ When Caesar was in Africa, making war against Juba, Cicero and Atticus had promised to fix a day for hearing. Tyrannion read a book of his composing. Atticus having heard it read without his friend, was reproached by him for it: "What!" says Cicero to him, "did I several times refuse to hear that book read, because you were absent, and would not you stay to share that pleasure with me? But I forgive you for the admiration you express of it."⁶ What then must a book so agreeable, and at the same time so worthy of being praised, and even admired by such a man as Atticus, have been? It was only remarks upon grammar, upon the different accents, the quantity of syllables, and what is called prosody. Would one believe, that persons of such extraordinary merit could find any pleasure in works of such a kind? They went much farther, and composed tracts of the same nature themselves, as Quintilian⁷ relates of Caesar and Messala, the first of whom wrote a treatise upon analogy, and the other upon words and letters. Cicero must have had a high value for Tyrannion, as he permitted him to open a grammar school in his house, where he taught this art to some young Romans, and among others, to his brother Quintus's, and no doubt to Cicero's own son.⁸

TYRANNION, so named from his having been the former's disciple, was otherwise called Diocles. He was a native of Phœnicia, and was taken prisoner in the war between Antony and Augustus, and bought by Dymas, one of the emperor's freedmen. He was afterwards given to Terentia, who made him free: she had been Cicero's wife, who repudiated her. Tyrannion opened a school in Rome, and composed sixty-eight books. He wrote one to prove that the Latin was derived from the Greek tongue; and another, which contained a correction of Homer's poems.

DIONYSIUS THE THRACIAN was the disciple of Aristarchus. He taught grammar at Rome in Pompey's time, and composed several books upon that subject, many treatises upon others, and a great number of commentaries upon various authors. Mr. Fabricius has caused one of his grammars to be printed, in the seventh volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*.

This piece may give us some idea of the method of the ancient Greek grammarians. The author divides his work into six parts. 1. Reading according to the accents. 2. The explanation of the tropes and figures in poetry. 3. The interpretation of the dialects, extraordinary words, and certain historical passages. 4. The etymology of words. 5. The exact knowledge of analogy.⁹ 6. The manner of judging poems, which Dionysius considers as the most refined and most important part of his art. After having explained the three accents, the acute, the grave, and the circumflex; he goes on to treat the different methods of pointing. He even gives, in the course of his work, the definition of the term *Rhapsody*, in the sense of the ancient Homerists, who, holding a small stick of laurel wood in their hand, sung detached pieces of Homer's poems. Thence he proceeds to

⁴ Suidas Epist. 8. ⁵ Epist. 2. l. xii. ad Attic. A. M. 3953.

⁶ Ibid. Ep. 6.

⁷ Lib. i. c. 4.

⁸ Quintus tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregie. Hoc nunc magis animadverto, quod Tyrannio docti apud me. Epist. iv. l. 2. ad Quinct. frat.

⁹ Analogy, according to Vangelas, is a conformity to things already established, which we propose as our model, in making words or phrases like words or phrases already established.

¹ Sueton. de Illust. Gram.

² Epist. 4. Libri. 4. ad Attic.

³ Suidas.

the explanation of the letters, which he divides into vowels and consonants, into *Hemiphonæ* or half-vowels, *aphonæ* or *cacophonæ*; that is to say, bad sounding, because he supposes that they have less sound than the other. And lastly, he subdivides the *aphonæ* into *tenues*, *medie*, and *aspiratæ*, without forgetting the *double* consonants, and the *liquids* or immutables. After which he treats the long, short, and common syllables. He next explains the *parts of speech*, which he reduces to eight;—the noun, the verb, the participle, the article, the pronoun, the preposition, the adverb, and the conjunction. This author considers the interjection as a kind of adverb. Having explained the six common conjugations called *Barytoni*, he observed, that some grammarians add a seventh, of which the terminations were in $\xi\omega$ and $\psi\omega$, as $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\xi\omega$ and $\tau\psi\omega$. The circumflex verbs in $\iota\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega$, $\epsilon\omega$; and the four verbs in $\mu\iota$ are not forgot.

This detail of grammar appears tedious and useless to us; but the ancients had a different opinion of it. There was no part of it, even to the pointing and accents, of which they did not make very great use. They knew that stopping or pointing well gives perspicuity, grace, and harmony to discourse; and that it assists the eyes and minds of readers and hearers, by making the order, series, connexion and distinction of parts more evident; in rendering the pronunciation natural, and prescribing it just bounds and pauses of different kinds, as the sense requires. It is to the grammarians we have this obligation. The learned, who consult the ancient manuscripts, in which there are neither commas, points, a *linea*, nor any other distinction, experience the confusion and difficulty, that arise from so vicious a manner of writing. This part of grammar is almost generally neglected among us, and often even among the learned; which, however, is a study of no more than half an hour or an hour at the utmost.

I say as much of the accents. The accent is an elevation of the voice upon one of the syllables of a word, after which the voice necessarily falls. This elevation of the voice is called the acute accent, marked thus (´), and the grave accent, or lowering of the voice, thus (`). But because in the Greek and Latin tongues there were certain long syllables, upon which the voice was both raised and depressed, they invented a third accent, which they called the circumflex, at first marked thus (ˆ), and afterwards thus (˘), which comprehended both tones. The grammarians introduced accents in writing (for they are not of the earliest antiquity) to distinguish the signification of some words otherwise equivocal, to make the cadences more harmonious, to vary the tones, and to direct when to raise or depress the voice. We use them also in the French language, but in a different manner. The *acute* accent is always put over the \acute{e} shut, as *tenerié*, &c.: the *grave* accent is put over the \grave{e} open, followed with the letter *s* at the end of words; *procès*, &c. The *circumflex* accent is put over certain long vowels; *depôt*, *enfant*, *mâle*, &c.¹

There are a thousand observations of a like nature, to which we lend little or no attention. Among the Greeks and Romans, all children, from their earliest years, learned the rules of grammar exactly, which became natural to them by long use. Hence the meanest of the people at Athens and Rome, knew, to a title, the least defect of the orators or actors, in regard to accent or quantity, and were sensibly disgusted at it.

I omit a great number of celebrated grammarians, who afterwards distinguished themselves by their great learning.

JULIUS POLLUX of Naucratis, a city of Egypt, has left us his *Onomasticon*, a work highly esteemed by many of the learned. He lived in the second century, in the reign of the emperor Commodus.

In the interval of time, between the seventh century, and the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the second, in 1453, we find several learned grammarians

who took abundance of pains to explain the Greek authors, and render them intelligible. Such are among others HESYCHIUS, the author of an excellent dictionary, of great use for understanding the poets: the great etymologist, SUDAS, who composed a great historical and grammatical dictionary, in which there is abundance of erudition: JOHN TZETZES, author of an history in thirteen books, under the name of *Chiliades*; and his brother ISAAC, commentator upon Lycophron; EUSTATHIUS, archbishop of Thessalonica, author of a large comment upon Homer, and many others.

ARTICLE II.

LATIN GRAMMARIANS.

SUETONIUS, in his book of Illustrious Grammarians, tells us, that grammar of old was so far from being in honour, that it was not so much as in use at Rome, because the ancient Romans valued themselves much more upon being warlike than learned: and that Crates, of Mallos, of whom we have spoken above, was the first that introduced the study of grammar at Rome. Those ancient grammarians, at the same time, taught rhetoric, or at least prepared their scholars for that study, by preliminary exercises. Among the twenty illustrious grammarians mentioned by Suetonius, we find:—

AURELIUS OPILIUS, who first taught philosophy, afterwards rhetoric, and at last grammar. I have already observed, that this art was of much greater extent than with us.

MARCUS ANTONIUS GNIPHO, who also taught rhetoric in the house of Julius Cæsar, when a child. Cicero, during his prætorship, heard his lectures.

ATTEJUS, surnamed the Philologer. Sallust and Asinius Pollio were his disciples.

VERRIUS FLACCUS, who composed a collection of words of difficult construction, abridged afterwards by Festus Pompeius. He was preceptor to Augustus' grandsons.

CAIUS JULIUS HYGINIUS, Augustus' freedman and library-keeper; to whom a treatise upon mythology, and another upon poetical astronomy, are ascribed.

MARCUS POMONIUS MARCELLUS, who presumed to criticise upon a speech of Tiberius. And when Attejus Capito endeavoured to justify it, by maintaining that the word criticised by this grammarian, was Latin, or if it was not, yet being adopted, it would be so; Pomponius made that memorable answer, "You can make men free of the city, Cæsar, but not words."

RAMMIUS PALÆMON of Vicentia, who, in the reigns of the emperors Tiberius and Claudius, having rendered himself famous by his great erudition, and facility in speaking and making verses extemporaneously, disgraced himself as much by his bad morals and arrogance.

Besides the ancient grammarians, whose lives Suetonius has abridged, there were others, whose names do honour to this art, though they did not teach it in any other manner than by their writings; as Varro, Cicero, Messala, and Julius Cæsar: for these great personages thought it no dishonour to themselves to treat such subjects.

To avoid prolixity, I omit many learned grammarians, of whom several will recur in the ensuing chapter, where I shall treat of Philologists. Those who may be curious to collect all the Latin authors upon this subject, will find them in the collection of the ancient grammarians, published by Elias Putschius, in 1605, two volumes in quarto. An excellent book, and very necessary to all those who teach the Latin tongue, is the *Minerva* of Sanctius, with the notes of Scioppius and Perizonius.

SHORT REFLECTIONS UPON THE PROGRESS AND ALTERATION OF LANGUAGES.

It is surprising to consider the manner in which languages are formed, augmented, and attain their perfection; and how, after a certain course of years, they degenerate and become corrupted.

God, the sole author of the primitive tongues, (and how could man have invented them?) introduced the

¹ Or from being used at first to denote the elision of the letter *s*, when wrote as pronounced: all the old French books have *deposé*, *mâle*.

use of them to punish and frustrate the foolish undertaking of men, who, before they dispersed themselves into different regions, were for rendering themselves immortal, by erecting the most superb structure, that had ever appeared upon the face of the earth. Till then mankind, who in a manner formed but one family, spoke also but one language. On a sudden, by the most surprising of prodigies, God obliterated from the human mind the ancient traces and remembrances of all the words it knew, and substituted new ones in their stead, which in an instant formed new languages. It is reasonable to suppose, that in dispersing themselves into different countries, each joined himself with those whose language he understood, as they did his.

I shall confine myself to the sons of Javan, (in the Hebrew *Javan* is the same as *Ion*), from whom descended the Ionians, or Greeks. Behold then, the Greek language established amongst them, entirely different from the Hebrew, (I say this in the supposition, that the Hebrew was the language of the first man,) different, not only in respect of words, but the manner of declining nouns and conjugating verbs, inflexions, turns, phrases, number, and sound or cadence. For it is remarkable that God has given each language a peculiar genius and character, which distinguishes it from all others, and of which the effect is sensible, though the reason of it be almost infinite and inexhaustible. To the multitude of Greek words, with which their memory was furnished in these first times, use, necessity, invention, the exercise of arts, and perhaps even convenience and embellishment, occasioned the addition of new ones. The Greek radices (roots or radical words) are computed to be two thousand one hundred and fifty-six.¹ The derivative or compound words very much augment that number, and are multiplied to infinity: no language is so copious and abundant as the Greek.

Hitherto we have in a manner only seen the matter of the Greek language, or the words of which it is composed, that were almost solely the gift of the Creator and necessity. The use, connexion, and disposition of these words, had occasion for the aids of art. It is observed, that among those who used this language, some spoke better than others, and expressed their thoughts in a clearer, more compact, emphatical, and agreeable manner. These were taken for models, were studied with care, and had observations made upon their discourse, both in writing, and by word of mouth. And this gave birth to what we call grammar, which is no more than a collection of observations upon language: a very important, or rather absolutely necessary work, for fixing the rules of a tongue, reducing them to a method that facilitates the study of them, clearing up their doubts and difficulties, explaining and removing bad uses and modes of speech, and conducting by sensible and judicious reflections, to all the beauty of which it is susceptible.

We know nothing of the beginnings nor progress of the Greek tongue. The poems of Homer are the most ancient work we have in that language; and the elocution of them is so perfect, that no future age has been capable of adding any thing to it. This perfection of language subsisted and preserved itself longer among the Greeks than any other nation of the world. Theocritus lived about six hundred years after Homer. All the poets who flourished during that long interval, except a very small number, are esteemed excellent with regard to language, in their several ways. The same may be almost said of the orators, historians, and philosophers. The universal and prevailing taste of the Greeks for arts, the esteem they always had for eloquence, their care in cultivating their language, which was the only one they learned, disdaining generally the Roman, though spoke by their masters: all this conspired to support the Greek tongue in its purity during many ages, till the translation of the empire to Constantinople. The mixture of Latin, and the decline of the empire, which induced the decay of the arts, soon after occasioned a sensible alteration in the Greek language.

The Romans, solely intent upon establishing and securing their conquests by means of arms, had little regard at first to the embellishment and improvement of their tongue. The small remains, which we have of the annals of the pontiffs, the laws of the twelve tables, and some other monuments, few in number, show how gross and imperfect it was in these early times. It afterwards, by little and little, grew more copious, and enlarged itself insensibly. It borrowed a great number of words from the Greek, which it dressed after its own mode, and in a manner naturalized; an advantage the Greeks had not. We may perceive at this day the taste of the Greek language in the old Latin poets, such as Pacuvius, Ennius, and Plautus, especially in the compound words with which they abound. What we have of the discourses of Cato, the Gracchi, and the other orators of their times, shows a language already of great copiousness and energy, and that wanted nothing but beauty, disposition, and harmony.

The more frequent communication Rome had with Greece, after having conquered it, introduced an entire change in it with respect to language, as well as taste for eloquence and poetry, two things which seem inseparable. To compare Plautus with Terence, and Lucretius with Virgil, one would be apt to believe them many ages remote from each other, although they were divided only by some few years. The epocha of reviving, or rather establishing pure Latinity at Rome, may be fixed at Terence, and continued to the death of Augustus: something more than an hundred and fifty years. This was the happy age of Rome with regard to polite learning and arts, or as it is called the golden (and Augustan) age, in which a crowd of authors of the highest merit carried the purity and elegance of diction to their utmost height, by writings entirely different as to style and matter, but all equally distinguished by pure Latinity and elevation of taste. This rapid progress of the Latin tongue will be less surprising, if we remember that such persons as Scipio Africanus the younger, and Lælius on the one side, and Cicero and Cæsar on the other, did not disdain, in the midst of their important occupations, the former to lend their hands and pens to a comic poet, and the latter to compose treatises themselves upon grammar. This purity of language continually declined from the death of Augustus, as well as the taste for sound eloquence; for their fate is almost always the same. There needs no great discernment to perceive a sensible difference between the authors of the Augustan age and those who succeeded it. But two hundred years after, the difference is excessive, as we may easily observe in reading the authors, who have written the history of Augustus. The purity of language was preserved almost solely (and that too not without some alteration) among the civilians Ulpian, Papinian, Paulus, &c.

I do not know whether it were just to say, the fate of language and that of taste were always the same. We have old French authors, as Marot, Amyot, Montaigne, and others, the reading of whom still pleases infinitely, and no doubt will for ever please. What is it we love and esteem in these authors? Not their language, because in these days we could not suffer any thing like it. It is something more easily conceived than expressed: a simple and genuine air, a fine turn of imagination, natural manners, a nobleness and majesty of style without affectation or bombast, and especially the sentiments of nature, which flow from and reach the heart: in a word, it is that taste of ancient Greece and Rome, which is of all ages and nations, and diffuses through writings a certain salt, the spirit and delicacy of which every reader of genius perceives, whilst it adds a new value to the force and solidity of the matter with which it is united. But why does not this old language please still? Our language is deficient in many words, and these old authors have excellent ones; some clear, simple and natural; and others full of force and energy. I always wished, that some able hand would make a small collection of such as we want, and might regain, to show us our error in neglecting the progress and improvement of our language as we

¹ Raa Græc. ac Port Royal.

do, and to rebuke our stupid indolence in this point. For if the French tongue, otherwise rich and opulent, experiences on certain occasions a kind of barrenness and poverty, it is to our own false delicacy we should impute it. Why should we not enrich it with new and excellent terms, which our own ancient authors, or even the neighbouring nations might supply, as we see the English actually do with great success? I am sensible that we should be very discreet and reserved in this point: but we ought not to carry our discretion to a narrow pusillanimity.

We have reason to believe, that our language has attained the highest perfection of which it is capable; and of this, the honour of its being adopted into almost all the courts of Europe, seems a glorious proof. If it be defective in any thing, it is, in my opinion, only with regard to a richer abundance; notwithstanding good speakers scarce perceive that it wants any words for the expression of thoughts; but it would admit a greater number. France had in the last age, and still has, writers of distinguished merit, highly capable of acquiring her this new advantage. But they respect and fear the public. They make it, with reason, a duty to conform to, and not to clash with its taste. Hence, to avoid incurring its displeasure, they hardly dare venture any new expression, and leave the language in this point where they found it. It would therefore be incumbent on the public, for the honour of the language and nation, to be less delicate and severe; and also on authors, to become a little less timorous; but, I repeat it, great discretion and reserve are always necessary in using this liberty.

But I do not perceive, that while I venture my reflections upon our language in this manner, I myself perhaps may seem wanting in respect for the public; which would be very contrary to my intention. I conclude this article with taking the liberty to acquaint the reader again, that this study is of great importance, and should by no means be neglected. It is with joy I see the French grammar regularly taught in several classes of the university.

CHAPTER II.

OF PHILOLOGERS.

THOSE who have applied their studies in examining, correcting, explaining, and publishing the ancient authors, are called *Philologists*; they profess universal learning, including all sciences and authors, in which anciently the principal and most noble part of the grammarian's art consisted. By philology therefore is understood a species of science containing grammar, rhetoric, poetry, antiquities, history, philosophy, and sometimes even mathematics, physics, and civil law; without treating any of these subjects either in whole or in part, but occasionally using all or any of them. I do not know for what reason this philology, which has done so much honour to the Scaligers, Salmasiuses, Casaubons, Vossiuses, Simon-diuses, Gronoviuses, &c. and which is still so much cultivated in England, Germany, and Italy, is almost despised in France, where we set no value upon any thing besides exact and perfect sciences, such as physics, geometry, &c. Our academy of Belles Lettres, which, under that name, includes all kinds of erudition ancient and modern, and publishes every year in its memoirs, treatises upon all manner of subjects, may contribute very much to revive and augment this taste for philology among us. I shall here give a brief account of some of those who distinguished themselves most in this kind of literature, mingling Greeks and Roman together.

ERATOSTHENES.

SUETONIUS says, that Eratosthenes was the first who was called *Philologer*.¹ He was a native of Cyrene, and became library-keeper of Alexandria. He lived in the time of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, and had applied himself to all kinds of science, without thoroughly cultivating any one, as those do, who

make one their sole study in order to excel in it.² This occasioned his being nicknamed *Bela*,³ because, though not capable of aspiring to the first rank in any science, he had at least attained the second in all in general. He lived fourscore years, and starved himself to death, not being able to survive the loss of sight with which he was afflicted. I shall have occasion to speak of him again elsewhere. Aristophanes of Byzantium, master of the famous critic Aristarchus, was his disciple.

VARRO.

VARRO (*Marc. Terentius*) was esteemed the most learned of all the Romans. He was born in the 636th year of Rome, and died in the 726th, at the age of ninety. He assures us himself, that he had composed almost five hundred volumes upon different subjects, of which he dedicated that upon the Latin tongue to Cicero.⁴ He wrote a treatise upon rural life, *De re rustica*, which is very much esteemed. Both these pieces are come down to us. St. Austin admires and extols in many places the vast erudition of this learned Roman. He has preserved the plan of Varro's great work upon the Roman antiquities, consisting of forty-one books. It is of this work Cicero speaks, addressing himself to Varro: "We were before," says he, "in a manner strangers, that did not know our way in our own city. Your books have as it were set us right, and informed us who, and where, we are."⁵ After the enumeration Cicero makes of them, St. Austin cries out with admiration: "Varro read so great a number of books, that it is wonderful he could find time to compose any himself, and yet he composed so many, that one can hardly conceive how one man could read them all."⁶ It was difficult to write so many works in an elegant and polite style. And the same St. Austin observes, that Cicero praises Varro as a man of penetrating wit and profound learning, not as one of great eloquence and refinement of diction.⁷

ASCONIUS PEDIANUS.

ASCONIUS PEDIANUS, cited by Pliny the naturalist, and by Quintilian, lived in the reigns of Nero

² Suidas.

³ The second letter of the Greek alphabet.

⁴ The importance attached to such dedications by the great men of Rome, and the value, in particular, placed by Cicero on a compliment of this nature from Varro, may be seen from a letter of the orator to Atticus. "You know," says he, "that till lately I composed nothing but orations, or some such works, into which I could not introduce Varro's name with propriety. Afterwards, when I engaged in a work of more general erudition, Varro informed me, that his intention was, to address to me a work of considerable extent and importance. Two years, however, have passed away without his making any progress. Meanwhile I have been making preparations for returning him the compliment."* The *Academia* were dedicated to Varro before he fulfilled his promise of addressing a work to Cicero; and it appears, from Cicero's letter to Varro, sent along with the *Academia*, how impatiently he expected its performance, and how much he importuned him for its execution. "To exact the fulfilment of a promise," says he, "is a sort of ill manners, of which the populace themselves are seldom guilty. I cannot, however, forbear—I will not say, to demand, but to remind you, of a favour which you long since gave me reason to expect. To this end, I have sent you four edmonitors (the four books of the *Academia*.) whom, perhaps, you will not consider as extremely modest."† It is curious, that when Varro did at length come forth with his dedication, although he had been highly praised in the *Academia*, he introduced not a single word of compliment to Cicero.]

⁵ Nos, inquit, in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque, tanquam hospites, tui libri quosdam domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquanto qui et ubi essemus cognoscere. *Acad. Quæst.* l. i. c. 9.

⁶ Varro tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei scribere vacasse miremur; tam multa vix quemquam legere potuisse, credamus. *De Civit. Dei*, l. vi. c. 2.

⁷ Cum Marco Varro, homine, inquit, omnium, facile, acutissimo, et scire ulla dubitatione doctissimo. Non ait, eloquentissimo vel facundissimo; quoniam re vera in hæc facultate multum impar est. *S. August.* libid.

and Vespasian. We have a fragment of his notes or comments upon several of Cicero's orations. He may be said to have been the model of most of the Latin critics and scholiasts who succeeded him, and of such as applied themselves after him to explaining authors.

PLINY THE ELDER.

PLINY, (*C. Plinius secundus*) called the elder, might be ranked amongst the historians, or rather amongst the philosophers, who have treated physics. But the multiplicity of the subjects he speaks of in his books of natural history, made me conceive I might rank him among the philologists.

Pliny was born at Verona, and lived in the first century, under Vespasian and Titus, who honoured him with their esteem, and employed him in different affairs. He served in the armies with distinction, was admitted into the college of augurs, was sent governor into Spain; and notwithstanding the time spent in his employments, he found enough for application to a great number of works, which unfortunately are lost, except his *natural history* in thirty-seven books: a work, says Pliny the younger, of infinite extent and erudition, and almost as various as nature itself: Stars, planets, hails, winds, rain; trees, plants, flowers; metals, minerals; animals of every kind, terrestrial, aquatic, volatile; geographical description of countries and cities; he takes in all, and leaves nothing in nature or art without an industrious examination.¹ To compose this work, he perused almost two thousand volumes. He takes care to inform the reader, that he took the time for this work not out of that, which the public affairs he was charged with required, but from his hours of rest, and such only as would otherwise have been lost.² Pliny the younger, his nephew, tells us, that he led a simple and frugal life, slept little, and made the most of his time, at his meals, making somebody read to him; and in travelling, having always his book, tablets, and copyist by his side: for he read nothing without making extracts from it.³ He conceived, that managing his time in this manner, was adding to the length of his life, the duration of which is much abridged by sleep. *Pluribus horis vivimus: profecto enim vita vigilia est.*⁴

Pliny was far from having the low vanity of some authors, who are not ashamed to copy others without quoting them. "Probity and honour, in my opinion," says he, "require, that we should pay a kind of homage to those, whose learning and knowledge are useful to us, by a sincere and ingenuous confession of it."⁵ He compares an author, who makes his advantage of another's labours without owning it, to a person who borrows money and pays usury for it: with this difference, however, that the debtor, by the interest he pays, does not discharge the principal sum lent him; whereas an author, by the frank confession of what he borrows, gains it in some measure, and makes it his own. From whence he concludes, that it is ineanness of spirit and baseness, to be better pleased with being shamefully detected in theft, than ingenuously to confess a debt. I have made myself very rich in the latter way, and at no great expense. He perfectly understood all the difficulty and inconveniences of an undertaking like his, in which the subject he treats is of its own nature, barren and tedious, without leaving any room for a writer to display his genius. But he was convinced, that the public are not a little obliged to authors, who prefer being useful to being pleasing; and who, from that view, have the courage to surmount and undergo all the pains of a tedious and disagreeable

labour.⁶ He flatters himself, that he shall be pardoned for all the faults he may commit; which are indeed very numerous, as they were inevitable in a work of so vast an extent, and so prodigious a variety.

Pliny dedicated his work to Titus, at that time almost associated in the empire by Vespasian his father, and who afterwards became the delight of mankind. He gives him a short, but very exalted praise, in telling him: "Your exaltation has made no other change in you, but that of enabling you to do all the good you desire, by making your power equal to the benevolence of your heart:" *Nec quicquam in te mutavit fortune amplitudo, nisi ut prodesse tantumdem posses et velles.*⁷

Pliny the younger tells us, in a letter, which he addresses to Tacitus the historian, the sad accident that occasioned his uncle's death. He was at Misenum, where he commanded the fleet. Being informed that a cloud appeared of extraordinary magnitude and form, he put to sea, and soon discovered that it came from mount Vesuvius. He made all the haste he could to get to a place from which every one else fled, and to that part of it where the danger seemed greatest, but with such a freedom of spirit and unconcern, that he made and dictated observations upon every extraordinary appearance that arose. His ships were already covered with ashes, which fell the thicker and hotter, the nearer they approached the mountain. Already calcined stones and flints all black, burned and pulverized by the violence of the fire, poured down around them. Pliny deliberated some time whether or not he should return back; but having re-assured himself, he went forward, landed at Stabie, and went to the house of his friend Pomponianus, whom he found in the greatest terror, and endeavoured to encourage. After supper he went to bed, and slept soundly, till the approach of danger obliged them to wake him. The houses were shaken in such a manner by repeated earthquakes, that one would have thought they had been torn from their foundations. The family went into the fields. I omit a number of circumstances. The dark and frightful night, that hung over all, had no other light than what it received from the fire of the mountain. Flames that appeared of an unusual vastness, and the smell of sulphur, which foretold their approach, made every one betake himself to flight. Pliny rose, by the help of two servants, and that very moment fell down dead, apparently suffocated by the thickness of the smoke. This was the end of the learned Pliny. We cannot but be pleased with a nephew, for having drawn so well the death of his uncle, and for having seen nothing in it but fortitude, courage, intrepidity, and greatness of soul. But to judge of it rightly, can we acquit an enterprise of rashness, in which a man hazards his life, and what is more to be condemned, that of others, only to satisfy his curiosity?

It remains for me to conclude this article with a word or two upon Pliny's style, which is peculiar to him, and like that of no other writer. We must not expect to find in it either the purity, elegance, or admirable simplicity of the Augustan age, from which, however, it was not removed very many years. His proper character is force, energy, vivacity, and I might say, even boldness, as well in his expressions as thoughts, with a wonderful fertility of imagination, to paint and make the objects he describes sensible. But it must also be owned, that his style is stiff and confined, and thereby often obscure; and that his thoughts frequently swell beyond truth, and are strained, and even false. I shall endeavour to show this by some examples. Pliny⁸ explains the wonders contained in the matter of which sails for ships are made, namely, flax and hemp.⁹ Man sows only a small seed in the ground, which suffices to make him master of the winds, and to subject them to his occasions. Without mentioning an infinite number of

¹ Opus diffusum, eruditum; nec minus varium quàm ipsa natura. *Plin. Epist. v. l. 3.*

² Succisivi temporibus ista curamus, id est nocturnis.

Præfat.

³ Ep. v. l. 3.

⁴ *In Præfat.*

⁵ In his voluminibus auctorum nomina prætexui. Est enim benignum, ut arbitror, et plenum ingenui pudoris, fateri per quos profeceris. Obnoxii profecto animi, et infelicis ingenii est, deprehendi in furto malle, quam mutuum redde-re, cum præsertim sors fiat ex usura. *In Præfat.*

⁶ Equidem ita sentio, peculiarem lin studiis causam eorum esse, quæ difficultatibus victis, utilitatem juvandi prætulert gratiæ placendi. *Ibid.*

⁷ Epist. xvi. l. 6.

⁸ Lib. 19. in Præm.

⁹ Pliny mentions only flax.

uses made of flax and hemp, what can be more wonderful than to see an herb make Egypt and Italy approach each other, notwithstanding the sea that separates them? And what herb is this? A small, slender, weak blade, that scarce raises itself above the ground, that of itself forms neither a firm body nor substance, and requires to be prepared for our uses, by being broken and reduced to the softness of wool. Yet little as this plant is, we are indebted to it for the facility of transporting ourselves from one end of the world to the other. *Seritur linum. Sed in qua non occurrit vitæ parte? quodve miraculum majus, herbam esse quæ admoveat Egyptum Italiae.*

—*Denique tam parvo semine nasci, quod orbem terrarum ultro citroque portet, tam gracili avena, tam non alte a terre tolli; neque id viribus suis necti, sed factum, lusumque, et in molitum lævæ coactum!* He gives a magnificent idea of the grandeur and majesty of the Roman empire.¹ Rome, says he, is the mother at the same time and nurse of the universe; chosen expressly by the gods to render heaven itself more illustrious, to unite all the empires dispersed over the whole earth, to refine and soften manners and customs, to reduce to one and the same language the barbarous and discordant tongues of so many nations, to establish among them by that means an easy and salutary commerce, to communicate to man the laws of humanity; in a word to make that city the common country of all the people of the universe. *Terre (Italia) omnium terrarum alumna, eadem et parens; numine deum electa, quæ cælum ipsum clarius faceret, sparsa congregaret imperia, ritusque molliret, et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia, et humanitatem homini daret; breviterque una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria fieret.* I shall only add one more passage in this place, which seemed very remarkable to me, and relates to all of us. It is with reason, says Pliny,² that we give man the first rank among all creatures, him for whom nature seems to have formed all others: but she makes him pay dear for all her presents; so that we do not know whether we have most room to consider her in regard to him as an indulgent parent, or a rigid stepmother. All other animals come into the world, each in a different dress, to cover it; man is the only one that stands in need of a foreign aid to clothe him. He is thrown at his birth stark naked upon the ground, as naked as himself. The first signs of life that he gives are cries, laments, and tears, which is not the case with any of the other animals.³ To this first use which he makes of the light, succeed the folds and bandages in which all his members are wrapt, and bound up, a thing no less particular to him. It is in this condition the king of animals, over whom he is destined to reign, finds himself, as soon as born, tied hand and foot, and venting sobs and shrieks. His life begins with torments and afflictions for the sole crime of being born. How strange is the folly of mankind to imagine themselves, after such beginnings, born for pride and pomp! *Principium jure tribuere homini, cujus causa videtur cuncta alia generis natura, magna sæva mercede contra tanta sua munera; non sit ut satis estimare, parens melior homini, an tristior noverca fuerit. Ante omnia, unum animantium cunctorum alienis velat opibus: cæteris*

varie tegumenta tribuit.—Hominem tantum nudum, et in nuda luno, nati die alijcit ad regibus statim et ploratum, nullumque tot animalium aliud ad lacrymas, et has protinus vitæ principio.—Ab hoc lucis rudimento, quæ ne feras quidem inter nos gentes, vincula excipiunt, et omnium membrorum nexum. Itaque feliciter natus jacet, manibus pedibusque devinctis, fletus animal cæteris imperaturum; et a supplicii vitam auspicatur unam tantum ob culpam, quia natus est. Heu! demeritum ab his initiis existimatum ad superblam se gentis! The pagans had a right sense of man's misery from his birth, but did not know the cause of it, as St. Augustin observes, speaking of Cicero: *Rem vidit, causam non vidit.*

These few passages, which I have here quoted from Pliny, and have translated as well as I could, without being able to render the energy of the original, may suffice to give the reader some idea of his style and character. I should observe, before I conclude, upon the industrious art of the author I now speak of. His work, which takes in all natural history, and treats circumstantially an infinity of subjects absolutely necessary to his plan, but entirely disagreeable in themselves, abounds almost every where with thorns and brambles, which present nothing grateful to the reader, and are very capable of giving him disgust. Pliny, like an able writer, to prevent, or at least, to lessen, this distaste, has taken care to interperse here and there some flowers, to throw into some of his narratives grace and spirit, and to adorn almost all the prefaces which he places in the front of each of his books, with fine and solid reflections.

LUCIAN.

LUCIAN, a Greek author, was born at Samosata, the capital of Comagena, a province of Syria, of parents of very moderate condition. His father, not having any fortune to give him, resolved to make him learn a trade. But the beginnings not being very much in his favour, he applied himself to literature, upon a dream, true or fictitious, related in the beginning of his works. I shall give an extract of it in this place, which may contribute to give the reader an idea of his genius and style.

I was fifteen years old, says he, when I left off going to school, at which time my father consulted with his friends how to dispose of me. Several did not approve my being brought up to letters, because much time and expense were necessary for success in them. They considered that I was not rich, and that in learning a trade I should soon be able to supply myself with the means of life, without being a charge to my father or family. This advice was followed, and I was put into the hands of an uncle, who was an excellent sculptor. I did not dislike this art, because I had amused myself very early in making little works of wax, in which I succeeded tolerably well; besides, sculpture did not seem so much a trade to me, as an elegant diversion. I was therefore set to work, to try how I should take to it. But I began by laying on the chisel so clumsily upon the stone, which had been given me to work upon, and was very fine, that it broke under the weight of my fists. My uncle was so violently angry, that he could not help giving me several blows; so that my apprenticeship began with tears. I ran home crying bitterly, and related this unfortunate adventure, showing the marks of the blows I had received, which exceedingly afflicted my mother. In the evening I went to bed, and did nothing but ruminate upon what had happened all night. In my sleep I had a dream, which made a very lively impression upon me. I thought I saw two women. The one was rough and uncombed, with dirty hands, sleeves tucked up, and her face all covered with sweat and dust, in short, such as my uncle was when at work. The other had a graceful air, a sweet and smiling aspect, and was very neat, though modest, in her attire. After having eagerly pulled me to and fro to make me join one of them, they referred the decision of their difference to my own choice, and pleaded their cause alternately. The first began thus: "Son, I am Sculpture, whom you have lately espoused, and whom you

¹ Lib. iii. c. 5.

² Lib. vii. in Proëm.

³ The Latin tongue has a peculiar word to express the cries of infants, *ragitus*; as it also has for that of oxen, cows, and bulls, *magitus*; and that of lions, *ragitus*. Our language has adopted the two last words, *magissement*, *ragissement*. I know not why it should not do the same in regard to the first, and use *ragissement*, which is in the same mode of analogy. This word might offend at first through novelty; but we should insensibly accustom ourselves to it as well as to the others. For my part, not having sufficient authority with the public, I dared not venture it, and contented myself, with some regret, to say only to myself:—

—Ego cur acquirere paucæ,
Si possum, invidere?—

Horat.

The Translator thought proper to retain this note, because it is an example of what the author has said above in the text, upon introducing new words into a language, and may serve for ours as well as the French.

have known from your infancy, your uncle having made himself very famous by me. If you will follow me, without hearkening to the soothing words of my rival, I will render you illustrious, not like her, by words, but deeds. For besides, that you will become strong and vigorous like me, you shall acquire an estimation not subject to envy, nor one day the cause of your ruin, like the charms of her who now endeavours to seduce you. For the rest, be not in pain upon account of my habit; it is that of Phidias and Polycletus, and those other great sculptors, who, when alive, were adored for their works, and who are still adored with the gods that they made. Consider how much praise and glory you will acquire by treading in their steps, and what joy you will give your father and family." This is very near what this lady said to me in a rude gross tone, as artisans speak, but with force and vivacity. After which, the other addressed herself to me in these words: "I am Erudition, who preside over all the branches of polite knowledge. Sculpture has displayed the advantages you would have with her. But if you hearken to her, you will always continue a miserable artificer, exposed to the contempt and insults of the world, and compelled to make your court to the great for subsistence. Should you even become the most excellent in your art, you will only be admired, whilst none will envy your condition. But if you follow me, I will teach you whatever is most noble and most excellent in the universe, and whatever antiquity boasts of remarkable. I will adorn thy soul with the most exalted virtues, such as modesty, justice, piety, humanity, equity, prudence, patience, and the love of whatever is virtuous and laudable: for these are the real ornaments of the soul. Instead of that mean dress of yours, I will bestow upon thee a majestic one, like that thou seest me wear; and from poor and unknown, I will render thee illustrious and opulent, worthy of the highest employments, and capable of attaining them. If thou desirest to travel into foreign countries, I will cause thy renown to go before thee. People will come from all parts to consult thee as an oracle: the whole world will do homage to and adore thee. I will even give thee the so much boasted immortality, and make thee survive forever in the remembrance of men. Consider what *Æschines* and *Demosthenes*, the admiration of all ages, became by my means. *Socrates*, who at first followed Sculpture my rival, no sooner knew me, than he abandoned her for me. Has he had cause to repent his choice? Will you renounce such honours, riches, and authority, to follow a poor unknown, who has nothing to give thee, but the mallet and chisel, the low instruments she holds in her hands, who is reduced to get the means of life by the sweat of her brows, and to be more intent on polishing a piece of stone, than in polishing herself?" She had no sooner spoken these words, than, struck with her promises, and not having yet forgot the blows I had received, I ran to embrace her almost before she ceased to speak. The other, transported with rage and indignation, was immediately changed into a statue, as is related of *Niobe*. Erudition thereupon, to reward my choice, made me ascend with her into her chariot, and touching her winged horses, she carried me from east to west, making me scatter universally, something I know not what, of celestial and divine, that caused mankind to look up with astonishment, and to load me with blessings and praises. She afterwards brought me back into my own country, crowned with honour and glory; and restoring me to my father, who expected me with great impatience: "Behold," said she to him, pointing to the robe I had on, "of how exalted a fortune you would have deprived your son, had I not interposed." Here ended my dream.

Lucan concludes this short discourse with observing that his design, in relating this dream, which seems entirely a fiction of his own, was to inculcate the love of virtue in youth, and to encourage them by his example to surmount all the difficulties they may meet with in their course, and to consider poverty as no obstacle of real merit.

The effect this dream had, was to kindle in him an ardent desire to distinguish himself by the study of

polite learning, to which he entirely devoted himself. We may judge of the progress he made in it, by the erudition that appears in his writings upon all manner of subjects; which gave me reason to place him amongst the philologists. He says himself, that he embraced the profession of an advocate: but that abhorring the clamour and chicanery of the bar, he had recourse to philosophy as to an asylum. It appears also from his writings that he was a rhetorician, who professed eloquence, and composed declamations and harangues upon different subjects, and even pleadings, though none of his making have come down to us.

He settled first at Antioch; whence he went into Ionia and Greece, and afterwards into Gaul and Italy: but his longest residence was at Athens. In his extreme old age, he accepted the office of register to the prefect of Egypt. I shall not enter into a circumstantial account of the particulars of his life, which are of little importance to my subject. He lived to the reign of *Commodus*, to whom he inscribed the history of *Alexander the Impostor*, after the death of *Marcus Aurelius*.

He left a variety of writings upon different subjects. The purity of the Greek tongue, and the clear, agreeable, lively, and animated style, in which they are written, give the reader great pleasure. In his dialogues of the dead, he has hit that admirable simplicity, and natural pleasantry of humour, which are so well adapted to a manner of writing, which is extremely difficult, though it does not seem so, because a vast number of personages, very different in their age and condition, are introduced speaking in it, each according to their peculiar character. His writings have this advantage, as *Quintilian* has observed of *Cicero's*, that they may be useful to beginners, and no less so to the more advanced. He is wonderful in his narration, and has a fecundity in him, which may be of great service to geniuses naturally dry and barren. He treats fable in a manner at once agreeable and very proper to impress it upon the memory, which is of no small advantage for the understanding of the poets. He paints admirably in a thousand places the miseries of this life, the vanity of mankind, the pride of the philosophers, and the arrogance of the learned. It is however true, that choice and discernment are necessary in reading this author, who, in many of his works, shows little respect for modesty, and makes open profession of impiety, equally deriding the Christian religion, of which he speaks in many places with extreme contempt, and the pagan superstition, of which he shows the ridicule. This occasioned his being called blasphemous and atheist. And indeed he followed the Epicurean philosophy, which differs little from atheism; or rather he had neither religion, nor any fixed and constant principles, regarding every thing as uncertain and problematical, and making every thing matter of jest. *Suidas* says, it was generally believed that he was torn in pieces by dogs, as a judgment for his presumption in making Christ the subject of his raillery. It were to be wished that this fact was better attested.

AULUS GELLIUS.

AULUS GELLIUS (or by corruption *Agellius*) was a grammarian, who lived in the second century, in the reigns of *Marcus Aurelius*, and some other emperors, his successors. He studied grammar at Rome, and philosophy at Athens, under *Calvisius Taurus*, whence he afterwards returned to Rome.

He rendered himself famous by his *Noctes Atticæ*, which name he gave to a collection he made for his children of whatever he had learned, that was fine, either in reading authors, or from the conversation of learned men. He called it so, because he had composed it at Athens during the winter, when the length of the nights afforded more time for application. *Macrobius* has copied several things from him without quoting him. There does not seem to be any great discernment in the topics he has chosen as the most considerable and most useful, which are generally grammatical remarks of little importance. We are, however, indebted to him for many facts and monuments of antiquity, no where else to be found.

Of the twenty books that compose this work, the eighth is entirely lost; nothing remaining of it but the title of the chapters.¹ That wherein he transiently treats of the laws of the twelve tribes is very much esteemed.

Aulus Gellius's style does not want force, but is often mixed with barbarous and improper words, which render it hard and obscure, and argues the age he lived in, from which little purity and elegance is to be expected.

Amongst the particulars, which he tells us of his life, he observes,² that while he was very young, being chosen by the prætors to adjudge some little affairs of private persons, one was brought before him, in which a man claimed a sum of money, that he pretended to have lent another. He proved this only by some circumstances of no great certainty, and had neither writing nor witness: but he was a man of unquestionable honour, irreproachable life, and known integrity. His opposite, on the contrary, who denied the debt, was notorious for his sordid avarice; and was proved to have been often convicted of fraud and perjury. Aulus Gellius, to adjudge this cause, had taken with him several of his friends versed in the business of the bar, but who desired nothing so much as despatch, having a great deal of other affairs to attend to. Hence they made no difficulty to conclude, that a man could not be obliged to pay a debt, when there was no proofs that he owed it. Aulus Gellius could not resolve to dismiss the cause in this manner, believing one of the parties very capable of denying what he owed, and the other incapable of demanding what was not his due. He therefore referred judgment to another day, and went to consult Favorinus, who was then alive and at Rome: he was a philosopher of great reputation. Favorinus, upon his proposing the case to him, repeated a passage of Cato, which says, that on these occasions, where proofs were wanting, the ancient custom of the Romans was to examine which of the two were the honestest man; and, when they were equally so, or equally otherwise, to adjudge the cause in favour of the person sued: whence Favorinus concluded, that with regard to two persons, so different in their characters as the parties in the cause, there was no difficulty to believe an honest man preferably to a knave. Whatever respect Aulus Gellius might have for this philosopher, he could not entirely give in to his opinion; and, determining to do nothing against his conscience, he declined passing judgment in an affair, into which he could not sufficiently penetrate. The case would have no difficulty with us, because the pretended debtor would be put to his oath, and be believed upon it.

ATHENÆUS.

ATHENÆUS was of Naucratis, anciently a famous city of Egypt, upon an arm of the Nile that took its name from it. He lived in the reign of the emperor Commodus. He composed a work in Greek, which he called *Dipsosophista*, that is to say, *the banquet of the learned*; which abounds with curious and learned inquiries, and gives abundance of light into the Grecian antiquities. We have only an abridgment or extracts of the first books of his *Dipsosophista*, made, as Casaubon believes, at Constantinople, five or six hundred years ago.³

JULIUS POLLUX.

JULIUS POLLUX was the countryman and cotemporary of Athenæus. He inscribed to Commodus, when only Cæsar, in the lifetime of Marcus Aurelius, the ten books which we have of his under the title of *Onomasticon*. It is a collection of the synonymous words by which the best Greek authors expressed the same thing. He was apparently one of the preceptors of Commodus. He pleased that prince with his fine voice, who gave him the chair of professor of eloquence, which had been founded at Athens. Philostratus, who placed him among the sophists, ascribes to him a great knowledge of the Greek language, a

taste for what was well or ill composed, and genius enough for eloquence, but little art.⁴

SOLINUS.

C. JULIUS SOLINUS has left us a description of the earth, under the name of *Polyhistor*. Vossius relates many opinions upon the time when the author lived, and concludes, that all which can be said of it is, that he preceded St. Jerome, who cites him, that is to say, after the first century, and before the end of the fourth.⁵ His work is only an extract from several authors, particularly Pliny the naturalist, and is done with no great genius and judgment.

PHILOSTRATUS.

THERE were many sophists of this name. We shall speak here only of him who wrote the life of Apollonius Tyanæus. He was one of the learned men, who frequented the court of the empress Julia, the wife of Severus.⁶ He professed eloquence at Athens, and afterwards at Rome, in the reign of Severus. The life of Apollonius, written by Damis, the most zealous of his disciples, which was properly no more than memoirs very meanly composed, having fallen into Julia's hands, she gave it to Philostratus, who form these memoirs, and what he could extract from the works of Apollonius himself, and other writings, compiled the history we have of him. Eusebius asserts,⁷ that it were easy to show, that a great part of his narrations contradict themselves, and breathe nothing but fable and romance. Nor is he afraid to add, that his whole work abounds with fictions and falsities. Photius, who briefly repeats part of the facts of this history, treats many of them as impertinent fables.⁸ Suidas speaks of them to the same effect. The latter, besides the life of Apollonius, ascribes many other writings to Philostratus, and among the rest, four books of allegories and descriptions, which are still extant, and have been judged of great beauty, well sustained, and composed with all the delicacy of the Attic tongue.

MACROBIUS.

THIS author, at the head of his works, is called *Aurelius Theodosius Ambrosius Macrobius*. To which the epithet *Illustrius* is added, peculiar to those advanced to the highest dignities of the empire. He was of a country, where the Latin tongue was not commonly spoken, namely, of Greece or of the East, and lived in the reigns of Theodosius and his children. Though it is not certain that this author is the Macrobius mentioned in the laws of Honorius and Theodosius, it is, however, scarce to be doubted, but he lived about that time, as all the persons he introduces speaking in his *Saturnalia* lived very near it. He feigns this conversation, in order to collect all that he knew of antiquities, which he intended for the instruction of his son Eustathius, to whom he addresses it.⁹ And as he assembles in it all the greatest and most learned persons of Rome during the vacations of the *Saturnalia*, he gives that name to his work. He professes to relate things generally in the express words of the authors from whom he extracts them, because his view in it was not to display his eloquence, but to instruct his son: besides which, being a Greek, it was not quite easy for him to express himself in Latin. Accordingly his elocution is said to be neither pure nor elegant; and that in the passages where he speaks himself, a Greek seems talking broken Latin. As for the subjects of which he treats, they are agreeable and learned.

Besides the *Saturnalia*, there are two books of Macrobius' upon the dream, ascribed by Cicero to Scipio, done also for his son Eustathius, to whom he addresses them.

DONATUS.

DONATUS,¹⁰ (*Ælius Donatus*) whose scholar St. Jerome was, taught grammar with great reputation at Rome, in the reign of the emperor Constantinus. We

¹ Lib. xx. c. 1.

² Gell. l. xiv. c. 2.

³ Voss. hist. Gr. l. ii. c. 15.

VOL. II.—58

⁴ Philost. p. 589, 590.

⁵ Voss. hist. Lat. l. iii.

⁶ Suidas. Ant. J. C. 194.

⁷ Euseb. in Hier.

⁸ Phot. c. 44.

⁹ Saturn. l. i. in Præfat.

¹⁰ Ant. J. C. 354.

have the commentaries upon Virgil and Terence, which are pretended to be the same, ascribed by St. Jerome to his master Donatus. The best judges believe, that there may be something of his in the comment upon Virgil, but that much is added to it unworthy of so able a hand. As to the comment upon Terence, it is attributed to Evanthius, otherwise called Euphrasius, who lived at the same time. Neither is it believed, that the lives of these two poets were written by Donatus. We have some tracts upon grammar which bear his name, and are esteemed.

SERVIUS (*Maurus Honoratus*) lived about the reigns of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius. He

is known by the comment upon Virgil ascribed to him. It is the general opinion that this piece is only an abridgment extracted from the work of the true Servius, the loss of which these extracts have occasioned.

STOBÆUS.

JOHANNES STOBÆUS, a Greek author, lived in the fifth century. What remains of his collection has preserved some curious monuments of the ancient poets and philosophers. It is believed, that among these fragments many things have been added by those who came after him.

OF

POLITE LEARNING,

OR THE

BELLES LETTRES.

INTRODUCTION.

POESY, History, and Eloquence, include whatever is principally meant by polite learning, or the *Belles Lettres*. Of all departments of literature, this has the most charms, displays the most lustre, and is in some sense the most capable of doing a nation honour by works, which are the finest and most exquisite production of the mind. I would not hereby be thought to undervalue the other sciences in the least, of which I shall speak in the sequel, and which cannot be too highly esteemed. I only observe, that those we are to treat of in this place, have something more animating, more shining, and consequently more apt to strike mankind, and to excite their admiration; that they are accessible to a great number of persons, and connect themselves more generally than the rest with the feelings and transactions of men of genius. Poesy seasons the solidity of her instructions with attractive graces, and the pleasing images, in which she industriously conveys them. History, in recounting the events of past ages in a lively and agreeable manner, excites and gratifies our curiosity, and at the same time gives useful lessons to kings, princes, and persons of all conditions, under borrowed names, to avoid offending their delicacy. And lastly, eloquence, now showing herself to us with a simple and modest grace, and now with all the pomp and majesty of a potent queen, charms the soul, while she engages the heart, with a sweetness and force, against which there is no resisting.

Athens and Rome, those two great theatres of human glory, have produced the greatest men of the ancient world, as well for valour and military knowledge, as ability in the arts of government. But would these great men have been known, or would not their names have been buried with them in oblivion, without the aid of the arts in question, that have given them a kind of immortality, of which mankind are so jealous? These two cities themselves, which are still universally considered as the primitive sources of good taste in general, and which, in the midst of the ruins of so many empires, preserved a taste for polite learning, that never will expire; are they not indebted for that glory to the excellent works of poesy, history, and eloquence, with which they have enriched the universe?

Rome seemed in some sort to confine herself to this taste for the *Belles Lettres*; at least she excelled

in an eminent degree only in this kind of knowledge, which she considered as more useful and more glorious than all others. Greece was more rich as to the number of sciences, and embraced them all without distinction. Her illustrious persons, her princes, and kings, extended their protection to science in general, of whatsoever kind and denomination. Not to mention the many others who have rendered their names famous on this account, to what was Ptolemy Philadelphus indebted for the reputation that distinguished him so much among the kings of Egypt, but to his particular care in drawing learned men of all kinds to his court, in loading them with honours and rewards, and by their means in causing all arts and sciences to flourish in his dominions. The famous library of Alexandria, enriched by his truly royal magnificence with so considerable a number of books, and the celebrated museum, where all the learned assembled, have made his name more illustrious, and acquired him a more solid and lasting glory, than the greatest of conquests could have done.

France does not give place to Egypt in this point. The king's famous library, infinitely augmented by the magnificence of Louis XIV. is not the least illustrious circumstance of his reign. His successor Louis XV. who signalized the beginning of his own reign by the glorious establishment of free instruction in the university of Paris, to tread in the steps of his illustrious great-grandfather, has also made it his care and pride to augment and decorate the royal library. In a few years he has enriched it with from fifteen to eighteen thousand printed volumes, and almost eight thousand manuscripts, part of the library of Mr. Colbert, the most scarce and ancient come down to us; without mentioning those brought very lately from Constantinople by the Abbe Sevin: so that the king's library at present amounts to about ninety thousand printed volumes, and from thirty to thirty-five thousand manuscripts. It only remained to deposite so precious a treasure in a manner that might evince all its value, and answer the reputation and glory of the kingdom. This Louis XV. has also done, and fulfilled the intentions of his great-grandfather, by causing a superb edifice to be prepared for his library, which is already the admiration of all strangers, and, when finished, will be the most magnificent receptacle for books in Europe.

The museum of Alexandria was much admired: but what was it in comparison with our academies of ar-

chitecture, sculpture, painting; the *Académie Française*,¹ that of polite learning or the *Belles Lettres*, and that of Sciences? Add to these the two most ancient foundations of the kingdom; the college royal, where all the learned languages, and almost all the sciences are taught; and the university of Paris, the mother and model of all the academies in the world, whose reputation so many ages have not impaired, and who, with her venerable wrinkles, continually retains the air and bloom of youth. If the number of the learned, who fill all these places, are added to the account, and their pensions estimated, it must be owned that the rest of Europe has nothing comparable to France in these respects. For the honour of the present reign and ministry, I cannot forbear observing, that during the war lately terminated so happily and gloriously for us, the payment of all these pensions of the learned was neither suspended nor delayed.

The reader will, I hope, pardon this small digression, which however is not entirely foreign to my subject, for the sake of the warm love of my country, and the just sense of gratitude that occasioned it. Before I proceed to my subject, I think myself obliged to take notice, that I shall make great use of many of the dissertations in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, especially in what relates to poesy. Those extracts will show how capable that academy is of preserving the good taste of the ancients.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE POETS.

IF we consider poetry in the purity of its first institution, it is evident, that it was invented originally to render the public homage of adoration and gratitude to the Divine Majesty, and to teach men the most important truths of religion. This art, which seems so profane in our days, had its birth in the midst of festivals, instituted in honour of the Supreme Being. On those solemn days, when the Hebrews celebrated the remembrance of the wonders God had wrought in their favour, and when, at rest from their labours, they gave themselves up to an innocent and necessary joy, all places resounded with canticles and sacred song, the noble, sublime, and majestic style of which suited the greatness of the God they praised. In those divine canticles what throngs do we not see of the most lively and animated beauties! Rivers rolling back to their sources; seas opening and flying with dread; hills that skip, and mountains that melt like wax and disappear; heaven and earth trembling and listening with awe and silence; and all nature in motion, and shaken before the face of its author.

But as the human voice alone failed in the utterance of such amazing wonders, and seemed too weak to the people to express the lively sense of gratitude and adoration with which they were animated, to express them with greater force, they called into their aid the big voices of thundering drums, trumpets, and all other instruments of music. In a kind of transport and religious enthusiasm this did not suffice; and the body was also made to have a part in the holy joy of the soul by impetuous but concerted emotions, in order that every thing in man might render homage to the Divinity. Such were the beginnings of music, dancing, and poetry.

What man of good taste, who, though not full of respect for the sacred books, should read the songs of Moses with the same eyes he reads the odes of Pindar, but would be obliged to own that this Moses, whom we know as the first historian and legislator of the world, is at the same time the first and most sublime of poets? In his writings, poetry even at the first instant of its birth appears perfect, because God himself inspires it, and the necessity of arriving by degrees at perfection, is a condition annexed only to arts of human invention. The prophets and the psalms present us also with the like models. In

them shines out that true poesy in all her majesty of light, which excites none but happy passions, which moves the heart without depraving it, which pleases without soothing our frailties, which engages our attention without amusing us with trivial and ridiculous tales, which instructs us without disgust, which makes us know God without representing him under images unworthy of the divine nature, and which always surprises without leading us astray through fantastic regions and chimerical wonders. Always agreeable, always useful; noble by bold expressions, glowing figures, and still more by the truths she denounces, it is she alone that deserves the name of divine language.

When men had transferred to creatures the homage due only to the Creator, poesy followed the fortune of religion, always preserving however traces of her first origin. She was employed at first to thank the false divinities for their supposed favours, and to demand new ones. She was soon indeed applied to other uses: but in all times care was taken to bring her back to her original destination. Hesiod has wrote the genealogy of the gods in verse: a very ancient poet composed the hymns usually ascribed to Homer; of which kind of poem Callimachus afterwards wrote others. Even the works, that turned upon different subjects, conducted and decided the events they related by the intervention and ministrations of divinities. They taught mankind to consider the gods as the authors of whatever happens in nature. Homer, and the other poets, every where represent them as the sole arbiters of our destinies. It is by them our courage is either exalted or depressed; they give or deprive us of prudence; dispense success and victory; and occasion repulse and defeat. Nothing great or heroic is executed without the secret or visible assistance of some divinity. And of all the truths they inculcate, they present none more frequently to our view, and establish none with more care, than that valour and wisdom are of no avail without the aid of Providence.

One of the principal views of poesy, and which was a kind of natural consequence of the first, was also to form the manners. To be convinced of this, we have only to consider the particular end of the several species of poetry, and to observe the general practice of the most illustrious poets. The Epic poem proposed from the first to give us instructions disguised under the allegory of an important and heroic action; the Ode, to celebrate the exploits of great men, in order to excite the general imitation of others; Tragedy, to inspire us with horror for guilt, by the fatal effects that succeed it; and with veneration for virtue, by the just praises and rewards which attend it; Comedy and Satire, to correct whilst they divert us, and to make implacable war with vice and folly; Elegy, to shed tears upon the tombs of persons, who deserve to be lamented; and lastly, the Pastoral poem, to sing the innocence and pleasures of rural life. If any of these kinds of poetry have in succeeding times been employed to different purposes, it is certain, that they were made to deviate from their natural institution, and that in the beginning they all tended to the same end, which was to render man better.

I shall pursue this subject no farther, which would carry me beyond my bounds. I confine myself in speaking of the poets to those who have distinguished themselves most in each kind of poetry, and shall begin with the Greeks. I shall then proceed to the Latins, partly uniting them, however, sometimes, especially when it may seem necessary, to compare them with each other. As I have occasionally treated part of what relates to these illustrious writers elsewhere, to avoid useless and tedious repetitions, the reader will permit me to refer him thither, when the same matter recurs.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE GREEK POETS.

EVERY body knows, that poesy was brought into Italy from Greece, and that Rome is indebted to her

¹ Académie Française, established 1635, for the purity of the French tongue.

for the reputation and glory she acquired of this kind.

SECTION I.—OF THE GREEK POETS, WHO EXCELLED IN EPIC POETRY.

I do not rank either the Sibyls, or Orpheus, and Musæus, in the number of the poets. All the learned agree, that the poems ascribed to them are supposititious.

HOMER.

THE period of time when Homer was born is not very certain. Herodotus¹ places it four hundred years before himself, and Usher fixes the birth of Herodotus in the year of the world 3520. According to which Homer must have been born in the year 3120, that is to say, 340 years after the taking of Troy. We have no better assurances concerning the place of his nativity, for which honour seven cities contended. Smyrna seems to have carried it against the rest.

I have spoken of epic poetry and Homer in the ancient history,² and with much greater extent in the first of my treatise upon the study of the Belles Lettres, where I have endeavoured to give the reader a taste of the beauties of this poet.

Virgil, if we may judge of his views by his work, seems to have proposed no less to himself than to dispute the superiority of epic poetry with Greece, and borrowed arms from his rival himself for that purpose. He justly discerned, that as he was to bring the hero of his poem from the banks of the Scamander, it would be necessary for him to imitate the Odyssey, which contains a great series of voyages and narratives; and as he was to make him fight for his settlement in Italy, that it would be as necessary to have the Iliad perpetually before his eyes, which abounds with action, battles, and all that intervention of the gods, which heroic poetry requires. Æneas makes voyages like Ulysses, and fights like Achilles. Virgil has interwoven the forty-eight books of Homer in the twelve of the Æneid. In the six first we discover the Odyssey almost universally, as we do the Iliad in the six last.

The Greek poet has a great advantage, and no less title to superiority, from having been the original, which the other copied; and what Quintilian says of Demosthenes in regard to Cicero, may with equal justice be applied to him, that however great Virgil may be, Homer in a great measure made him what he is.³ This advantage does not, however, fully decide their merit, and to which of them the preference ought to be given, will always be a matter of dispute. We may in this point abide by the judgment of Quintilian, who, while he leaves the question undecided, in a few words perfectly specifies the characters that distinguish those two excellent poets. He tells us, there is more genius and force of nature in the one, and more art and application in the other; and that what is wanting in Virgil on the side of the sublime, in which the Greek poet is indisputably superior, is perhaps compensated by the justness and equality that prevail universally throughout the Æneid. *Et hercle, ut illi naturæ celestis atque immortalis cesserimus, ita curæ et diligentia vel ideo in hoc plus est, quod ei fuit magis laborandum: et quantum eminentioribus vincimur, fortasse æqualitate pensamus.* It is very hard to characterise these two poets better. The Iliad and Odyssey are two great paintings, of which the Æneid is an abridgement or miniature. The latter requires a nearer view: every thing in it therefore must be perfectly finished. But great pictures are seen at a distance: it is not necessary, that they should be so exact and regular in all their strokes: too scrupulous a niceness is even a fault in such paintings.

HESIOD.

HESIOD is said to have been born at Cumæ, a city of Æoli, but brought up from his infancy at Ascræ, a

small town of Bœotia, which on that account passed for his country: Virgil also calls him the old man of Ascræ.⁴ Authors differ much concerning the time in which he lived. The most general opinion is, that he was Homer's cotemporary. Of all his poems only three have come down to us: these are, *The Works and Days*; *The Theogonia*, or, the genealogy of the gods; and *The Shield of Hercules*; of which I have spoken elsewhere. Quintilian gives us his character in these words:—"Hesiod seldom rises upon himself, and the greatest part of his works consist almost entirely of proper names. He has however useful sentences for the conduct of life, with sweetness enough of words, and no unhappiness of style. He is allowed to have succeeded best in the middle way of writing."⁵

POETS LESS KNOWN.

TERPANDER, flourished A. M. 3356. He was very famous both for poetry and music.

TYRTEUS, flourished A. M. 3364. He is believed to have been an Athenian.⁶ This poet made a great figure in the second war of Messene. He excelled in celebrating military exploits. The Spartans had been several times defeated to their great discouragement. The oracle of Delphos bade them ask a man of the Athenians capable of assisting them with his counsel and abilities. Tyrteus was sent them. The consequence at first did not answer the expectations of the Spartans. They were again defeated three times successively, and were upon the point of returning to Sparta in despair. Tyrteus re-animated them by his verses, which breathed nothing but love of one's country and contempt of death. Having resumed courage they attacked the Messenians with fury, and the victory they obtained upon this occasion, terminated a war they could support no longer to their advantage. They conferred the freedom of their city upon Tyrteus, a privilege they were by no means too profuse of at Lacedæmon, which made it exceedingly honourable. The little that remains of his writings, shows that his style was very vigorous and noble. He seems transported himself with the ardour he endeavours to give his hearers.

Tyrtausque mares animos in Martia bella
Versibus exauit. *Horat. in Art. Poet.*

By verse the warrior's fire Tyrteus feeds,
And urges manly minds to glorious deeds.

DRACO, a celebrated Athenian legislator, flourished A. M. 3368. He composed a poem of three thousand lines, entitled, *Υπερθετα*, in which he laid down excellent precepts for the conduct of life.

ABARIS, a Scythian by nation according to Suidas, surnamed by others the Hyperborean, flourished A. M. 3368.⁷ He composed several pieces of poetry. Stories of the last absurdity are told of him, which even Herodotus himself does not seem to believe. He contents himself with saying, that Barbarian had carried an arrow through the whole world, and that he ate nothing. Jamblicus⁸ goes farther, and pretends that Abaris was carried by his arrow through the air, and passed rivers, seas, and the most inaccessible places in that manner, without being stopped by any obstacle. It is said that upon account of a great plague that raged in the country of the Hyperboreans, he was deputed to Athens by those people.

CHERILUS, flourished A. M. 3676. There were several poets of this name. I speak of him in this place,⁹ who notwithstanding the badness of his verses, in which there was neither taste nor beauty, was how-

⁴ *Æscæumque senem. Eclog. 6.*

⁵ *Raro assurgit Hesiodus, magna que pars ejus in nominibus est occupata: tamen utiles circa præcepta sententiæ, lenitasque verborum et compositionis probabilitas: daturque ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere. Lib. x. cap. i.*

⁶ *Pausan. l. iv. p. 244, &c.*

⁷ *Suidas. Herod. l. iv. c. 36.*

⁸ *Jambl. in Vit. Pyth.*

⁹ *Gratus Alexandro regi magnus fuit ille Cherilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis Retulit acceptos, regale munusima, Philippus.*

Qui tam ridiculum tem carè prodigus emit,
Edoito vetuit ne quis se, præter Apellem,

¹ *Herod. l. ii. c. 53.*

² *See vol. i. p. 222.*

³ *Cedendum vero in hoc quidem, quod et ille (Demosthenes) prior fuit, et ex magna parte Ciceronem, quantus est, fecit. Lib. x. cap. i.*

ever much esteemed and favoured by Alexander the Great, from whom he received as great a reward as if he had been an excellent poet. Horace observes, that liberality argued little taste in that prince, who had been so delicate in respect to painting and sculpture, as to prohibit by an edict all painters except Apelles to draw his picture, and all statuaries, but Lysippus, to make his statue in brass. Sylla, among the Romans, acted as liberally, but with more prudence than Alexander, in regard to a poet, who had presented him with some wretched verses. He ordered a reward to be given him upon condition that he would never write more: very hard terms to a bad poet, however reasonable in themselves.¹

ARATUS was of Soloe, a city of Cilicia, flourished A. M. 3732. He composed a poem upon astronomy, which was very much esteemed by the learned, according to Cicero. Quintilian speaks less favourably of it.² He says, that the subject of Aratus was very dry and unaffecting, from having neither variety, passions, character, nor harangue in it;³ but that however he had done as much with it as his matter would admit, and had made choice of it as suiting his capacity. Cicero, at seventeen years of age, had translated the poem of Aratus into Latin verse, of which many fragments are come down to us in his treatise *De Natura Deorum*.

APOLLONIUS of Rhodes, who flourished A. M. 3756, composed a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts; *Argonautica*. He was a native of Alexandria, and had succeeded Eratosthenes as keeper of the famous library there in the reign of Ptolemæus Evergetes. Upon seeing himself ill treated by the other poets of that place, who loaded him with calumnies, he retired to Rhodes, where he passed the rest of his days. This occasioned his being surnamed *the Rhodian*.

EUPHORION, of Chalcis, flourished A. M. 3756. Antiochus the Great intrusted him with the care of his library.⁴ Virgil mentions him in his *Bucolics*.⁵

NICANDER of Colophon in Ionia, or, according to others, of Ætolia. He flourished in the time of Attalus, the last king of Pergamus, A. M. 3852. He composed some poems upon medicine; *Ἐνθεῖα* and *Ἀλκι-
κήνεα*, and others upon agriculture, which⁶ Virgil imitated in his *Georgics*.

ANTIPATER of Sidon, flourished A. M. 3856. Cicero⁷ informs us, that he had so great a talent for poetry, and such facility in making verses, that he could express himself extemporaneously in hexameters, or any other kind of verse, upon any subject. Valerius Maximus, and Pliny⁸ say, that he had a fever regularly once every year upon the same day; which was the day of his birth and death.

A. LICINIUS ARCHIAS, for whom Cicero's oration is extant, flourished A. M. 3318. He wrote a poem upon the war with the Cimbri, and began another upon Cicero's consulship. We have still some of his epigrams in the *Anthologia*.

PARTHENIUS lived at the same time. He had been taken prisoner in the war with Mithridates, and was Virgil's master in Greek poetry.⁹

APOLLINARIUS, bishop of Laodiceæ in Syria, flourished A. D. 362. I do not consider him here as a

bishop, but as a poet, who distinguished himself very much by Christian poetry. Julian the apostate forbade all masters by a public edict, to teach the children of Christians the profane authors. The pretext for this edict was, that it was not consistent to explain them to youth as illustrious writers, and at the same time to condemn their religion. But the true motives for that prohibition were the great advantages the Christians found in the profane books against paganism. This edict induced the two Apollinarii to compose several works of use to religion.

The father of whom we speak, and who was a grammarian, wrote in heroic verse, and in imitation of Homer, the sacred history in twenty-four books down to the reign of Saul, denominating each book with a letter of the Greek alphabet. He imitated Menander in comedies, Euripides in tragedies, and Pindar in odes; taking his subjects from the holy scripture, and observing the character and style of the several kinds of poetry in which he wrote, in order that the Christians might dispense with the want of the profane authors in learning the Belles Lettres.

His son, who was a sophist, or rhetorician and philosopher, composed dialogues after the manner of Plato, to explain the gospels and the doctrine of the apostles.

Julian's persecution was of so short a continuance, that the works of the Apollinarii became useless; and the profane authors were again read. Hence, of all their poems, none are come down to us, except the Psalms paraphrased by Apollinarius the elder, who had the misfortune to give into heterodox opinions concerning Jesus Christ.

ST. GREGORY of Nazianzen, who flourished A. D. 350, cotemporary with Apollinarius, composed also a great number of verses of all kinds: Suidas makes them amount to thirty thousand, of which only a part have been preserved. Most of them were the employment and fruit of his retirement. Though he was very much advanced in years at the time he wrote them, we find in them all the fire and vigour that could be desired in the works of a young man.

In composing his poems, which served him for amusement in his solitude, and for consolation in his bodily infirmities, he had young persons, and those who love polite learning, in view. To withdraw them from dangerous songs and poems, he was for supplying them with an innocent and useful diversion, and at the same time for rendering the truth agreeable to them. There is also reason to believe, that one of his views was to oppose poems, in which every thing was strictly orthodox, to those of Apollinarius, that contained many opinions repugnant to the Christian faith. In making poetry subservient in this manner to religion, he recalled it to its primitive institution. He treated nothing in his verses but such subjects of piety as might animate, purify, instruct, or elevate the soul to God. In proposing sound doctrine to Christians in them, he banished from them all the filth and folly of fable; and would have thought it profaning his pen, to have employed it in reviving the heathen divinities, that Christ had come to abolish.

Such are the models we ought to follow. I speak here of a saint, who had all the beauty, vivacity, and solidity of wit, it is possible to imagine. He had been instructed in the Belles Lettres by the most able masters at that time of the pagan world. He had read with extreme application all the ancient poets, of which we often find traces even in his prose writings. He contented himself with having acquired a refined taste of poetry from them, and with having thoroughly studied and comprehended all their beauties and delicacy; but never introduced any of the profane divinities into his own pieces; which were not re-admitted by the poets till many ages after. Ought what these glorious ages of the church condemned and forbade to be allowed now? I have treated this¹⁰ subject elsewhere to some extent.

For the honour of poetry and poets, I ought not to omit mentioning EUDOCIA, the daughter of the sophist Leontius the Athenian, who, before she was a Christ-

Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo doceret æra
Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia.

Ilor. Ep. i. l. 2.

¹ Jussit ei præmium tribui, sub ea conditione ne quid postea scriberet. *Cic. pro Arch. poet. n. 25.*

² Constat inter doctos hominem ignarum Astrologiæ, ornatissimis atque optimis versibus Aratum de cælo stellisque dixisse.

³ Arati materia motu caret, ut in qua nulla varietas, nullus affectus, nulla persona, nulla cujusquam sit oratio. Sufficit tamen operi, cui se parem credidit. *Lib. x. c. 1.*

⁴ Quid! Euphorionem transibimus? Quem nisi probasset Virgilium, idem nunquam cererè conditorum Chalcidico versu carminum fecisset in *Bucolicis* mentionem. *Quintil. l. x. c. 1.*

⁵ *Eleg. x. v. 50.*

⁶ Quid! Nicandrum frustra sentit Macer atque Virgilius? *Quintil. ibid.*

⁷ *Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 194.*

⁸ *Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. Plin. l. vii. c. 51.*

⁹ *Macrob. l. v. c. 17.*

¹⁰ Method of studying the Belles Lettres, vol. I.

ian, and had married the emperor Theodosius the younger, was called Athenais. Her father had given her an excellent education, and made her extremely learned and judicious. The surprising beauty of her aspect was, however, inferior to that of her wit. She wrote an heroic poem upon her husband's victory over the Persians, and composed many other pieces upon pious subjects, of which we ought very much to regret the loss. She lived about A. D. 420.

SYNESTUS, bishop of Ptolemais, lived at the same time. Only ten hymns of his are come down to us.

I pass over in silence many other poets mentioned by authors, but little known to us, and am afraid that I have already been only too long upon those of this kind.

I proceed now to the tragic and comic poets. But as I have treated both with sufficient extent in the Ancient History,¹ I shall do little more in this place than mention their names and the times when they lived.

SECTION II.—OF THE TRAGIC POETS.

THESPIUS, who flourished A. M. 3480, is considered as the inventor of tragedy.² It is easy to judge how gross and imperfect it was in its beginning. He smeared the faces of his actors with lees of wine, and carried them from village to village in a cart, from which they represented their pieces. He lived in the time of Solon.³ That wise legislator, being present one day at one of these representations, cried out, striking the ground with his stick, "I am very much afraid, that these poetical fictions, and ingenious fancies, will soon have a share in our public and private affairs."

ÆSCHYLUS, who flourished A. M. 3508, was the first that improved tragedy, and placed it in honour.⁴ He gave his actors masks, more decent dresses, the high heeled boot or buskin called *Cothurnus*, and built them a little theatre. His manner of writing is noble, and even sublime; his elocution lofty, and soaring often to bombast.⁵

In a public dispute of the tragic poets, instituted upon account of the bones of Theseus which Cimon had brought to Athens, the prize was adjudged to Sophocles.⁶ The grief of Æschylus was so great upon seeing himself deprived by a young poet of the glory he had so long possessed, of being the most excellent in the theatre, that he could not bear to stay in Athens any longer. He left it, and retired to Sicily, to the court of king Hiern, where he died in a very singular manner.—As he lay asleep in the country with his bald head uncovered, an eagle taking it for a stone, let fall a heavy tortoise upon it, which killed him. Of fourscore and ten tragedies which he composed, some say only twenty-eight, and others no more than thirteen, carried the prize.

SOPHOCLES and EURIPIDES flourished A. M. 3532. These two poets appeared at the same time, and rendered the Athenian stage very illustrious by tragedies equally admirable, though very different in their style.⁷ The first was great, lofty, and sublime: the other tender, pathetic, and abounding with excellent maxims for the manners and conduct of human life. The judgment of the public was divided in respect to them; as we are at this day in regard to two poets,⁸ who have done so much honour to the French stage, and made it capable of disputing pre-eminence with that of Athens.

¹ See vol. i. p. 431, 432.

² Ignotum tragiciæ genus invenisse Camææ
Dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
Quæ carent agerentque peruncti fœcibus ora.

Horat. Art. Poet.

³ Plut. in Solon, p. 95.

⁴ Post hunc personæ pallaque repertor honestæ
Æschylus, et modicis instravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnamque loqui, nitique Cothurno.

Hor. ibid.

⁵ Tragedias primus in lucem Æschylus protulit, sublimis, gravis, et grandiloquus, sæpe usque ad vitium. *Quintil. l. x. c. 1.*

⁶ Plut. in Cimon, p. 483.

⁷ Longæ clarior illustraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides: quorum in dispari dicendi vi uter sit poeta melior, inter plurimos queritur. *Quintil. ibid.*

⁸ Corneille and Racine.

SECTION III.—OF THE COMIC POETS.

EUPOLIS, CRATINUS, and ARISTOPHANES, who flourished A. M. 3564, made the comedy, called Ancient Comedy, very famous. This served the Greeks instead of satire. The highest perfection of what is called Atticism, was peculiar to it, that is to say, whatever is finest, most elegant, and most delicate in style, to which no other poetry could come near. I have spoken of it elsewhere.

MENANDER, who flourished A. M. 3580, was the first and the best author of the New Comedy. Plutarch prefers him infinitely to Aristophanes.⁹ He admires an agreeable, refined, delicate, lively spirit of humour, a vein of pleasantry in him, that never departs in the least from the strictest rules of probity and good manners: whereas the bitter and merciless railery of Aristophanes is excessive abuse, is murder in jest, that without the least reserve, tears the reputation of the most worthy to pieces, and violates all the laws of modesty and decency with an impudence that knows no bounds. Quintilian is not afraid to declare, that the brightness of Menander's merit had entirely eclipsed and obliterated the reputation of all the writers in the same way.¹⁰ But the greatest praise which can be given this poet, is to say, that Terence, who scarce did any thing besides copying his plays, is allowed by good judges to have fallen very short of his original.

Aulus Gellius¹¹ has preserved some passages of Menander, which had been imitated by Cæcilius, an ancient Latin comic poet. At the first reading he thought the verses of the latter very fine. But he affirms, that as soon as he compared them with those of the Greek poet, their beauty entirely disappeared, and they seemed wretched and contemptible.

Menander was not treated with all the justice he deserved during his life. Of more than an hundred comedies which he brought upon the stage, only eight carried the prize. Whether through intrigue or combination against him, or the bad taste of the judges, PHILEMON, who undoubtedly deserved only the second place, was always preferred before him.¹²

In the Ancient History, (vol. i. p. 245,) we have explained all that relates to the Ancient, Middle, and New Comedy.

SECTION IV.—OF THE IAMBIC POETS.

ARCHILOCHUS, a native of Paros, the inventor of iambic verses, lived in the reign of Candaneus, king of Lydia, A. M. 3280. See what we have said of him in the Ancient History, vol. i. p. 223.

HIPPONAX was a native of Ephesus, and flourished A. M. 3460. Upon being expelled thence by the tyrants that governed there, he went and settled at Clazomenæ.¹³ He was ugly, short, and thin: but his ugliness occasioned his being immortalized: for he is hardly known by any thing except the satirical verses he composed against the brothers, Bupalus and Athenis, two sculptors who had made his figure in the most ridiculous manner in their power. He discharged such a number of keen and virulent verses against them, that, according to some authors, they hanged themselves through vexation. But Pliny observes, that statues of theirs were in being made after that time. The invention of the verse called Scazon, *limping*, is ascribed to Hipponax, in the last foot of which there is always a spondee instead of an iambus.

SECTION V.—OF THE LYRIC POETS.

THE poetry, which was made to be sung to the lyre, or the like instruments, was called lyric poetry. Compositions of this kind were named odes, or songs, and were divided into strophes or stanzas.

The end of poetry is to please the imagination. But if the different kinds of poetry, as the pastoral,

⁹ Plut. in Moral. p. 853.

¹⁰ Atque ille quidem omnibus ejusdem operis auctoribus antulit nomen, et fulgore quodam suæ claritatis tenebras obduxit. *Ibid.*

¹¹ Lib. ii. c. 23.

¹² Philemon, ut pravis sui temporis judiciis Menandro sæpe prælatum est, ita consensu omnium meruit credi secundus. *Quintil. ibid.*

¹³ Suidas.

elegiac, and epic, attain that end by different means, the ode attains it more certainly, because it includes them all; and as the famous painter of old united in one picture all that he had observed of most graceful and consummate in many of the fair sex, so the ode unites in itself all the different beauties, of which the different species of poetry are susceptible. But it has still something else peculiar to itself, which constitutes its true character. This is enthusiasm; in which view the poets believe, they may also compare her to that Juno of Homer, who borrows the girdle of Venus to exalt the graces of her form, but who is still the same queen of the gods, distinguished by the air of majesty peculiar to her, and even by the fury and violence of her character. This enthusiasm is more easy to conceive, than possible to define. When a writer is seized with it, his genius glows ardent, his imagination catches fire, and all the faculties of his soul awake, and concur to the perfection of his work. Now noble thoughts and the most shining strokes of wit, and now the most tender and beautiful images, crowd upon him. The warmth also of his enthusiasm often transports him in such a manner, that he can contain himself no longer; he then abandons himself to that living impetuosity, that beautiful disorder, which infinitely transcend the regularity of the most studious art.

These different impressions produce different effects: descriptions sometimes simple but exquisitely beautiful, and sometimes rich, noble, and sublime; comparisons just and lively; shining strokes of morality; allusions happily borrowed from history or fable; and digressions a thousand times more beautiful than the chain of the subject itself. Harmony, the soul of verse, at this moment costs the poet no trouble. Noble expressions and happy numbers spontaneously rise up, and dispose themselves in due order, like stones to the lyre of Amphion; and nothing seems the effect of study or pains. The poems of enthusiasm have such a peculiar beauty, that they can neither be read nor heard without imparting the same fire that produced themselves; and the effect of the most exquisite music is neither so certain nor so great, as that of verses born in this poetic fury,—this diviner flame of the mind.

This little passage, which I have extracted from the short but eloquent dissertation of the Abbé Fraguier upon Pindar, suffices to give the reader a just idea of lyric poetry, and at the same time of Pindar, who holds the first rank among the nine Greek poets that excelled in this way of writing, of whom it remains for me to say a few words.

Plutarch speaks of THALES,¹ whom Lycurgus persuaded to go and settle at Sparta,² A. M. 3155. He was a lyric poet, (not one of the nine mentioned above,) but under the appearance of composing only songs, he in effect did all that the gravest legislators could have been capable of doing. For all his poetical pieces were so many discourses to incline men to obedience and concord by the means of certain numbers so harmonious, so elegant, strong, and sweet, that they insensibly rendered the manners of those that heard them less rude and savage, and induced a love of order and probity, by banishing the animosities and divisions that prevailed among them. Thus by the charming impressions of a melodious kind of poetry, he prepared the way for Lycurgus to instruct and amend his citizens.

ALCMAN was a native of Sardis in Lydia, flourished A. M. 3324. The Lacedæmonians adopted him on account of his merit, and granted him the freedom of their city, upon which he congratulates himself in his poems as a singular honour to him.³ He flourished in the time of Ardy, son of Gyges, king of Lydia.

STESICHORUS was of Himera, a city of Sicily, flourished A. M. 3398. Pausanias⁴ relates, that this poet having lost his sight as a punishment for verses which he had made in dispraise of Helen, did not recover it till he had recanted his invectives by a new piece,

the reverse of the former, which was afterwards called Palinodia. Quintilian⁵ tells us, that he sung of great wars, and the most illustrious heroes, and that he sustained the pomp and sublimity of epic poetry on the lyre. Horace gives him the same character in a single epithet, *Stesichorique graves Camæne*, Stesichorus's lofty nurse.

ALCÆUS, flourished A. M. 3400. He was born at Mitylene, a city of Lesbos: it is from him the Alcaic verse took its name. He was a declared enemy to the tyrants of Lesbos, and in particular to Pittacus, whom he perpetually lashed in his poems. He is said⁶ to have been seized with such terror in a battle where he happened to be, that he threw down his arms, and fled. Horace relates a like adventure of himself.⁷ Poets pique themselves less upon their valour than their wit. Quintilian says, that the style of Alcæus is close, lofty, correct, and what crowns his praise, that he very much resembles Homer.⁸

SAPPHO. She was of the same place, and lived at the same time with Alcæus. The Sapphic verse is so called from her. She had three brothers,⁹ Larychus, Eurygius, and Charaxus. She celebrated the first extremely in her poems, and on the contrary is severe against Charaxus, for being desperately in love with the courtesan Rhodope, the same that built one of the pyramids of Egypt. Sappho composed a considerable number of poems, of which only two are come down to us, but these suffice to prove, that the praises given her by all ages for the beauty, passion, numbers, harmony, and delicacies of her verse, are not without foundation. Hence she was called the Tenth Muse, and the people of Mitylene caused her image to be stamped on their coin. It were to be wished that the purity of her manners had equalled the beauty of her genius, and that she had not dishonoured her sex and poetry by her vices and licentiousness. It is said, that frantic with despair through the obstinate resistance to her desires of Phaon, a young man of Lesbos, she threw herself into the sea from the top of the promontory of Leucadia in Acarnania; a remedy frequently used in Greece by those who were unfortunate in this passion.

ANACREON flourished A. M. 3512. This poet was of Teos, a city of Ionia. He passed much of his time at the court of Polycrates,⁹ tyrant of Samos, famous for the uninterrupted prosperity of his life, and tragical end; and was not only one of all his parties of pleasure, but one of his council. Plato informs us,¹⁰ that Hipparchus, one of the sons of Pisistratus, sent a galley of fifty oars to Anacreon, and wrote to him in the most obliging terms, to prevail upon him to come to Athens, where his fine works would be esteemed and relished according to their merit. Joy and pleasure are said to have been his sole study, as indeed we may well believe from what remains of his poems. They every where show, that his hand wrote what his heart felt, and are of a delicacy more easy to conceive than to express. Nothing would be more estimable than his compositions, had their object been better.

SIMONIDES flourished A. M. 3444. He was of the island of Cea, one of the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea. He wrote the famous naval battle of Salamis in the Doric dialect. His style was delicate, natural, and agreeable.¹¹ He was pathetic, and excelled in exciting compassion, which was his peculiar talent, and that by which the ancients have characterized him.

Paulum quidlibet allocationis
Mœstius lacrymis Simonideis. *Catull.*

¹ Stesichorum, quam sit ingenio validus, materiæ quoque ostendunt, maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces, et Epici carminis omnia lyra sustinentem *Lib. x. cap. 1.*

² Herod. l. v. c. 95.

³ Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam

Sensi, relicta non bene parmula.

⁴ In eloquendo brevis, et magnificus, et diligens, plerumque Homero similis. *L. x. c. 1.*

⁵ Her. l. iii. p. 121.

⁶ Simonides tenuis, aliqui sermone proprio et jucunditate quadam commendari potest. Præcipua tamen ejus in commovenda miseratione virtus ut quidam in hac eum parte omnibus ejusdem operis auctoribus præferant. *Quintil.* l. x. c. 1.

¹ Plutarch seems to confound this Thales with Thales of Miletus, one of the seven sages, who lived about two hundred and fifty years after him.

² Plut. in Lycurg. p. 41.

³ Plut. de exil. p. 599.

⁴ Pausan. in Lacon. p. 920.

Something sadder to my ears
Than Simonides in tears.

Horace says of him to the same effect:—

Sed ne, relicta, musa procaz, jocis,
Cew retrahes munera nœniæ.

But whither, wanton muse, away,
Wherefore cease we to be gay,
Things of woe why thus prolong,
Things that fit the Cean's song?

IREYUS flourished A. M. 3464. Nothing is known of him, besides his name, and a few fragments that have come down to us.

BACCHYLIDES flourished A. M. 3552. He was of the island of Cea and the son of a brother of Simonides. Hiero preferred his poems to those of Pindar in the Pythian games. Ammianus Marcellinus says, that Julian the apostate delighted much in reading this poet.

PINDAR flourished A. M. 3528. Quintilian places him at the head of the nine lyric poets. His peculiar merit and prevailing character are that majesty, that grandeur, and sublimity, which often exalt him above the rules of art, to which it were wrong to expect, that the productions of a great genius should be servilely confined. We find in his odes a sensible effect of the enthusiasm I have spoken of in the beginning of this section. It might appear a little too bold, if not softened with a mixture of less ardent and more agreeable beauties. The poet discerned this himself; which made him strew flowers abundantly from time to time. His celebrated rival Corinna reproached him with excess in this point.

Horace indeed praises him only for his sublimity. He calls it a swan, borne by the impetuosity of his flight, and the aid of the winds, above the clouds; a torrent that, swelled by rains, bears down all before it in the rapidity of its course. But to consider it in other lights; it is a smooth stream, rolling its clear pure waves over golden sands, through flowery banks and verdant plains; a bee, collecting whatever is most precious from the flowers, for the composition of its fragrant nectar. His style is always suited to his manner of thinking, close, concise, without too many express connexions, or transitional terms: these may be sufficiently inferred, and their absence exalts the vigour of his verses. Attention to transitions would have abated the poet's fire, in giving his enthusiasm time to cool.

In speaking thus of Pindar, I do not pretend to propose him as an author without faults. I own he has some, which it is not easy to excuse; but at the same time, the number and greatness of the beauties, with which they are attended, ought to cover them. Horace, who is a good judge of every thing, and especially of our present subject, must have had a very high idea of his merit, as he is not afraid to say, that to emulate him is manifest temerity: *Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari, &c.*

Pindar had a dangerous rival in the person of CORINNA, who excelled in the same kind of poetry, and five times carried the prize against him in the public disputes. She was surmamed the *Lyric Muse*.

Alexander the Great, when he ruined the city of Thebes, the country of our illustrious poet, long after his death, paid a just and glorious homage to his merit in the persons of his descendants, whom he distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants of that unfortunate place, by ordering particular care to be taken of them.²

I have spoken elsewhere of some of Pindar's works, in the history of Hiero: the reader may consult the passage.

SECTION VI.—OF THE ELEGIAC POETS.

ELEGY, according to Didymus, is derived from *ἐλεγεῖν*, to say, *ah! ah! or alas!* And according to others, from *ἐλεεινόν*, to say moving things. The Greeks, and after them the Latins, composed their plaintive poems, their elegies, in hexameter and pentameter verses. Hence every thing wrote in those

verses has been called elegy, whether the subject be gay or sad.

Versibus impariter junctis querimonia primum,
Mox etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos.

Horat. in Art. Poet.

Grief did at first soft elegy employ,
That now oft dries her tears, to sing of joy.

No Greek elegy of the first sort is come down to us, except that inserted by Euripides in his Andromache, which consists only of fourteen lines. The inventor of this kind of poetry is not known.

Quis tamen exiguis elegos emisit auctor,
Grammatici certant, et adhuc sub judice lis est.

Ibid.

Yet who first sigh'd in elegiac strain,
The learn'd still doubt, and still contest in vain.

As it was intended at its institution for tears and laments, it was employed at first only in grief and misfortune. It expressed no other sentiments, it breathed no other accents but those of sorrow. With the negligence natural to affliction and distress, it sought less to please than to move; and aimed at exciting pity, not admiration. It was afterwards used on all sorts of subjects, and especially the passion of love. It however always retained the character peculiar to it, and did not lose sight of its original design. Its thoughts were always natural and far from the affectation of wit; its sentiments tender and delicate, its expression simple and easy, always retaining that alternate inequality of measure, which Ovid makes so great a merit in it (*In pedibus vitium causa decoris erat*) and which gives the elegiac poetry of the ancients so much the advantage over ours.

Periander, Pittacus, Solon, Chilo, and Hippias wrote their precepts of religion, morality and policy in elegiac verse, in which Theognis of Megara, and Phocylides, imitated them. Many of the poets also, of whom I have spoken before, composed elegies: but I shall say nothing here of any but those who applied themselves particularly to this kind of poetry, and shall make choice only of a small number of them.

CALLINUS. He was of Ephesus, and is one of the most ancient of the elegiac poets. It is believed that he flourished about the beginning of the Olympiads, A. M. 3230.

MINIMERMUS, of Colophon, or Smyrna, was cotemporary with Solon, A. M. 3408. Some make him the inventor of elegiac verse. He at least gave it its perfection, and was perhaps the first who transferred it from funerals to love. The fragments of his which are come down to us, breathe nothing but pleasure, whence Horace says of him,

Si, Minimermus uti censet, sine amore jocisque

Nil est jucundum, vivas in amore jocisque.

Horat. l. i. Epist. 6.

As Minimermus thinks,

If without love and pleasure nought is joy,

In love and pleasure life's swift hours employ.

SIMONIDES, whose verses were so pathetic, might be ranked among the elegiac poets: but I have given him a place elsewhere.

PHILETAS of Cos, and CALLIMACHUS of Cyrene, lived both in the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, A. M. 3724, whose preceptor Philetas certainly was; and Callimachus is believed to have been his librarian. The latter is considered as the principal author of elegiac poetry, and as the person who succeeded best in it: *3 Cygnus (elegæ) princeps Callimachus; and Philetas as the next to him: Secundus, confessione plurimorum Philetas occupavit.* This is Quintilian's opinion: but Horace seems to rank Minimermus above Callimachus.

—Si plus adposcere visus,
Fit Minimermus, et optivo cognominæ crescit.

Epist. ii. l. 2.

Call him Callimachus? If more his claim,
Minimermus he shall be, his wish'd surname.

Callimachus had applied himself to every kind of literature.

¹ Elian. l. xiii. c. 25.

² Plut. in Alex. p. 672.

³ Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

SECTION VII.—OF THE EPIGRAMMATIC POETS.

THE epigram is a short kind of poem, susceptible of all subjects, which ought to conclude with a happy, sprightly, just thought. The word in Greek signifies *Inscription*. Those which the ancients placed upon tombs, statues, temples, and triumphal arches, were sometimes in verse, but verse of the greatest simplicity of style. That name has since been confined to the species of poetry, of which I speak. The epigram generally consists of only a small number of lines: more extent, however, is sometimes given it.

I have said that this kind of poem is susceptible of all kinds of subjects. This is true, provided care be taken to exclude all calumny and obscenity from it.

The liberty, which the comic poets gave themselves at Athens, of attacking the most considerable and most worthy of the citizens without reserve, made way for a law¹ to prohibit the mangling of any body's reputation in verse. At Rome, amongst the laws of the twelve tables, which very rarely condemned to death, there was one, that made it capital for any body to defame a citizen in verse.² Cicero's reason is no less just than remarkable. "This law," says he, "was wisely instituted. There are tribunals, to which we may be cited to answer for our conduct before the magistrates: our reputation, therefore, ought not to be abandoned to the malicious wit of the poets, nor scandalous accusations, suffered to be formed against us, without its being in our power to answer them, and defend ourselves before the judges." *Præclare. Iudicii enim ac magistratum disceptationibus legitimis propositam vitam, non poetarum ingenius, habere debemus; nec probrum audire, nisi ea conditione, ut respondere liceat, et iudicio defendere.*

The second exception, which regards purity of manners, is neither less important, nor less founded in reason. Our propensity to evil and vice is already but too natural and headstrong, and does not want any incentives from the charms and insinuations of delicate verses, the poison of which, concealed under the flowers of pleasing poetry, to borrow the terms which Martial applies to the Sirens,³ gives us a cruel joy, and, by its enchanting sweetness, conveys disease and bane into the soul. The wisest legislators of antiquity always considered those, who abuse the art of poetry to such purposes, as the pests of society, as the enemies and corrupters of mankind, that ought to be abhorred, and kept under with the highest marks of infamy and disgrace. Such wise laws had not the good effect to be hoped from them, especially in respect to the epigram, which of all the species of poetry has abandoned itself most to obscenity.

In observing the two rules I have now laid down, epigrams would not have been dangerous, in respect to manners, and might have been useful as to style, by throwing into it occasionally and with discretion those agreeable, lively, quaint thoughts, which we find at the end of good epigrams. But, what in its origin was beauty, delicacy, and vivacity of wit, (which is properly what the Latins understand by the words, *acutus, acumen*,) soon degenerated into a vicious affectation, that extended even to prose, of which it became the fashion studiously to conclude almost all the phrases and periods with a glittering

thought, in the nature of a point. We shall have occasion to expatiate farther upon that head.

F. Vavasseur the Jesuit has treated the subject we are upon more at large, in the no less learned than elegant preface to the three books of epigrams, which he has given the public. There are also useful reflections upon the same subject in the book, called *Epigrammatum Dilectus*.

We have a collection of Greek epigrams called *Anthologia*.

MELEAGER, a native of Gadara, a city of Syria, who lived in the reign of Seleucus the last king of that realm, made the first collection of Greek epigrams, which he called *Anthologia*, because as he had chosen the brightest and most florid epigrams of forty-six ancient poets, he considered his collection as a nosegay, and denominated each of these poets after some flower, Anytas *the lily*, Sappho *the rose*, &c. After him PHILIP of Thessalonica made a second collection, in the time of the emperor Augustus, out of only fourteen poets. AGATHIAS made a third, about five hundred years after, in the reign of the emperor Justinian. PLANUDES, a monk of Constantinople, who lived in the year 1330, made the fourth and last, which he divided into seven books, in each of which the epigrams are disposed in an alphabetical order according to their subjects. This is the *Anthologia* come down to us. He retrenched many obscene epigrams, for which some of the learned are not a little angry with him. There are a great many epigrams in this collection, that abound with wit and sense; but more of a different character.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE LATIN POETS.

POESY, as well as the other polite arts, did not find access till very late among the Romans, solely engrossed as they were during more than five hundred years by military views and expeditions, and void of taste for every thing called literature. By a new kind of victory, Greece, when conquered and reduced, subdued the victors in her turn, and exercised over them a power the more glorious, as it was the result of their will, and was founded upon a superiority of knowledge and science no sooner known than homaged. That learned and polite nation, which was under the necessity of a strict commerce with the Romans, by degrees made them lose that air of rudeness and rusticity they still retained from their ancient origin, and inspired them with a taste for the arts that civilize, improve and adorn society.

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.⁴ Sic horidus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius, et grave virus
Munditiæ pepulcæ. *Horat. Epist. l. i. 2.*

Greece conquer'd, won her martial victors' hearts,
And polish'd rustic Latium with her arts:
The rude hoarse strain expir'd of Saturn's days,
And the muse soften'd and refin'd our lays.

This happy change began by poetry, whose principal view is to please, and whose charms, full of sweetness and delight, impart a taste for themselves soonest and with most ease. It was however very gross and unpolished in its beginning at Rome; and had its birth in the theatre, or at least began there to assume a more graceful and elegant air. It made its first essays in comedy, tragedy, and satire, which it carried slowly and by insensible acquisitions to a great degree of perfection.

When the Romans had been almost four hundred years without any dramatic games, chance and debauch introduced the Fescennine verses⁵ into one of their feasts, which served them instead of theatrical pieces near an hundred and twenty years. These verses were rude and almost void of numbers, as they

¹ In vitium libertas excidit, et vim
Dignam lege regi: lex est accepta, chorusque
Turpiter obtulit. *Horat. in Art. Poet.*

Next comedy appeared with great applause,
Till her licentious and abusive tongue
Waken'd the magistrate's coercive power,
And forc'd it to suppress her insolence.

Roscommon.

² Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus est iudiciumque.

Nostre contra duodecim tabellæ, cum perpaucis res capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque sancendam putaverunt, si quis acti-avisset, sive carmen condidisset quod infamiam afferret, flagiti-umve alteri. *Cic. de Rep. l. iv. apud S. August. l. i. c. 9. Cicit.*

³ Sirenas, hilarem navantium penam,
Blandasque morces, gaudiumque crudele.

VOL. II.—59

⁴ Horace here gives us the time when poetry began to improve among the Latins; for it was known in Italy very early, *numerus Saturnius*; and as Horace tells us again in the same epistle, at Rome in the time of Numa: *Salsarum Numa carmen*.

⁵ These verses were so called from Fescennia, a city of Etruria, whence they were brought to Rome.

were extemporaneous, and made by a rustic illiterate people, who knew no other masters but mirth and wine. They consisted of gross raillery, attended with postures and dances.

Fescennida per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.
Horat. Epist. i. l. ii.

Fescennia's license thus found out, the swains
Vented their taunts in rude alternate strains

To these loose and irregular verses soon succeeded a chaster kind of poetry, which, though it also abounded with pleasant ridicule, had nothing viciously indecent in it.¹ This poem appeared under the name of Satyr (*Satura*), from its variety, and had regular measures, that is to say, regular music and dances: but obscene postures were banished from it. These satyrs were innocent farces, in which the spectators and actors were indifferently made the objects of mirth.

Livius Andronicus found things in this state, when he conceived the design of making comedies and tragedies in imitation of the Greeks.² Other poets followed his example, copying after the same originals: of these were Nævius, Ennius, Cæcilius, Pacuvius, Accius, and Plautus. These seven poets, of whom I am going to speak, lived almost all of them at the same time in the space of sixty years.

In what I propose to say here of the Latin poets, I shall not follow the order of the subject, as I have done in speaking of the Greek poets, but the order of time, which seemed to me the most proper for showing the birth, progress, perfection, and decline of the Latin poetry.

I shall divide the whole time into three different ages. The first shall consist of about two hundred years, during which Latin poetry had its birth, was improved, and gradually acquired strength. Its second age will consist of about an hundred years, from Julius Cæsar to the middle of Tiberius's reign, in which it attained its highest degree of perfection. The third age will contain the subsequent years, wherein, by a sufficiently rapid decline, it fell from that flourishing state, and at length entirely degenerated from its ancient reputation.

SECTION I.—FIRST AGE OF LATIN POETRY.

LIVIVS ANDRONICUS.

THE poet Andronicus took the prenomens of Livius, because he had been set at liberty by M. Livius Salinator, whose daughters he had instructed.³ He represented his first tragedy, A. M. 3764, a year before the birth of Ennius, the first year after the first Punic war, and the 514th of Rome, in the consulship of C. Claudius Cento and M. Sempronius Tuditanus;⁴ about an hundred and sixty years after the death of Sophocles and Euripides, fifty after that of Menander, and two hundred and twenty before that of Virgil.

CN. NÆVIUS.

NÆVIUS, according to Varro, had served in the first Punic war, A. M. 3769. Encouraged by the example of Andronicus, he trod in his steps, and five years after him, began to give the public theatrical pieces: these were comedies.⁵ He drew upon himself the hatred of the nobility, and especially of one Metellus; which obliged him to quit Rome. He retired to Utica, where he died.⁶ He had composed the history of the first Punic war in verse.

Q. ENNIUS;

HE was born at Rudia, a city of Calabria, A. M. 3764, in the 514th or 515th year of Rome, and lived to the age of forty in Sardinia.⁷ It was there he became acquainted with Cato the Censor, who learned the Greek language of him at a very advanced age, and afterwards carried him to Rome, as M. Fulvius Nobilior afterwards did to Ætolia. The son of this

Nobilior caused the freedom of Rome to be granted him, which in those times was a very considerable honour. He had composed the annals of Rome in heroic verse, and was at the twelfth book of that work in his sixty-seventh year.⁸ He had also celebrated the victories of the first Scipio Africanus, with whom he had contracted a particular friendship, and who always treated him with the highest marks of esteem and consideration.⁹ Some even believe that he gave his image a place in the tomb of the Scipios. He died in the seventieth year of his age. Scipio was well assured, that the memory of his great actions would subsist as long as Rome, and as Africa continued in subjection to Italy: but he also believed, that the writings of Ennius were highly capable of augmenting their splendour, and perpetuating their remembrance:¹⁰ a person whose glorious victories merited rather a Homer to celebrate them, than a poet whose style did but ill suit the grandeur of his actions!

It is easy to conceive, that the Latin poetry, in its infancy, and weak at the time we are speaking of, could not have much beauty and ornament. It sometimes showed force and genius, but without elegance and grace, and with great inequality. This Quintilian, where he draws Ennius's character, expresses by an admirable comparison. *Ennium sicut sacros vestustate lucos adoremus, in quibus grandia et antiqua robora jam non tantam habent speciem, quantum religionem.* "Let us reverence Ennius," says he, "as we do those groves, which time hath consecrated and made venerable, and of which the great and ancient oaks do not strike us so much with their beauty, as with a kind of religious veneration."

Cicero, in his treatise upon old age, relates a fact which ought to do Ennius's memory abundance of honour. He says, "that poet at the age of seventy, carried the two loads which are commonly thought the hardest to bear, poverty and old age, not only with such constancy but gaiety, that it might almost be said he took delight in them."¹¹

CÆCILIVS. PACUVIVS.

THESE two poets lived in the time of Ennius, both, however, younger than him. The first, according to some, was a native of Milan, a comic poet, and at first lived with Ennius. Pacuvius, Ennius's nephew, was of Brundisium. He professed both poetry and painting, which have always been deemed sister arts; and distinguished himself particularly in tragic poetry.¹² Though they lived in the time of Lælius and Scipio, that is to say, at a time to which the purity of language as well as manners seem singularly attached, their diction carries no air of so happy an age.¹³

Lælius, however, one of the persons whom Cicero introduces in his dialogue upon friendship, in speaking of Pacuvius as of his particular friend says, that the people received one of his plays called *Orestes* with uncommon applause, especially the scene where Pylades declares himself to be Orestes to the king, in order to save his friend's life, and the latter affirms himself to be the true Orestes. It is not impossible but that the beauty and spirit of the sentiments might on this occasion make the audience forget the want of justness and delicacy of expressions.¹⁴

⁸ Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 21.

⁹ Carus fuit Africanus superiori noster Ennius. Itaque etiam in sepulcro Scipionum putatur in esse constitutum. *Cic. pro Arch. Poet. n. 22.*

¹⁰ Non incendia Carthaginis impia

Ejus, qui domita nomen ab Africa

Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant

Laudes, quam Calabræ Pierides.—*Hor. od. viii. l. 4.*

Not impious Carthage burnt does more,

Than the Calabrian muse, proclaim

The hero's glory, who of yore

From conquer'd Afric took his name.

¹¹ Annos septuaginta natus, (tot enim vixit Ennius) ita ferebat quo, quæ maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis penè delectari videretur. *De Senect. c. 14.*

¹² Euseb. in Chron.

¹³ Mitto C. Lælium, P. Scipionem. Etatis illius non iam fuit laus, tanquam innocentia; sic Latine loquendi. Nisi omnium tamen: nam illorum æquales Cæcilius et Pacuvius male locutus videntur. *Cic. in Brut. n. 258.*

¹⁴ Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hospitibus mei et amici

¹ Liv. l. vii. n. 2.

² Ibid.

³ Euseb. in Chron.

⁴ Cic. in Brut. n. 72. Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 21.

⁵ Aul. Gell. Ibid.

⁶ Euseb. in Chron.

⁷ Aurel. Viè. de Vir. Illust. c. 47. 1 Tusc. n. 3.

ATTIUS.

L. ATTIUS or ACCIUS, for his name is written both ways, was the son of a freedman: A. M. 3864. He exhibited some tragedies in the time of Pacuvius, though almost fifty years younger than him.¹ We are told that some of them were performed in the edileship of the celebrated P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, in whose person five of the greatest advantages that could be possessed, are said to be united:² great riches, illustrious birth, supreme eloquence, profound knowledge of the law, with the office of great pontiff: [*Pontifex maximus*.]³

This poet lived in great friendship with D. Junius Brutus, who first carried the Roman arms in Spain as far as the ocean.⁴ Accius composed verses in honour of him, with which that general adorned the porch of a temple that he built with the spoils taken from the enemy.

PLAUTUS.

PLAUTUS (*M. Accius*) was of Salinae, a city of Umbria in Italy (in Romagnia).⁵ He acquired great reputation at Rome by his comedies, at the same time with the three last poets mentioned above. Aulus Gellius tells us, after Varro, that Plautus applied himself to merchandise, and that having lost all he had in it, he was obliged for the means of life to serve a baker, in whose house he turned a corn-mill.

Of all the poets who appeared till him, only some fragments remain. Plautus has been more fortunate, nineteen of whose comedies have escaped the injuries of time, and come down almost entire to us. It is very probable, that his works preserved themselves better than others, because as they were more agreeable to the public, the demand for them was greater and more permanent. They were not only acted in the time of Augustus, but from a passage in Arnobius⁶ it appears that they continued to be played in the reign of Diocletian, three hundred years after the birth of JESUS CHRIST.

Various judgments have been passed on this poet. His elocution seems to be generally approved, without doubt in regard to the purity, propriety, energy, abundance, and even elegance of his style. Varro says, that if the muses were to speak Latin, they would borrow the language of Plautus: *licet Varro dicat musas—Plautino sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent*.⁷ Such a praise makes no exceptions, and leaves us nothing to desire. Aulus Gellius⁸ speaks of him no less to his advantage: *Plautus, homo linguae atque elegantiae in verbis Latinae princeps*. Horace, who was undoubtedly a good judge in this point, does not seem so favourable to Plautus. The whole passage is as follows:

At nostri proavi Plautinos et numeros, et
Laudavere sales; nimium patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam stultè, mirati; si modo ego et vos
Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto,
Legitimumque sonum digito callemus, et aure.

Horat. in *Art. Poet.*

"Our ancestors," said he to the Pisos, "practised and admired the verses and raillery of Plautus with too much indulgence, not to call it stupidity; if it be true, that either you or I know how to distinguish delicate, from gross, raillery, and have ears to judge aright of the numbers and harmony of verse." This criticism seems the more against Plautus, as it argues that Horace was not alone in his opinion, and that the court of Augustus had no greater taste than him, either for the versification or pleasantries of that poet. Horace's censure falls upon two articles; the numbers and har-

mony of his verses, *numeros*; and his raillery, *sales*. For my part I believe it indispensably right to adopt his judgment in a great measure. But it is not impossible that Horace, offended at the unjust preference given by his age to the ancient Latin poets against those of their own times, may have been a little too hypercritical upon some occasions, and on this in particular. It is certain that Plautus was not exact in his verses, which for that reason he calls *numeros immuros*, numbers without number, in the epitaph he made for himself. He did not confine himself to observing the same measure, and has jumbled so many different kinds of verse together, that the most learned find it difficult to distinguish them. It is no less certain that he has flat, low, and often extravagant pleasantries; but at the same time he has such as are fine and delicate. Cicero for this reason, who was no bad judge of what the ancients called *Urbanity*, proposes him as a model for raillery.⁹

These faults of Plautus therefore do not hinder his being an excellent comic poet. They are very happily atoned for by many fine qualities, which may not only make him equal, but perhaps superior to Terence. This is Madam Dacier's judgment, (then Mademoiselle Le Fevre) in her comparison of these two poets.¹⁰ "Terence," says she, "has undoubtedly most art, but the other most wit: Terence makes more to be said than done, Plautus more done than said; which latter is the true character of comedy, that consists much more in action than discourse. This busy vivacity seems to include a further considerable advantage on the side of Plautus: that is, his intrigues are always adapted to the character of his actor, whilst his incidents are well varied, and are never without something that surprises agreeably; whereas the stage seems sometimes to stand still in Terence, in whom the vivacity of the action, and the incidents and intrigues that form the plot, are manifestly defective." This is Cesar's reproach of him in some verses, which I shall repeat when I come to speak of Terence.

To give the reader some idea of the style, Latinity, and antiquated language of Plautus, I shall transcribe in this place the beginning of the prologue of *Amphitryon*, one of his finest plays. It is spoken by Mercury.

Un vos in vobis vultis mercedem
Emundis vendundisque me latum lucris
Afficere, atque adjuvare in rebus omnibus:
Et ut res rationesque vestrorum omnium
Bene expedire vobis peregre et domi,
Bonoque atque amplo auctare perpetuo lucro
Quasque incerpistis res, quasque incerpabitis:
Et ut bonis vestrorumque omnis nutus
Me afficere vultis; ea affram, eaute ut nuntiem,
Quae maxime in rem vestram communem sient:
(Nam vos quidem id jam scitis concessum et datum
Mi esse ab diis aliis, nuntius praesim et lucro.)
Hæc aut me vultis approbare, annitier
Lucrum ut pereune vobis semper suppetat.
Ita huic facietis fabulae silentium,
Itaque æqui et justī hic eritis omnes arbitri.

To understand these verses, we must remember that Mercury was the god of merchants, and the messenger of the gods. "As you desire me to be propitious to you in your bargains and sales; as you desire to prosper in your affairs at home and abroad, and to see a considerable profit continually augment your present and future fortunes and undertakings; as you desire that I should be the bearer of good news to yourselves and your families, and bring you such advices as are most for the benefit of your commonwealth, (for you know that by the consent of the other gods I preside over news and gain:) as you desire that I should grant you all these things, and that your gains may be as lasting as your occasions; so you will now afford this play your favourable attention, and show yourselves just and equitable in your judgment of it."

M. Pacuvii nova fabula, cum ignorant rege, uter esset Orestes, Pylades Orestem se esse diceret, ut pro illo noceretur; Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret. Stantes plaudabant in re facta; quid arbitrium in vera factorum fuisse? *De Amicit.* n. 24.

¹ Euseb. in Chron.
² Dittusianus, nobilissimus, eloquentissimus, juris-consultissimus, Pontifex maximus.

³ Val. Max. l. viii. c. 14.

⁴ Arnob. l. vii.

⁵ Aul. Gell. l. vii. c. 17.

⁶ Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 3.

⁷ Quinctil. l. x. c. 1.

⁸ Duplex omnino est jocandi genus: unum illiberale petulantibus, flagitiosis, obscenum; alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum; quo genere non modò Plautus noster, et Atticorum antiqua comedia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri sunt repleti. *Liv. l. de offic.* n. 104.

¹⁰ Preface to the translation of three comedies of Plautus.

We often meet with fine maxims in Plautus for the conduct of life, and regulation of manners; of which I shall give one example from the play just cited. It is a speech of Alcmena's to her husband Amphitryon, which in a few lines includes all the duties of a wise and virtuous wife.

Non ego illam mihi dotem duco esse, quæ dos dicitur
Sed pudicitiam, et pudorem, et sedatum cupidinem,
Deum metum, parentum amorem, et cognatum concordiam:
Tibi morigeram, atque ut munifica sim bonis, prosim probis.
Act II. scene 2.

"I do not esteem that a dowry, which is commonly called so: but honour, modesty, desires subjected to reason, the fear of the gods, the love of our parents, unity with our relations; obedience to you, munificence to the deserving, and to be useful to the just."

But for some passages of this kind, how many has he that are contrary to decency and purity of manners! It is great pity that this reproach should extend almost generally to the best poets of the pagan world. What Quintilian says¹ of certain dangerous poems, may be well applied on this occasion; That youth should, if possible, be kept entirely ignorant of them, or at least that they should be reserved for riper years, and a time of life less liable to corruption. *Amoveantur, si fieri potest; si minus, certe ad firmius ætatis robur reserventur*—cum mores in tuto fuerint.

TERENCE.

TERENCE was born at Carthage after the second Punic war, in the 56th year of Rome,² A. M. 3318. He was a slave to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator, who upon account of his wit, not only caused him to be educated with great care, but gave him his liberty whilst very young. It was this senator from whom our poet took the name of Terence; such as were made free usually assuming the names of the masters that set them at liberty. He was much beloved and esteemed by the principal persons of Rome, and lived in particular intimacy with Lælius and Scipio Africanus, who took and demolished Numantia. The latter was eleven years younger than him.

Six of Terence's comedies have come down to us. When he sold the first to the ediles, it was thought proper that he should read it beforehand to Cæcilius, a comic poet as well as himself, and in great esteem at Rome, when Terence first appeared there. Accordingly he went to his house, and found him at table. He was brought in, and as he was very ill dressed, a stool was given him near Cæcilius' bed, where he sat down and began to read. He had no sooner read some few verses, than Cæcilius invited him to supper, and placed him at table near himself. Judgments are not always to be formed of men by their outsides. A bad dress may often cover the most excellent talents.

The Eunuch, one of the six comedies of Terence, was received with such applause, that it was acted twice the same day, morning and evening, which perhaps had never happened to any play before; and a much better price was given for it than had ever been paid for any comedy till then: for Terence got eight thousand sesterces, or about fifty pounds.

It was publicly enough reported, that Scipio and Lælius assisted him in the composition of his plays, which rumour he augmented himself by denying it but faintly, as he does in the prologue to the *Adelphi*, the last of his comedies. "As to what those envious persons say, that he is assisted in composing his works by some illustrious persons, he is so far from taking that as the offence they intended it, that he conceives it the highest praise which could be given him, as it is a proof, that he has the honour to please those, who please this audience and the whole Roman people; and who in peace, in war, and on all occasions, have rendered the commonwealth in general, and every one in particular, the highest and most important services, without being either more distant or more haughty upon that account."

We may believe, however, that he only denied this assistance so negligently, to make his court to Lælius and Scipio, to whom he knew such a conduct would not be disagreeable. That report notwithstanding, says Suetonius in the Life of Terence ascribed to him, augmented continually, and is come down to our times. The poet Valgius, who was Horace's cotemporary, says positively in speaking of Terence's comedies:—

Hæ quæ vocantur fabulæ, cujus sunt?
Non has, qui jura populis, recensens 3 dabat
Honore summo affectus fecit fabulæ?

"And pray, whose are these same comedies? Are they not his, who, after having acquired the highest glory, gave laws, and governed the people with power and authority?"

Whether Terence was for putting an end to the reproach of publishing the works of others as his own, or had formed the design of going to learn the customs and manners of the Greeks perfectly, in order to represent them the better in his plays; after having composed the six comedies still extant, and before he was thirty-five years old, he quitted Rome, where he was never seen more. Some said that he died at sea in his return from Greece, whence he brought with him an hundred and eight plays, which he had translated from Menander. Others assure us, that he died at the city of Stymphalus in Arcadia, in the consulship of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius, of a disease occasioned by his grief for having lost the comedies he had translated, and those he had made himself.

Terence had only one daughter, who, after his death, was married to a Roman knight, and to whom he left a house and garden of twenty acres upon the Appian way.

Cicero, in a copy of verses entitled *Διέμειν*, which signifies a meadow, says of Terence:

Tu quoque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti,
Conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum
In medio populi sedatis vocibus effers,
Quidquid come loquens, atque omnia dulcibus linquens.

That is, "And you, Terence, who alone translates Menander with so much eloquence, and makes him speak the language of the Romans so happily, in your judicious choice of whatever is sweetest and most delicate in it." This testimony is for the honour of Terence; but the verses that express it, not much for Cicero's.

I now proceed to those of Cæsar, which I mentioned before. That great man, who wrote with so much force and accuracy, and had himself composed a Greek tragedy, called *Œdipus*, says, addressing himself to Terence:

Tu quoque, tu in summis, ôdmiatide Menander,
Poneris, et meritò, puri sermonis amator.
Lenius atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret via
Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore
Cum Græcis, neque in hac despectus parte jaceres:
Unum hoc mæcor, et doleo tibi decere, Terenti.

"Thou also, Menander's half, art ranked in the number of the greatest poets, and deservedly, for the purity of thy style. And I wish thy sweet writings had in them the comic force and spirit, that thy merit might have ranked thee with the Greeks, and that thou wert not so much below them in that point? But this, Terence, is unhappily what you want, and I much regret."

Terence's great talent consists in the inimitable art of expressing the manners, and copying nature with so genuine and unstudied a simplicity, that every body believes himself capable of writing in the same manner; and at the same time with such elegance and ingenuity, as nobody has ever been able to come up to. Hence it is from this talent, this wonderful art diffused throughout the comedies of Terence, which charms and transports without notice, or any glitter of ornaments, that Horace characterizes him,

Vicere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte [dicitur.]
Ep. i. l. 3.

Terence, with an extreme purity of speech and a

¹ L. i. c. 8.

² Suet. in vit. Terent.

simple and natural style, unites all the graces and delicacy, of which his language was susceptible; and of all the Latin authors has come the nearest to Atticism, or to whatever is considered the finest, most exquisite, and most perfect among the Greeks.¹ Quintilian, in speaking of Terence, of whom he only says, that his writings were highly elegant, observes, that the Roman language rendered but very imperfectly that refinement of taste, that inimitable grace, peculiar to the Greeks, and even to be found only in the Attic dialect. *Vix levem consequimur umbram, adeo ut mihi sermo ipse Romanus non recipere videatur illam solis concessam Atticis venerem, quando canne Græci quidem in alio genere linguæ obtinuerint.* It is a pity that the subject of his comedies makes them dangerous to youth; upon which I have treated at large in my books upon studying polite learning.

LUCILIUS.

LUCILIUS, (*Caius Lucilius*) a Roman knight, was born at Suessa, a town of Campania, in the 158th Olympiad, A. M. 3856, and the 605th year of Rome, when Pacuvius the tragic poet flourished.² He is said to have carried arms under the second Scipio Africanus at the siege of Numantia: but as he was then but fifteen years old, this circumstance is dubious. He had a great share in that famous general's friendship, as well as in that of Lælius. He was their companion in the innocent sports and amusements, to which they did not disdain to descend, and in which those great men, at their hours of leisure, endeavoured to unbend themselves after their serious and important occupations: an admirable simplicity in persons of their rank and gravity!

Quin ubi se à vulgo et scena in secreta remorant
Virtus Scipiade, et mitis sapientia Læli,
Nugari cum illo, et discincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti. *Hor. Sat. i. l. 2.*

With him, retir'd from crowds and state at home,
Wise gentle Lælius, and the pride of Rome,
Scipio, 'twixt play and trifle, liv'd in jest,
Till herbs, the frugal meal, and roots were drest.

Lucilius passes for the inventor of satire, because he gave it its last form, the same in which Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, have followed him. Ennius, however, had set him the example before, as Horace himself confesses by these verses, in which he compares Lucilius to Ennius.

— Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
Comis et urbanis; fuerit imitator idem,
Quam rudis et Græcis intacti carminis auctor.

But the satires of Ennius,³ though like those of Lucilius and Horace in other respects, differed from them in form, as they consisted of several different kinds of verse.

The new form which Lucilius gave satire, as I have said before, made Horace and Quintilian consider him as the inventor of that species of poetry; to which title he has a just claim.⁴

There was another kind of satire, which derived itself also from the ancient.⁵ It is called the Varroian or Menippean satire; because Varro, the most learned of the Romans, was its author, imitating in that work the Cynic philosopher Menippus of Gadara. This species of satire was not only composed of several kinds of verses, but Varro introduced prose into it, in which there was, besides, a mixture of Greek and Latin. The work of Petronius, that of Seneca, upon the death of Claudius, and of Boetius upon the

consolation of philosophy, are all satires of the same kind with this of Varron. But to return to my subject.

Lucilius composed thirty books of satires, in which he censured many persons of bad lives by name and in a very offensive manner, as Horace informs us, regarding only virtue, and the lovers of virtue.

Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributum,
Scilicet uni æquus virtuti, atque ejus amicis.

Sat. i. l. 2.

His pen made the conscious bad tremble, as if he had pursued them the sword in hand:—

Ense velut stricto, quoties Lucilius ardens
Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est
Criminibus, tacita sudant præcordia culpa.

Juven. Sat. i.

Lucilius⁶ used to say that he desired his readers might neither be very ignorant nor very learned. The one saw too little, and the other too much. The one did not know what was good, and consequently no justice was to be expected from them; and what was imperfect could not be concealed from the penetration of the others.

It is not probable that he died at forty-six years of age, as some assure us. Horace calls him old man, where he says Lucilius confided all his secrets, and whatever had happened to him in life, to his books, as to faithful friends.

Ille velut fidei arcana sodalibus olim
Credebat libris: neque, si malè gesserat usquam,
Decurrens aliò, neque si bene. Quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. *Sat. i. l. 2.*

Pompey was grandson, or rather grand-nephew, to Lucilius, by the mother's side.

Of all his works, only some fragments of his satires have come down to us.

The reputation of this poet was very great during his life, and subsisted long after his death to such a height, that in Quintilian's time, he continued to have admirers so zealous, as to prefer him not only to all who had wrote in the same way, but to all the poets of antiquity in general.⁷ Horace judged very differently of him.⁸ He represents him to us indeed as a poet of a fine taste, and delicate in his raillery, *facetus, emuncta naris*: but hard and stiff in his compositions; not being able to take the pains necessary towards writing well; for to write much, was his great fault. He was highly satisfied with himself, and believed he had done wonders, when he had dictated two hundred verses in less time than one could throw them together on paper. In a word, Horace compares him to a river, that with a great deal of mud, carries, however, a precious sand along with it in its current.

The judgment Horace⁹ passed upon Lucilius, occasioned great clamour at Rome. The admirers of the latter, enraged at his having presumed to treat their favourite in that manner, gave out, that Horace had dispraised Lucilius out of envy only, and with the view of setting himself above him. We ought not to be angry with them on account of these complaints, how unjust soever they might be: for they were the means of drawing forth an excellent satire, wherein Horace, in rendering Lucilius all the justice he deserved, sustains and confirms the judgment he had passed on him by the most solid proofs.

For Quintilian's honour, I am sorry that a critic of his profound judgment and just taste, should differ in opinion with Horace in this point. He cannot forgive him for having compared the writings of Lucilius to muddy waters, from which, however, something valuable might be extracted; "For my part," says he, "I find surprising erudition and a noble liberty in him, which gave his works poignancy with

¹ Terentii scripta sunt in hoc genere elegantissima.

² Euseb. in Chron. Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 9.

³ Olim carmen, quod ex variis poematibus constabat SATIRA dicebatur, quale scriperunt Pacuvius et Ennius. *Diomed. Grammat.*

⁴ Satyra, cibi genus, ex variis rebus conditum. *Festus.*

⁵ ———— Quid cum est Lucilius ausus.

⁶ Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem.

Sat. i. l. 2.

⁷ Satyra quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus est Lucilius. *Quintil. l. x. c. i.*

⁸ Alterum illud est et prius Satyræ genus, quod non sola carminum varietate condidit Trecentius Varro, vi Romano- rum eruditissimus. *Quintil. l. x. c. i.*

⁹ Caius Lucilius, homo doctus et perurbanus, dicere solebat, ea quæ scriberet neque ab indoctissimis, neque ab doctissimis legi velle: quod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortasse quam de se ipse. *De Orat. l. ii. n. 25.*

¹ Lucilius quosdam ita dedidit sibi adhuc habet amatores, ut cum non ejusdem modo operis auctoribus, sed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent. *Quintil. l. x. c. i.*

⁶ *Sat. iv. l. 1.*

⁹ *Sat. x. l. 1.*

abundance of salt."¹ Horace allows him the last qualities, which did not prevent Lucilius from having abundance of vicious passages in him, that ought either to have been amended, or retrenched. As to erudition, Quintilian differs directly in that respect with Cicero's opinion. For says the latter, speaking of Lucilius: "His works are light and frothy, and with exceeding pleasantry have no great erudition."² To conclude, we can form at present no proper judgment of a poet, of whose works almost nothing has come down to us.

SECTION II.—SECOND AGE OF LATIN POETRY.

THE interval of which I am now to speak, continued from the time of Julius Cæsar to the middle of Tiberius' reign, and included about an hundred years. It was always considered as the golden age of polite learning, during which a crowd of fine geniuses of every kind, poets, historians, and orators, carried Rome's glory to its greatest height. Literature had before made great efforts, and one may also say great progress: but it had not yet attained that degree of maturity, which constitutes perfection in arts. Writings did not want good sense, judgment, solidity, and force; but they had little art, less ornament, and no delicacy. A small number of persons of great talents, rising up together in a space of time of no great duration, on a sudden, and as if inspired, by adding to the excellent qualities of their predecessors, others which they had wanted, established good taste of every kind irrevocably and for evermore; so that as soon as the world began to lose sight of those perfect models, every thing immediately began to decline and degenerate.

The happy beginnings which we have related, prepared the way for the wonders that succeeded them; and as Rome derived her first notions of polite learning from Greece, so it was by her industrious perservance in studying the Greek writers, that the Romans attained perfection. The first poets, and especially the Tragic and Comic, contented themselves with translating the works of the Greeks.

Tentavit quoque, rem si dignè vertere posset,
Et placuit sibi. *Horat. Epist. i. l. 2.*
Essay'd to make it speak our tongue with grace,
And pleas'd themselves.

They afterwards took a farther step. They ventured to soar with their own wings, and composed originals entirely Roman.

Nil intentatum nostri liquere poetæ,
Nec minimum moruere decus, vestigia Græca
Ausî desererè, et celebrare domestica facta;
Vel qui Prætextas, vel qui docuerunt Togatas.
Id. de Art. Poet.

Our authors have attempted every way,
And well deserve our praise, whose daring muse
Disdain'd to be beholden to the Greeks,
And found fit subjects for her verse at home.

Roscommon.

Though the dramatic poets did not entirely succeed in these attempts, Horace did in lyric poetry. Rome, animated with a noble emulation, which arose from reading the Greek authors, and the esteem she had conceived for them, proposed to herself to equal, and even, if possible, to surpass them: a very laudable and useful dispute between nations, and equally for their honour! Add to this first motive the admirable character of the persons at that time in supreme authority at Rome; the esteem for men of letters; the marks of distinction with which they were honoured; the solid rewards conferred on them; and the general respect paid to persons of singular merit of every kind: a respect which almost rose so high as to place them on an equality with the greatest and most powerful of the commonwealth. It has been the saying of all times, and cannot be too often repeated: emulation nourishes genius.³ The view

of merit in others, united with a just admiration for their excellent works, and a secret regret from the sense of our own inferiority, inspire an ardour for glory, to which nothing is impossible. And it is from these generous efforts, excited and sustained by the hopes of success, that arts attain their final perfection.

This is what happened, especially in the time of Augustus, in respect to poetry, history, and eloquence. But poetry is our subject in this place. I shall relate, in few words, the history of the poets who distinguished themselves most during this glorious age of Rome. Terence, of whom I have spoken above, may in my opinion be included in this class; who, though he preceded them in time, does not give place to them in merit. He is the first of the Latin poets, who seems in some measure to have set up the standard of perfection, and to have inspired others by his example with the desire and hope of attaining it.

AFRANIUS: (L. AFRANIUS QUINTIANUS.)

AFRANIUS was much esteemed by the ancients. He excelled in the comedies called *Togatæ*⁴ and *Atellanæ*.⁵ Horace seems to compare him with Menander:—

Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro.

In Art. Poet.

He was cotemporary with Terence, but much younger than him, and did not begin to grow in reputation till after his death. He ranked him above all other poets, and could not bear that any should be compared with him, of those who had wrote in the same way:—

Terentio non similem dicēs quēpiam. Fragm. Afran.

He was highly esteemed for his poetical works, and no less condemned for the depravity of his manners.⁶

LUCRETIIUS.

LUCRETIIUS (*Titus Lucretius Carus*) was born, according to the chronicle of Eusebius, in the second year of the 171st Olympiad, A. M. 3908, twelve years after Cicero, in the consulship of L. Licinius Crassus and Q. Mutius Scævola, in the 685th year of Rome. A philter, or love potion, had been given him that drove him deranged. He had some lucid intervals from his frenzy, during which he composed his six books—*De rerum natura*, wherein he explains at large the doctrine of Epicurus, of which we shall speak in its place. He inscribed his poem to C. Memmius, who had the same master, and without doubt, the same sentiments as himself. The same chronicle of Eusebius informs us, that this work was corrected by Cicero after its author's death. Cicero speaks of Lucretius only once, though he had often occasion to mention him, and the passage where he does so, besides being very obscure, is variously read. *Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, liata sunt*, (others read *non liata sunt*) *multis luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis*.⁷

No man ever denied providence more boldly, or treated the Divinity with more insolence and presumption than this poet. He introduces his subject with this preface, in praise of Epicurus. "Whilst mankind," says he, "groaned in shameful subjection to the oppressive yoke of imperious religion, which declared itself descended from heaven, and made the whole earth tremble at the frowns and horrors of its aspect; a mortal native of Greece first boldly ventured to expose its falsehood to the eyes of men, and to declare against it, without the fame of the gods, the fear of thunders, or the rumbling noise of threatening skies, being able to awe or stop him. All those subjects, on the contrary, only serve to exalt his courage, and confirm him in the design of being the first to force the barriers of nature, and to penetrate into her most mysterious secrets."

¹ Nam et eruditio in eo mira, et libertas, atque inde acerbitas, et abundè salis. *Lib. x. c. 1.*

² Et sunt scripta illius (Lucilii) leviora, ut urbanitas summa apparent, doctrina mediocris. *Cic. de Fin. l. i. n. 7.*

³ Alit emulatio ingenia, et nunc invidia, nunc admiratio, incitamentum accendit; naturaque, quod summo studio petiit, est, ascendit in summum. *Vell. Patere. l. i. c. 7.*

⁴ Togatis excellit Afranius. *Quintil. l. x. c. 1.*

⁵ These comedies were called *Atellanæ*, from Atella, a city of Campania, whence they were brought to Rome; and *Togatæ*, because they represented only Roman actions and persons, implied by *Toga*, their peculiar habit.

⁶ Quintil. l. x. c. 1. ⁷ Cic. ad Quinct. Fr. Ep. 11. l. ii.

Humana ante oculos fœdè cum vita jaceret
In terris oppressa gravi sub religione,
Quam caput à cœli regionibus ostendebat,
Horribilè super aspectu mortalibus instans:
Primum Graius homio mortales tollere contrâ
Est oculus ausus, primusque obistere contrâ.
Quem nec fœnia deum, nec fulmina, nec militanti
Murmure compressit cælum; sed eo magis acrem
Irritat virtutem animi, confringere ut arcta
Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.

Lucretius, throughout his whole work, lays down as a principle, that the gods neither regard nor interfere in any thing; and takes it upon him to explain the effects of nature, and the formation and conservation of the world, by the sole motion of atoms, and to refute those, who acknowledge the power and wisdom of a Divinity as the first cause of all things. The reader will be better acquainted with his opinions, when I come to explain those of his master Epicurus.

This poet has abundance of genius, force, and sublimity; but his verses are so very remote from the sweetness and harmony of Virgil's, that one would believe he had lived long before him.

CATULLUS.

CATULLUS (*Caius* or *Quintus Valerius Catullus*.) was born at Verona in the 66th year of Rome, A. M. 3916. The delicacy of his verses acquired him the friendship and esteem of the men of learning and wit, of whom there were then great numbers at Rome.

He wrote two satirical epigrams against Cæsar, in one of which he speaks of him with an air of haughtiness and contempt, that Quintilian justly treats as extravagance.¹

Nil nimium, Cæsar, studeo tibi velle placere;
Nec scire utrum sis ater an albus homo.

To please you, Cæsar, is not much my care;
Nor to know whether you are black or fair.

These verses, disrespectful as they were, only served the person offended, as an occasion of distinguishing his moderation. Cæsar did not dissemble his displeasure, but contented himself with obliging the poet to ask his pardon, and invited him to supper the same evening.

An elegant simplicity, and natural grace, form the character of Catullus. Happy, if he had not often disgraced that amiable delicacy by his Cynic immodesty.

LABERIUS:—(DECIMUS.)

LABERIUS, a Roman knight, succeeded admirably in composing mimes or farces, A. M. 3952. At Rome, a man of birth did not disgrace himself by writing poetry for the stage; but he could not act them without degrading himself. Notwithstanding this had long been an established opinion, Julius Cæsar pressed Laberius very earnestly to act one of his pieces upon the stage, and to induce him to comply, gave him a considerable sum of money. The poet refused it for some time, but was at last obliged to yield. The desire of a prince upon such an occasion, is a command.² In the prologue to this farce, Laberius vents his grief most respectfully with regard to Cæsar, but at the same time in very pathetic terms. It is one of the finest fragments of antiquity, and I have inserted it at length, with the translation, in the first volume of the second edition of my treatise upon study. Macrobius has preserved it with some other fragments of the same piece of poetry. He informs us also that this Roman knight, out of his great regret to see his age dishonoured in that manner, and to avenge himself by the only means in his power, maliciously inserted in the farce we speak of, several home strokes against Cæsar. A servant, beaten by his master, cried out,—“Help, Romans, we lose our liberty.”

Porro, Quirites! libertatem perdimus.

¹ Negat se magni facere aliquis postulat, utrum Cæsar ater an albus homo sit: insaniam. *Quintil.* l. xi. c. 1.

² Potestas, non solum si invitet, sed et, si supplicet, cogit. *Macrob.*

Quod est potentissimum imperandi genus, rogabat qui jubere poterat. *Auson.*

And a little after he added:—“He must necessarily fear many, whom many fear.”

Necesse est multos timeat, quem multi timent.

The whole people knew Cæsar in those strokes, and cast their eyes upon him. When the performance was over, Cæsar, as if to re-instate him in the dignity of a Roman knight, from which he had departed through complaisance for him, rewarded him with a ring, which might be considered as a new patent of nobility. Laberius went afterwards to take his place among the knights; but they pressed together in such a manner, that there was no room for him.

SYRUS.

P. SYRUS was a Syrian by birth, whence he took his surname of Syrus. From a slave at Rome, whither he was brought in infancy, he became a freedman very soon, and was instructed with great distinction. He excelled in mimic poetry, in which he was Laberius' rival, and even surpassed him in the judgment of Cæsar. But the preference Cæsar gave him was thought to be intended only to mortify Laberius, for his having thrown some malicious strokes against him into his farce.

We have a work of Syrus', which consists of sentences in iambic verse, disposed alphabetically. Seneca the elder repeats the opinion of Cassius Severus, who preferred these sentences to any thing in the tragic and comic poets. This is saying a great deal. Seneca the younger considered them also as an excellent model.

Not long since a translation of these sentences, and a poem of Cornelius Severus, entitled *Ætna*,³ which had never appeared before in French, have been published. We are much obliged to authors, who endeavour to enrich our language with ancient works, unknown, and therefore new to it. This translator⁴ observes, that La Bruyère has scattered almost all the sentences of P. Syrus throughout his characters, of which he gives us several examples like the following:—

Fortuna usa dat multa, mancipio nihil.

Levis est fortuna; cito reposit, quod dedit,

“Fortune gives nothing, and only lends for a time. To-morrow the fickle goddess resumes from her favourites, what now she seems to give them for ever.”

Mortem timere crudelius est, quam mori.

“Death comes but once, though it puts us in mind of it at every moment of our lives. It is much more grievous to apprehend, than to suffer it.”

Est vihi misero longa, felici brevis.

“Life is short to those who possess it in pleasures and enjoyments: it seems long only to such as languish in affliction.”

POLLIO.

POLLIO (*C. Asinius Pollio*.) a person of consular dignity and a celebrated orator, had also composed tragedies in Latin which were much esteemed in his time. Horace speaks of him more than once.

Paulum severæ Musa Tragædiæ
Desit theatris— *Ode i. l. 2.*

—Pollio regum
Fata canit pede ter percussu. *Sat. x. l. 2.*

Virgil also mentions him with praise,—

Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina. *Ecolg. iii.*

He was the first who opened a library at Rome for the use of the public.⁵

³ This poem is written in hexameters, and is the second in the *Opuscula* ascribed to Virgil, in the folio edition of Crespinus, Lugduni, 1539, which, perhaps, Mr. Rolin never saw. Domitius Calderinus, the commentator, tells us in the argument:—*Hoc Virgilianum esse opus plerique ex authoribus testantur: et Seneca in epist. adeo ut Nasoem non ob aliam causam opus de Ætna dimisisse affirmet, nisi propter Virgilium, quem jam scripsisse compertum habebat. Cornelius Severus etiam ob eandem causam deterritus tradidit.*

⁴ M. Accursius de Scriverone.

⁵ Asinii Pollionis hoc Romæ inventum, qui primus, Bibliothecam dicendo, ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit.—*Plin.* l. xxxv. c. 1.

Augustus pressing him to espouse his party against Antony, he represented to him that the services he had done and received from that competitor would not admit his entering into engagements against him: that therefore he was determined to continue neuter, well assured that he should become the victor's prey. The same prince, having on another occasion, wrote Fescennine verses against him; "I shall take great care," said he, "not to answer. For it is not easy to scribble against a man who can proscribe."¹

VIRGIL.

VIRGIL (*Publius Virgilius Maro*) was born A. M. 3934, Ant. J. C. 684, in a village called Andes near Mantua, of very obscure parents, in the consulship of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and M. Licinius Crassus.² He passed the first years of his life at Cremona, and at seventeen put on the *toga virilis*, (the habit of manhood) on the same day that the poet Lucretius died. After having made some stay at Milan he removed to Naples, where he studied the Greek and Roman literature with extreme application, and afterwards the mathematics and physic. Several little poems are ascribed to Virgil's youth, which seem unworthy of him. Having been driven out of his house and a small piece of land, A. M. 3963, Ant. J. C. 713, which was his whole estate, by the distribution of the territory of Mantua and Cremona amongst the veteran soldiers of Augustus, he came for the first time to Rome, and by the favour of Pollio and Mæcenas, both patrons of learning and learned men, recovered his estate, and was again put into possession of it.

This occasioned his first eclogue, and made him known to Augustus, upon whom he had bestowed a fine compliment in that poem, a precious monument of his gratitude. Thus his distress became in the consequence the source of his good fortune. He finished his *Bucolics* in three years: a work of extreme delicacy, and a specimen of what was to be expected from a hand, that knew so well how to unite the graces of nature with correctness and purity of style. Horace gives us the character of these pastorals in two words:

Molle atque factum
Virgiliis annuerunt gaudentes rare Camæne.
The soft and easy grace of rural strains,
The muses, that delight in woods and plains,
Have given to Virgil.

Every body knows that in good Latinity the word *factus* is not only applicable to rallery and pleasantry, but to every discourse and work of wit, in which fine genius, delicacy, and elegance, are the prevailing characters.³

Mæcenas, who had a great taste for poetry, and had discerned all Virgil's merit in the proof he had lately given of it, would not suffer him to rest till he had engaged him to undertake a new work more considerable than the former. It is making a noble use of one's influence, and rendering great service to the public, to animate persons of learning in this manner, who often, for want of such inducements, remain inactive, and leave the greatest talents unemployed and useless. It was therefore by the advice of Mæcenas, that Virgil began the *Georgics*, to which he applied himself seven years. To enable himself to devote his whole attention to it, and to avoid every thing that might divert his thoughts, he retired to Naples, A. M. 3967, An. U. C. 717. He tells us this circumstance himself at the end of the fourth book of the *Georgics*, and also gives us the date of the time, when he finished them, which was in the 724th year of Rome, when Augustus, on his return from Egypt, having advanced towards the Euphrates, by the terror of his arms, and the fame of the victories he had lately obtained, put the country into a consternation, and obliged Tiridates and Phraates, who disputed the Parthian empire with each other, to conclude a kind of accommodation.⁴

¹ At ego taceo. Non est enim facile in eum scribere, qui potest proscribere.

² Vit. Virg. incert. Auct.

³ Factum non tantum circa ridicula opinor consistere Decoris hanc magis, et exultare ejusdem elegantie appellationem puto. *Quintil.* l. vi. c. 3.

⁴ Dio. Cass. l. li.

Hæc super avorem cultu pecorumque canebat,
Et super arboribus: Cæsar dum magnus ad altum
Fulminat Euphraten bello, victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympi.
Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti.

The leisure he enjoyed at that time at Naples was far from *ignoble* and obscure, as he thought fit to call it in this place. His *Georgics*, which were the fruits of it, in respect to diction, are the most finished of all the works he has left us, and even of all the poems that were ever composed in Latin. This proceeded from his having sufficient time to polish, and put the last hand to them. He retouched his works with an attention and accuracy not easily to be conceived. When the first fire of composing, in which every thing pleases, was over, he revised his productions, not with the complaisance of an author and parent, but the inexorable severity of a rigid critic, and almost an enemy. In the morning he composed a considerable number of verses; and returning to the examination of them, employed the rest of the day in correcting, and reducing them to a very small number. He used to compare himself to the bear, who from gross and unformed lumps, as her young ones are at their birth, gives them shape and proportion, by the pains she takes in licking them. Thus excellent works are formed. It was by this diligence in correcting, Virgil became the standard of good poetry amongst the Latins, and set the example of accurate, sweet, and harmonious versification. If we compare his verses, not only with those of Cicero, but of Lucretius and Catullus, the latter will appear rough, unpolished, harsh, antique, and, as I have said before, we shall be tempted to believe them verses of some ages before Virgil.

We are told that Augustus, at his return from his military expedition, believed he could not unbend himself better after his fatigues, than by hearing this admirable poem read, to which he devoted four days successively. Virgil read him one book each day. He had a wonderful talent in making the beauty of his verses sensible by a sweet, articulate, and harmonious pronunciation. As soon as he seemed a little out of breath, Mæcenas took his place, and went on. Days passed in this manner are highly agreeable to a prince of fine taste and genius: a pleasure infinitely superior to those insipid and frivolous diversions, which almost engross the generality of men. But at the same time how admirable is the goodness of this lord of the world, who thus familiarizes himself with a man of letters, who treats him almost as his equal, who carefully spares him his voice and his spirits, and considers his health as a public good! I do not know however whether it was sparing Virgil, to treat him with such affecting marks of friendship and esteem. For an author, after such favours, spares himself no longer, and sooner or later consumes himself by his tenacious attachment to his studies.

Virgil immediately after began his *Æneid*, to which he applied himself twelve years. Augustus when employed in the war against the Cantabri, pressed him earnestly, by several letters which he wrote him, to send him some part of the *Æneid*; but Virgil always excused himself. He represented to him, that if he had thought his *Æneas* worthy of that honour, he should willingly have sent him to Caesar; but that he had found the work far more difficult than he imagined it, and that he began to fear, that it was rashness and a kind of madness in him to undertake it.⁵

On the return of that prince, A. M. 3976, An. U. C. 731. Virgil could no longer refuse to satisfy his just impatience, and accordingly read him the second, fourth, and sixth books of the *Æneid*, in the presence of his sister Octavia. She had some time before lost her son M. Claudius Marcellus, a prince of great merit, whom Augustus intended for his successor in the empire. Virgil had given the praise of young Marcellus a place in the sixth book of the *Æneid* with

⁵ De *Æneæ* quidem meo, si mehercule jam dignam aures habere mihi, libenter mitterem. Sed tanta inchoata res est, ut pene illo mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar. *Macrobi.* l. i. c. ult.

so much address, that it is impossible to read it without being exceedingly moved. When he came to this passage, the rehearsal of the verses, which are twenty-six in number, made the emperor and Octavia weep immediately. It is even said, that Octavia swooned away at these words: *Tu Marcellus eris*. She ordered (*dena sestertia*) ten great sesterces to be paid the poet for each of these verses, which amounted to about seventeen hundred pounds sterling.

Virgil after having finished the *Æneid* designed to retire for three years in order to revise and polish it. He set out with this view for Greece. At Athens he met Augustus on his return from the East, and thought proper to change his purpose and to attend that prince to Rome. He was taken sick upon the way, and stayed behind at Brundisium. Finding his illness increase, he earnestly desired his manuscripts to be brought him, in order to throw the *Æneid* into the fire. Because nobody had complaisance enough to comply with that request, he ordered that poem by his will to be burned, as an imperfect work. Tucca and Varius, who were with him, represented, that Augustus would never suffer it, and upon that remonstrance Virgil left his writings to them, upon condition that they would add nothing to them, and leave the hemisticks as they found them.

Virgil died at Brundisium, in the 735th year of Rome, A. M. 3980, aged fifty-two. His bones were carried to Naples, and buried two miles from that city, with this inscription on his tomb, which he made himself, and which in two lines includes the place of his birth, death, and burial, with the number of his works:—

Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope, cecini, pascua, rura, duces.

The epic poem must be a work of extreme difficulty, as during so many ages, Greece and Rome scarce produced two geniuses sufficiently sublime to sustain it in all its spirit and dignity. And since then, has the world, in any language whatsoever, poems of this kind, that can justly be compared with those of Homer and Virgil?

I have observed, in speaking of the former, in what manner Homer had formed the design and plan of the *Æneid* upon the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, which gives the original a great advantage over the copy. Past ages however have not yet decided, to which of the two the preference ought to be given. Till judgment can be passed on this point, which in all probability will never happen, we may adhere to Quintilian's opinion, cited before in the article of Homer. There is, says he, more genius and force of nature in Homer; and more art and labour, because more of both was necessary, in Virgil.² The first is indisputably superior in the grand and the sublime: the other perhaps makes us amends for what he wants in these points, by the harmony of parts and the exact equality he supports throughout his work. To this we may add, that Virgil did not live to put the last hand to his poem, which without doubt would have made it much more perfect than it is, though, as we have it, it is of inestimable value.

We may most certainly ascribe to Caligula's madness the contempt and hatred he expressed for Virgil, whose writings and portraits he industriously endeavoured to have banished out of all libraries.³ He had the extravagance to say, that poet had neither wit nor learning: *nullius ingeni, minimaque doctrine*. The emperor Alexander Severus judged very differently of him.⁴ He called him the Plato of the poets, and placed his picture, with that of Cicero, in the chapel, where he had placed Achilles and other great men.

It is highly for the honour of learning to see an emperor give poets, orators, and conquerors the same rank.

In the life of Horace, I shall relate a circumstance in that of Virgil, which in my judgment does him as much or even more honour than his genius for poetry.

HORACE.

HORACE (*Quintus Horatius Flaccus*) was of Venusium, and, as he says himself, the son of a freedman. He was born in the 688th year of Rome, A. M. 3940. His father, though only a freedman, and of a very moderate fortune, took particular care of his education.⁵ Persons of fortune, and rich officers of the army, contented themselves with sending their children to a master, who taught them to read, write, and cast accounts. But Horace's father, who had discovered in his son a fund of genius capable of the greatest things, had the courage to carry him to Rome, in order to give him such an education as knights and senators gave their children. To see the manner in which young Horace was dressed, and the slaves that followed him, one might have taken him, says he of himself, for the rich heir of a long train of opulent ancestors; whilst his father however had only a small piece of land for his whole estate. He was perhaps excessive in this point; but who would venture to condemn him? He was not afraid of ruining either himself or his son by employing his whole income for his instruction; judging a good education the best patrimony he could leave him. He did more; he took upon himself the care of him, served him instead of a governor, and went with him to all his masters.

Ipsæ mihi custos incorruptissimæ omnes
Circum Doctores aderat.

We are charmed with the respect and warm gratitude, which Horace, during his whole life, expresses for such a father. "By his care," says he, "he preserved me free, not only from all acts of impurity, which is the highest praise of virtue, but from all reproach or suspicion of that kind." Let young persons consider well these words, and remember that it is a heathen who thinks and speaks in this manner.

Quid multa? Pudicum
Qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
Non solum factis, verum opprobrio quoque turpi.

Horace's father, though a man of no letters or erudition, was of no less use to his son, than the most able masters he could bear. He took pains himself to form him, instructed him familiarly, and made it his business to inspire him with an abhorrence for vice, by pointing it out to him under sensible examples. If he would have him avoid some criminal action: could you doubt, said he to him, whether the action I would have you shun, be contrary to virtue and your true interest, when such an one who had committed it, is universally condemned and despised for it? That such an one by his debauched life, has ruined his health and fortune; (and it was here the strokes of satire came in.) On the contrary, if he desired to recommend some good action to his imitation, he cited somebody who had done it with success; and always chose his examples out of the principal persons of the senate, and those of greatest worth.

This manner of instructing youth has its great utility, provided it does not degenerate into detraction and satire. For examples make much more impression upon the mind, than any discourses, or precepts of morality.⁶ It is in the same manner Demetrius instructs his son in Terence's *Adelphi*.

Nihil prætermitto, consuefacio. Denique
Inspicere tanquam in speculum in vitas omnium
Jubeo, atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi.
Hoc facio et hoc fugito, &c. Act III. Sc. 2.

"I omit nothing, and gradually accustom him to virtue. In fine, I oblige him to look into the lives of others, as into a glass, and to learn from their example to imitate the good, and fly the bad."

⁵ Horat. Sat. 6. l. i.

⁶ Longum iter est per præcepta, breve et efficax per exempla. Senec. Epist. 6. l. 1.

¹ It is certain that our *Milton* was not inferior to either of them in many of the characters of Epic poetry; and that he was in some superior to them both; as in the grandeur of his matter, his learning, characters, and the machinery of his work. See *Addison* on *Milton*.

² Et hercle, ut illi naturæ celestis atque immortalis cesserimus, ita curæ et diligentia vel ideo in hoc plus est, quod ei fuit magis laborandum: et quantum eminentioribus vincimus, fortasse æqualitate pensamus. Quintil. lib. i. cap. 1.

³ Sueton. in Calig. c. 34. ⁴ Lamprid. Alex. Sever.

If we may believe Horace, it is to these paternal instructions, received with attention and docility, that he was indebted for being exempt from great failings.

Ex hoc ego sumus ab illis
Perniciem quæcumque ferunt, mediocribus, et queis
Ignoscas, vitiiis teneor.

But it is also to the same lessons he ascribes, whether out of pleasantry or otherwise, the taste for satire which he retained during his whole life.

He is never weary of expressing himself upon his good fortune in having such a father, and speaks of him with a gratitude that we cannot sufficiently esteem. "As long as I am capable of thinking with reason, I shall never be ashamed of so good a father. I shall never imitate the generality, who to excuse the meanness of their extraction, take care to observe, that if they do not descend from illustrious ancestors, it is no fault of theirs. I think and speak quite differently. For, did nature permit us to begin our lives again after a certain number of years, and would give us the liberty of choosing such parents as we thought fit, others might choose theirs by their vanity: but for my part, contented with my own, I would not seek for noble ones distinguished by rods and axes, and curule chairs."

Nil me peniteat sanum patris hujus; et eoque
Non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars,
Quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,
Sic me defendam. Longè mea discrepat istis
Ex vox et ratio. Nam, si natura juberet
A certis annis ævum remeare peractum,
Atque alios legere; ad fastum quoscumque parentes
Optaret sibi quisque: meis contentus honestos
Fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere. Sat. 6.

† It must be confessed that there is great meanness of spirit in blushing at meanness of birth. The reader no doubt has observed, that most of the illustrious writers hitherto mentioned were of obscure condition, and that many of them were even slaves. Did it ever enter into the thoughts of any man of sense to esteem them the less upon that account? Nobility, riches, office, can they be brought into competition with the talents of the mind, and are they always proofs of merit?

When Horace had attained to about nineteen years of age, his father sent him to study at Athens, for he would not let him go, and kept him always under his eye, till he was of years to take care of himself, and to avoid the corruption of manners which then prevailed. He had studied polite learning at Rome, and had formed his taste principally by reading Homer. He proceeded to more exalted science in Greece, and applied himself to the study of philosophy. That study seems to have pleased him exceedingly, and he extremely regretted leaving so agreeable a residence sooner than he desired. Brutus, passing by the way of Athens into Macedonia, carried several young persons thence along with him, of which number was Horace. He made him a tribune of the soldiers. Horace had then been four or five years at Athens.

Romæ nutriti mihi contigit, atque doceri
Iratius Graiis quantum nouisset Achilles.
Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ,
Scilicet ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,
Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum.
Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,
Civilisque rudem belli tulit æstus in arma,
Cæsaria Augusti non responsura lacertis.

Epist. ii. l. 2.

A year after, the battle of Philippi was fought, in which our poet, who was not born for arms, gave no proofs of his bravery, having taken to flight, and abandoned his buckler, as he confesses himself:

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi, relicta nunc bene parmula. Od. vii. l. 2.

Horace, on his return, was not long before he became known to Mæcenas. It was the excellent Virgil, for so he calls him, *optimus Virgilius*, who first spoke of his dawning merit to his patron. Varius afterwards confirmed what he had said, and seconded him. Horace was introduced. When he appeared before Mæcenas, respect for a person of his grandeur, and his

natural timidity, confounded him so much, that he spoke very little, and with great hesitation. Mæcenas answered him in a few words, according to the custom of the great, after which Horace withdrew. Nine months passed without Horace's hearing any farther, or taking any pains to do so on his side. It might have been thought, that Mæcenas, little pleased with his first visit, which did not seem to argue a man of great parts, had no farther thoughts of Horace. At the expiration of that term, he sent for him, and admitted him into the number of his friends; (these are Horace's own words,) and from that time they lived in the greatest intimacy.

Nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit. Optimus olim
Virgilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essim
Ut veni coram, singulum pauca locutus,
(Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari
Non ego me, &c.
Sed quod eram, narro. Respondes, ut tuos est mos,
Pauca. Atque: ut revocas nono post mense, Jubesque
Esse in amicorum numero. Satyr. vi. l. 1.

Custom with us (in France) does not allow a man of learning, scarce known as such, to style himself the friend of so great a lord as Mæcenas. The ancients had more simplicity, but at the same time a more noble freedom of manners and greatness of soul. The Roman language, which was born in the bosom of liberty, had nothing of mean and servile in it, and did not admit any of those frivolous compliments with which ours is overrun. *Jubes esse in amicorum numero.*

But what I admire here, is the generous behaviour of Virgil. He knew the young poet's merit, and perceived in him a genius formed for success in courts; and the event demonstrated he was not mistaken. He might have apprehended setting himself up in his person a dangerous rival, who from sharing at first in the favour of their common patron, might afterwards supplant him entirely. Virgil had none of these thoughts, which suit only a mean and sordid spirit, and which he would with reason have judged injurious to his friend, and still more so to Mæcenas. For the house of that favourite was not like those of most great lords and ministers, where every body regards solely their own interest; where the merit of others gives umbrage, and every thing is carried on by cabal and secret collusion; where fidelity and honour are little known, and where the blackest designs are often covered under the specious outsides of great friendship and affection. "It is not in this manner," says Horace to one who promised, if he would procure him the least access to the person of Mæcenas, to put him soon into a condition of supplanting all others in his favour, "it is not thus we live at Mæcenas's. There never was a house of greater integrity, nor more remote from all intrigue and cabal than his. A richer, or more learned person there, gives me no manner of pain or umbrage. Every one there has his due place, and is contented with it."

Non isto vivimus illic
Quo tu rere modo. Domus hac nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mi offiit unquam
Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior. Est locus uni
Cuique suus. Sat. ix. l. 1.

Mæcenas, from the first, did Horace good offices with the prince, against whom he had borne arms on the side of Brutus. He obtained his pardon with the restitution of his estate. From that time Horace began to be very familiar with Mæcenas, and to share in his confidence and pleasures. He accompanied him in his journey to Brundisium, as appears from the fifth satire of the first book. Horace's credit and reputation increased every day by the poems he published, as well upon the victories of Augustus, as other events, and various subjects, whether odes, satires, or epistles.

The poet Quinctilius Varus, Virgil's relation, being dead, Horace endeavours to console his friend upon that occasion by the xxivth ode of book I.

Ergo Quinctilius perpetuus sopor
Urget? cui pudor, et justitiæ soror
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem?

Multis ille quidem flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili.
Tu frustra pius, heu, non ista creditum
Poscis Quinctilium dea.

When Virgil himself set out for Greece with design to employ his leisure in revising, and putting the last hand to the *Æneid*, Horace, upon occasion of that voyage, composed on ode full of vows, which unfortunately were not heard. It is the third of the first book.

Sic te diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,
Ventorumque regat pater,
Obstrictis aliis, præter Iapyga,
Navis, quæ tibi creditum
Dobis Virgilium; finibus Aticis
Reddas incolum, precor,
Et serves animæ dimidium meæ.

So may th' auspicious queen of Iove,
And the twin stars, the seed of Jove,
And he, who rules the raging wind,
To thee, oh sacred ship, be kind,
And gentle breezes fill thy sails,
Supplying soft Elysian gales:
As thou to whom the muse commends,
The best of poets, and of friends,
Dost thy committed pledge restore,
And land him safely on the shore,
And save the better part of me
From perishing with him at sea.

Dryden to Lord Roscom.

We may judge of Mæcenas's tender friendship for Horace, by the few words he wrote to Augustus in his name: "I conjure you to have the same regard for Horace as myself." Augustus offered him the employment of secretary to himself, and wrote for that purpose to Mæcenas in these terms. "Hitherto I have had no occasion for any body to write my letters: but at present the multiplicity of affairs, and my infirmity, make me desire you to bring our Horace with you. Let him then cease to be a parasite at your table, and come to mine to assist me in writing my letters."¹ Horace, who was very fond of his liberty, did not think proper to accept so honourable an offer, which would have laid him under too great restraint, and excused himself upon account of his real or pretended infirmities. The prince was not in the least offended by Horace's refusal of that office, and retained the same friendship for him as before. Some time after he wrote to him to this effect. "Believe you have some right to be free with me, and pray use it, as if we lived together: in doing which, you only act as you may with the justest pretence; for you know it was my desire, that we should have been upon these terms, if your health would have admitted it."²

With how many reflections does this little circumstance supply us in respect to the goodness of Augustus, the frankness of Horace, the simple and unrestrained intercourse of the world in those days, and the difference between ours and the manners of the ancients. A privy secretary at the table with an emperor! A poet refuses that honour, without the emperor's taking offence!

Horace's pleasures were confined to his houses either in the country of the Sabines, or at Tibur, where, free from care and disquiet, he enjoyed in an agreeable retreat all the sweets of leisure and repose, the sole objects of his wishes.

O rus, quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis,
Ducere solite iuventa oblivia vitæ?

The court, which is so pleasing to the ambitious, was to him only banishment and a prison. He thought he only lived and respired when he returned to his dear country abode, where he found himself more happy than all the monarchs of the earth.

¹ Veniet igitur ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam. The pleasantry of Augustus turns upon Horace's not being of Mæcenas's family, and consequently having no right to eat at his table.

² Sume tibi aliquid juris apud me, tanquam si convictor mihi fueris. Rectè enim et non temerè feceris quoniam id usûs mihi tecum esse volui, si per valetudinem tuam fieri posset. *Suet in vit. Virg.*

—Vivo et regno, simul ista relinqui,
Quæ vos ad cælum effertis clamore secundo.

He died in the consulship of C. Marcus Censorinus and C. Asinius Gallus, A. M. 3997, Ant. J. C. 7 at the age of fifty-seven, after having nominated Augustus his heir before witnesses, the violence of his illness not allowing him time to sign his will. He was interred at the extremity of the Esquiline hill in a tomb joining to that of Mæcenas, who died a little before him the same year. He had always desired, and even seemed to have bound himself by oath, not to survive him.

Ah te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus equè, nec superstes
Integer? Ille dies utramque
Ducet ruinam. Non ego peridum
Dixi sacramentum. Ibiinus, ibimus
Utumque præcedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati.—*Od. xvii. l. 2.*

The works of Horace consist only of his Odes, Satires, and Epistles, with the Art of Poetry. I have spoken of his Odes, and given their character in comparing them with those of Pindar. His Satires and Epistles are, in my opinion, of inestimable value. They are void of all show and glitter. Their style is generally a kind of prose in verse, that has neither the pomp nor even the sweetness and harmony of poetical measures. This does not proceed from the incapacity of Horace to make fine verses. Does not the passage by which he excuses his want of sufficient talents for celebrating the actions of Augustus, demonstrate how capable he was of it?

—Cupidum, pater optime, vires
Deficiunt. Neque enim quisvis horrentia pilis
Agmina, nec fracta percutens cuspidè Gallos
Aut labentis equo describat vulnèra Parthi.

Sat. i. l. 2.

Is there in any poet a description of greater elegance, expression, and energy, or one that paints a fact in livelier colours, than that of the country mouse's entertainment of the city mouse?

—Olim
Rusticus urbanum murem mus pauper fertur
Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum:
Asper, et attentus quæstis: ut tamen arcum
Solveret hospitii animum. Quid multa? Neque illi
Sepositi ciceris, nec longæ invidit avenæ:
Aridum ad ore ferens acinum, semesaque lard
Frusta dedit, cupiens variâ fastidia cenâ
Vincere tangentis malè singula dente superbo.

Sat. vi. l. 2.

The rest of the fable is in the same taste.

This elegance, this grace and spirit of language and images are not (generally speaking) to be found either in the satires or epistles. What is it then that affects us so agreeably in reading them? It is the delicacy, urbanity, fine raillery, and easy manner, which prevail in them: it is a certain air and vigour of nature, simplicity, and truth: it is even that affected negligence in the measure of the verses, which still adds a more native air to the sense, an effect the Marotic style³ has in our language: it is a fund of reason, good sense, and judgment, that shows itself every where; with a wonderful art in painting the characters of men, and placing their faults and ridiculous points in full light. Only great and peculiar beauty and force of genius can make such lively impressions as these on the mind without the help of poetical graces, numbers, and harmony. Quinctilian contents himself, after having spoken of Lucilius, with saying, "that Horace has much more elegance, and purity of style, and that he excels in criticising the manners and vices of men."⁴

The Art of Poetry, with some of the satires and epistles that turn upon the same subject, include whatever is most essential in regard to the rules of poetry. This little essay may be considered as an

³ The style of C. Marot, a French poet, in which Fontaine followed and excelled him. Its characters are the natural, simple, humorous, and antique, of which last it affects the terms.

⁴ Multo est tersior ac purus magis Horatius, et ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus. *Lib. x. c. 1.*

excellent abridgment of rhetoric, and highly proper to form the taste.

I say nothing of the manners of Horace. To judge of him only by certain passages in his works, one would take him for the most virtuous man in the world, and even an austere philosopher. If we may believe him, "he finds all time long and tedious, but that which he employs in the sole object worthy of our cares, which is equally useful to rich and poor, and when neglected, is alike pernicious to youth and age."

Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quæ spem
Consiliumque morantur agendi graviter id quod
Æquæ pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æquæ,
Æquæ neglectum senibus puerisque nocet.

At bottom he is a true Epicurean, solely intent upon his pleasures, and so loose in his sentiments and expressions, that, as Quintilian says of him, a man of breeding or morality would not willingly explain certain passages in his works: *Horatium in quibusdam nolim interpretari*. This does not prevent his having excellent maxims of morality. It is with Horace, as with the rest of the heathen authors. When it does not clash with their darling passion, and the question is to lay down fine principles, not to put them in practice, they not only speak the most refined truths and the most elegant reason, but often even religion, in the most beautiful and just terms. This we ought to consider as the precious remains of the esteem for beauty and perfection, implanted in the heart of man by the Author of nature, and which his corruption could not entirely extinguish.

OID.

OID, (*Publius Ovidius Naso*) of the equestrian order, was born in the consulpship of Hirtius and Pansa, as well as Tibullus, in the 709th year of Rome, A. M. 3961, Ant. J. C. 43. He studied eloquence under Arellius Fuscus, and declaimed in his school with great success.† He had by nature so strong an inclination for versifying, that to indulge it, he renounced all care of his fortune. But if this propensity to verse entirely extinguished in him the flame of ambition, it nourished and augmented that of love, a most pernicious passion to those who abandon themselves wholly to it. His father saw him quit the usual course of the Roman youth with pain, and absolutely renounce the hopes of honours and offices, to pursue an unhappy taste that tended to nothing, and of which no doubt he foresaw all the bad effects. He spoke to him in the strongest terms, made use of remonstrances and entreaties, asking him what advantage he could propose to himself from that frivolous study, and whether he imagined he should excel Homer either in reputation or fortune, who died poor. The lively reproaches of his father made an impression upon him. In deference to his advice, he determined to make no more verses, to write only in prose, and to qualify himself for the employments that suited young men of his rank. Whatever efforts he made, or pretended to make, nature still prevailed. Ovid was a poet in spite of himself: the feet and numbers rose of themselves under his pen; and every thing he attempted to write, was verse.

Sepe pater dixit: studium quid inutile tentas?
Mœnides nullas ipse reliquit opes.
Motus eram dictis, totoque Helicone relicto
Scribere conabar verba soluta modis.
Sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos
Et, quod tentabam scribere, versus erat.

He composed with wonderful facility, and could not give himself the trouble to retouch his verses; all fire in composing, and all ice in correcting, as he tells us himself. The negligence of his style might be forgiven, if it was not attended with unbounded licentiousness in point of manners, and if he had not filled his poems with filth and obscenity. Augustus made this the pretext for banishing him: a very laudable motive, if the real one, for that conduct. Such poets are poison and contagion to the public, with whom all intercourse ought to be prohibited, and

their poems to be abhorred as the bane of mankind. But this was only pretext. A secret cause of discontent, of which Ovid often speaks in his verses, but in general terms and without explaining it, that has always remained unknown, was the cause of his misfortune.

He was banished to Tomos, a city of Pontus in Europe, upon the Euxine sea, near the mouths of the Danube. The emperor neither confiscated his estate, nor caused him to be condemned by a decree of the senate, but made use of the term *relegare*, which in the Roman law is of more gentle construction than to banish.

He was in the fifty-first year of his age when he set out from Rome to Tomos, and had composed his *Metamorphoses* before his disgrace. On his condemnation to quit Rome he threw it into the fire, either out of indignation, or because he had not put the last hand to, and entirely finished it.

Carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas,
Infelix domini quod fuga rapit opus:
Ilic ego discendens, sicut bona multa meorum,
Ipse mea posui mæstus in igne manu.

Trist. l. i. Eleg. 6. l. iii. Eleg. 14.

Some copies, which had before been taken of that work, prevented its being lost.

The place to which he was sent, was a real place of punishment to him: he gives us terrible descriptions of it in several parts of his poem. What distressed him most there, was his being exposed to the severe coldness of the climate, in the neighbourhood of a barbarous and warlike people, who were always in arms, and giving him perpetual apprehensions: a melancholy situation for a delicate Italian, who had passed his life in a mild and agreeable climate, and had always enjoyed ease and tranquillity. Though he could not obtain either to be recalled, or to have the place of his banishment changed, he never failed in his respect for the emperor, and persisted unalterably in praising him with an excess next to idolatry. He may even be said to have literally and actually idolized him, when he was informed of his death. He not only wrote a poem in his praise in the Getic language, to make him known and respected by those barbarous nations, but invoked him also, and consecrated a chapel to him, where he went every morning to offer incense, and adore him.

Nec pietas ignota mea est: videt hospita terra
In nostra sacrum Cæsaris esse domo.
Hic ego do toties cum thure precantia verba,
Eco quoties surgit ab orbe dies.

De Ponto, l. iv. Epist. 19.

The successor and family of that prince had a great share in all this worship, and were evidently the real objects of it. Ovid however did not find it a remedy for his misfortunes. The court was as inexorable under Tiberius as before. He died in his banishment in the fourth year of that emperor's reign, and the 771st of Rome, at about sixty years of age, after having been nine or ten years in Pontus.

He had desired, in case he died in the country of the Getæ, that his ashes might be carried to Rome, in order that he might not continue an exile after his death, and that the following epitaph might be inscribed on his tomb.

Hic ego qui jaceo tenerorum lusor amorum,
Ingenui perii Naso poëta mœo.
At tibi, qui transis, ne sit grave, quisquis amasti,
Dicere: Nasonis molliter ossa cubent.

Here Naso lies, who sung of soft desire,
Victim of two much wit, and too much fire.
Say, who have lov'd, whenever you pass these stones,
Light lie the earth on hapless Naso's bones.

Ovid apprehended the immortality of the soul, (with more reason than he thought) and desired that it might perish with the body, for he did not care that his shade should wander amongst those of the *Sauromataæ*. Hence he desired that his bones might at least have a grave at Rome.

Atque utinam pereant animæ eum corpore nostræ,
Effugiatque avidos pars mea nulla rogos.
Nam si morte carens vacuus volat altus in auras
Spiritus, et Sami sunt rata dicta senis;

† Senec. Contr. 10, l. ii.

Inter Sarmaticas Romana vagabitur umbras,
Perque feros manes hospita semper erit.
Ossa tamen facio parva referantur in urna:
Sic ego non etiam mortui exul ero.

He had composed both before and after his banishment a great number of verses, of which many are lost; and it were to be wished that still less had come down to us. His *Medea* is extolled for a perfect tragedy, which shows, says Quintilian, in whose time it was extant, of what that poet was capable, if instead of abandoning himself to the luxuriance of his too easy and fertile genius, he had chose rather to check, than indulge, its rapidity. *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum vir ille præstare potuerit, si ingenio suo temperare quam indulgere maluisset.*¹

The same Quintilian passes his judgment upon this poet's works in few, but very just and expressive words, and which in my opinion, perfectly characterize them. *Lascivus quidem in Heroicis quoque Ovidius, et nimium amator ingenii sui; laudandus tamen in partibus.* And indeed, Ovid's great fault is redundancy, which proceeded from the warmth and abundance of his genius, and his affecting wit at the expense of the solid and the great; *lascivus*. Every thing he threw upon paper, pleased him. He had for all his productions a more than paternal indulgence, which would not permit him to retrench, or so much as alter, any thing. *Nimium amator ingenii sui.* It must however be confessed that he is admirable in parts; *laudandus tamen in partibus*. Thus in his *Metamorphoses*, which are indisputably the finest of his works, there are a great number of passages of exquisite beauty and taste. And this was the work he valued most himself, and from which he principally expected the immortality of his name.

Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.
Metam. lib. x. in fine.

TIBULLUS AND PROPERTIUS.

THESE two poets, who flourished at very nearly the same time, and excelled in the same kind of poetry, are judged to have wrote with great purity of style and delicacy. Tibullus is preferred to Propertius.

PHÆDRUS.

PHÆDRUS, a native of Thrace, Augustus's freedman, wrote in the time of Tiberius. We have five books of Fables, composed by this author in Iambic verse, which he himself called *Æsop's fables*, because he made that inventor of them his model; from whom he has also often borrowed the subject of his fables.

*Æsopus auctor quam materiam repperit.
Hanc ego pulvi versibus senariis.* Prolog. l. i.

He declares from the beginning of his work, that this little book has two advantages; which are, to amuse and divert the reader, and at the same time to supply him with wise counsels for the conduct of life.

Duplex libelli dos est, quod risum movet,
Et quod prudenti vitam consilio monet. *Ibid.*

And indeed, besides that the subjects of this work, in which beasts, and even trees are introduced speaking with wit, are diverting in themselves, the manner in which they are treated has all the beauty and elegance it is possible to throw into it; so that Phædrus may be said to have used in his fables the language of nature herself, so plain and simple is his style, and at the same time so full of wit and delicacy.

They are no less valuable in respect to the wise counsels and solid morals they contain. I have observed elsewhere, in speaking of *Æsop*, how much this manner of instructing was in honour and use among the ancients, and the value the most learned men set upon it. Were we only to consider these fables by the advantage to be made of them in the education of children, to whom under the appearance of agreeable stories, they begin so early to propose

principles of probity and wisdom, we could not but conceive highly of their merit. Phædrus has carried his views still farther: there is no age, nor condition but may find excellent maxims in them for the conduct of life. As virtue is every where treated with honour and crowned with glory in them; so they represent the vices, as injustice, calumny, violence, in lively but frightful colours, which make them the contempt, hatred, and detestation of every body. And this undoubtedly was what exasperated Sejanus against him, and exposed him to extreme danger under a minister who was the irreconcilable enemy of all merit and virtue. Phædrus mentions neither the cause, any particular circumstance, nor the event of this animosity. He only complains that all the forms of justice are violated in regard to him, having his declared enemy Sejanus himself for his accuser, witness, and judge.

Quod si accusator alius Sejano foret,
Si testis alius, iudex alius denique,
Dignum faterer esse me tantis malis.

In Prolog. l. iii.

It is very probable that unworthy favourite, who insolently abused his master's confidence, had taken offence at some strokes in those fables, which might be applied to him. But as there was no name to them, his making that application, was confessing, or at least knowing, himself guilty; Phædrus having no other view than to lash the vices of mankind in general, as he expressly declares.

Suspicionem si quis errabit sua,
Et rapit ad se quod erit commune omnium;
Stultè ululabit animi conscientiam.
Huic excusatum me velim nihilominus.
Neque enim notare singulos mens est mihi.
Verùm ipsam vitam et mores hominum ostendere.

Ibid.

Neither the time, place, nor any other circumstance of his death, is known. He is believed to have survived Sejanus, who died in the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius.

Phædrus has given a very honourable testimony of himself, in declaring that he had banished all desire of riches from his heart.

Quamvis in ipsa natus penè sim schola,
Curamque habendi penitus corde eraserim. *Ibid.*

He does not seem either so indifferent or disinterested with regard to praise; and is very apt to speak of his own merit. It was indeed so great, that nothing of antiquity surpasses his fables in simple and natural beauty.

It is surprising that with all this merit Phædrus should be so little known and celebrated by ancient authors. Only two speak of him, Martial² and Avienus; and it is still doubted, whether the verses of the first, that mention Phædrus, mean our author. So learned a man as Casaubon did not know that there was such a book as Phædrus' in the world, till the edition published at Troies by Peter Pithou in 1596. The latter sent one of them to F. Sirmond, who was then at Rome. That Jesuit showed it to the learned there, who at first judged it spurious. But upon a nearer examination they changed their opinion, and believed that they saw some characters of the Augustan age in it. Father Vavasseur³ relates this little circumstance with his usual elegance.

Fontaine, who carried this kind of writing to its highest perfection in the French language, by treading in the steps of Phædrus, has however differed greatly from his original. Whether he thought the French language not susceptible of that happy simplicity, which charms and transports all persons of taste in the Latin authors; or found that manner of writing did not suit his genius, he formed a style entirely peculiar to himself, of which perhaps the Latin tongue itself is incapable, and which without being less elegantly plain and natural, is more humorous, more various, easy and full of graces, but graces which have nothing of pomp, swell, and affectation, and which only serve to render the sense and circumstances more gay and amusing. The same, in my opinion, may be

¹ Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

² Epig. 20. l. iii.

³ In Tract. de Ludicra diet.

said in respect to Terence and Molière. They both excel in their way, and have carried comedy in the highest perfection, to which perhaps it is capable of attaining. But their way of writing is different. Terence excels Molière in purity, delicacy, and elegance of language. But then the French poet is infinitely above Terence in the conduct and plan of his plays, which form one of the principal beauties of dramatic poems; and especially in the justness and variety of his characters. He has perfectly observed the precept Horace gives poets who would succeed in this way of writing, that is, to copy nature in the manners and inclinations of men, which age and condition vary exceedingly.

*Ætatis ejusque notandi sunt tibi mores,
Mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis.*

Horat. in Art. Poet.

SECTION III.—THIRD AGE OF THE LATIN POETRY.

I HAVE already said, that this third age of Latin poetry began about the middle of Tiberius's reign. Some of the poets, of whom I shall soon speak, might be ranked among those of the best age, to which they are very near both in time and merit. It is however believed, that there is some difference discernible in them.

SENECA.

Of the ten Latin tragedies which have been collected and published together under the name of Seneca, it is generally enough agreed, that the finest were written by the celebrated philosopher, who was Nero's preceptor. The *Medea* is believed to be undoubtedly his, because Quintilian¹ quotes a passage from it, to which he adds his name. There are some particular reasons also for ascribing the *Edipus* to him. Mr. Le Fevre finds too much of declamation in the *Agamemnon*, *Troas*, and *Hercules*. Others, however, believe the *Troas*, and *Hippolytus* are really his: but that the *Agamemnon*, *Hercules furcens*, *Thyestes*, and *Hercules Cætaus*, are either Seneca the father's, or some other unknown author's. As to the *Thebais* and *Octavia*, they are thought entirely unworthy of Seneca's genius and eloquence. And it is certain that the latter was not written till after the death of Seneca, and even of Nero.

PERSIUS.

PERSIUS, (*Aulus Persius Flaccus*) a satiric poet in the reign of Nero, was born at Volaterræ, a city of Tuscany. He was of the equestrian order, and related and allied to persons of the first rank. He studied till twelve years old at Volaterræ; and afterwards at Rome under the grammarian Pæmon, the rhetorician Verginius, and a Stoic philosopher named Cornutus, who conceived a particular friendship for him, and with whom he always lived in the greatest intimacy.

This poet was of a very gentle and humane disposition, very friendly and obliging to his relations and acquaintance, and extremely regular in his manners and conduct. In his satires he often censures the faults of the orators and poets of his time, without sparing Nero himself.

*Aurículas asini quis non habet ?*²

We read there also these four verses, which are believed to be Nero's, and which he cites as an example of the tumid or bombastic style.

*Torva Mimalloneis impleverunt cornua bombis,
Et raptum vitulo caput ahlatura superbo
Bassaris, et lynceæ Mænas flexura corymbis
Eviun ingeminat: reparabilis adsonat Echo.*

Boileau justifies himself by this example. "Let us examine Persius," says he, "who wrote in the reign of Nero. He does not confine himself to ridiculing the works of the poets of his time; he attacks the verses of Nero himself, for every body knows, and Nero's court knew, that the four verses *Torva Mimalloneis*, &c. which Persius rallies so severely in his first satire,

¹ Lib. ix. c. 2.

RR

² It is said he wrote at first, *Aurículas asini Mida rex habet*.

were Nero's. However we do not find that Nero, all Nero as he was, inflicted any punishment upon Persius: that tyrant, the enemy of reason, and enamoured, as all know, of his own works, was however so much a gallant man, as to understand raillery in respect to his verses, and did not believe the emperor, on this occasion, ought to take upon himself what concerned the poet."

The work of Persius, in which refined morality, and a wonderful fund of sense, distinguished themselves every where, though of no great extent, has acquired him great glory, and a glory of the most solid kind, says Quintilian. *Multum, et veræ gloriæ quamvis uno libro, meruit Persius*. It must however be owned, that the obscurity which prevails in his satires exceedingly diminishes their merit. This made a certain person say, that since Persius would not be understood, he would not understand him. *Si non vis intelligi, nec ego volo te intelligere*.

He died at only twenty-eight years of age, in the 62d year of our Lord, which was the 8th year of Nero's reign. In gratitude to his master and friend Cornutus, he left him his library, which consisted of seven hundred volumes, a very considerable one in those days, with a great sum of money. Cornutus accepted the books, but gave the money to the heirs of Persius, who were his sisters.

JUVENAL.

I antedate the time of Juvenal here, in order to join these two satiric poets together.

JUVENAL (*Decimus*, or *Decius Junius Juvenalis*) was of Aquinum in the kingdom of Naples. He lived at Rome about the end of Domitian's reign, and even in Nerva's and Trajan's. He acquired great reputation by his satires, of which sixteen are come down to us. He passed the greatest part of his life in the exercises of the schools, where he was famous for being a vehement declaimer:

*Juvenal, élevé dans les cris de l'Ecole,
Poussa jusqu'à l'excès sa mordante hyperbole.*
Boileau.

He, bred in bawling schools debate to wage,
Push'd in excess his hyperbolic rage.

Julius Scaliger, who is always singular in his sentiments, prefers the force of Juvenal to Horace's simplicity. But all people of good taste agree, that the declamatory and bitter genius of Juvenal, is much inferior to the natural, delicate, and refined simplicity of Horace's satire.

In his seventh satire he had ventured to attack the comedian Paris, whose power was enormous at court, and who bestowed all offices both civil and military.³

*Ille et militiæ multis largitur honorem,
Semestri vatum digitos circumligat auro
Quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio.*

The proud comedian did not suffer so offensive an attempt without resenting it. He caused Julian to be banished into Egypt, by sending him thither to command a body of troops encamped at the extremity of that country. After Domitian's death he returned to Rome, where he remained, as is judged from some of his satires, till the reign of Adrian.

It is believed that Quintilian, who made it his rule not to name any living author, means Juvenal, when he says that there are satiric poets of his time well worthy of esteem, and who will one day be very famous. *Sunt clari hodieque et qui olim nominabuntur*.⁴

It were to be wished, that, in reproving the manners of others with too much severity, he had not shown, that he himself was void of modesty; and that he had not combatted vices in a manner, that rather teaches the practice, than inspires the horror, of them.

LUCAN.

LUCAN (*M. Annæus Lucanus*) was Seneca's nephew. The most celebrated of his works is his *Pharsalia*, in which he relates the war of Cæsar and Pompey. He abounds with fine thoughts, and there is great spi-

³ Vet. Juven. vit.

⁴ Lib. x. c. 1.

rit and vivacity in his style: but Quintilian¹ thinks him rather to be reckoned among the orators than the poets. *Lucanus ardens, et concitatus, et sententiis clarissimus; et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis annumerandus.* To equal Lucan with Virgil, as some are willing to do, is not exalting Lucan, but showing little discernment. We may however say of him, that if years had ripened Lucan's genius, who perhaps was not twenty-six when he died, and added Virgil's judgment to his fire and sublimity, he might have been a consummate poet. Many of his poems are lost.

The life of Lucan, ascribed to Suetonius, accuses him of a light intemperate tongue, and particularly of having spoken of Nero, who loved him, in a manner capable of exasperating even a mild and rational prince. He was one of the first who entered into Piso's conspiracy, out of resentment to Nero, who, through mean jealousy, suppressed the reputation of his poems, and prevented him from publishing them.² That prince ordered Lucan to be put to death, and his veins were opened. When he perceived the warmth abandon the extremities of his body, remembering that he had formerly described a soldier expiring in that manner, he repeated the verses that expressed his death, which were his last words: a frivolous consolation for a dying man, but worthy a heathen poet. He died in the 65th year of the Christian era, and in the twelfth of Nero.

PETRONIUS.

PETRONIUS (*Petronius Arbiter*) was of Provence, in the country near Marseilles, as Sidonius Apollinarius informs us, and lived, according to the more received opinion, in the reigns of Claudius and Nero.

We have of this author's works the remains of a satire, or rather of several satirical books (*Satyricon*) which he composed both in verse and prose. This is a kind of romance in the same form as the satires, which Varro, as I have said before, had invented by mingling verse and prose, the serious with the gay, agreeably; and which he called *Menippeæ*, from Menippus the Cynic, who before him had treated grave subjects in a style of pleasantry and ridicule. These fragments are only an indigested collection of detached parts, taken from the papers of somebody, who had extracted what he liked best from Petronius without any order. The learned find in them extreme refinement and delicacy of taste, and a wonderful happiness in painting the different characters of those he introduces speaking. They observe however, though Petronius seems to have been a great critic, and a writer of a most exquisite taste, that his style does not entirely come up to the delicacy of his judgment; that it is not without some affectation; is too florid and elaborate; and that it degenerates even so early as his time, from the natural and majestic simplicity of the golden age of Augustus. But were his style much more perfect, he would be still the more dangerous to his readers, from the obscenities with which he has filled his work.

It is doubted whether this Petronius be the same mentioned by Tacitus. That historian gives us the following picture of Petronius Turpilianus, which sufficiently agrees with the idea the reading of the work in question gives us of its author. "He was a voluptuous man, who passed the day in sleep, and the night in pleasures or business. As others acquire reputation by industry, he had made himself famous for his idleness. He did not pass however for a prodigal and a debauchee, like those who ruin themselves by excesses void of sense and taste, but for a man of a refined and learned luxury. All his words and actions were the more pleasing, as they carried with them, even when loosest, a certain air of negligence peculiar to him, which as it seemed nature itself, had all the charms of simplicity. Notwithstanding, when he was procurator of Bithynia, and afterwards when consul, he discovered a capacity for the greatest employments. Return-

ing after to a voluptuous life, either out of inclination or policy, because the prince loved debauch, he became one of his principal confidants. It was he who regulated every thing in Nero's parties of pleasure; who thought nothing agreeable nor in taste, which Petronius had not approved. This excited the envy of Tigellinus against him, as a dangerous rival, that excelled himself in the knowledge of pleasures, and the science of voluptuousness."³ Petronius killed himself to avoid the death, to which the emperor had condemned him upon a false accusation.

If this Petronius be not the writer intended here, so admirable a picture will at least serve to give us an idea of the style of Tacitus, of whom I shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

SILIUS ITALICUS.

C. SILIUS ITALICUS rendered himself famous by his poem on the second Punic war. He was not born a poet, and study did not entirely supply what he wanted on the side of nature.⁴ Besides, he did not apply himself to poetry till after he had long exercised the function of an advocate at the bar, and had been consul, that is to say, in a very advanced and languid period of life.⁵

Whatever praises Martial bestowed on him,⁶ he is not much esteemed as a poet: he is however deemed to excel all the writers of his time in purity of language. He follows the truth of history exactly enough, and lights may be found in his poem, though not his principal design, into things which passed in the times of which he writes; there being facts in him not to be found elsewhere.

What he says of Domitian, sufficiently shows, that he wrote in the reign of that prince, after the war with the Sarmatæ, in which that with the Daci may be included. He is believed to have died in the time of Trajan, in the year 100.⁷ He starved himself to death, not being able to bear the pain of an ulcer, which the physicians could not cure. Pliny observes, that Silius having retired into Campania upon account of his old age, did not quit his retreat to come to Rome, in order to congratulate Trajan upon his accession to the empire. That prince⁸ was highly praised for not being offended at such a liberty; and he for venturing to take it.

If our poet could not attain to a perfect imitation of Virgil, at least it was impossible to carry respect for him higher than he did. When he had got possession of the place where Virgil's tomb stood,⁹ it became sacred, and a kind of a temple to him. He celebrated that poet's birthday every year with greater joy and solemnity than his own. He could not suffer so venerable a monument to remain neglected in the hands of a poor peasant, and purchased it.

Jam propè desertos cineres, et sancta Maronis
Nomina qui celeret, pauper et unus erat.
Silius optatè succurrere censuit umbræ:
Silius et vatem, non minor ipse, colit.

Martial. Epig. 50. l. xi.

Silius's work had lain buried for many ages in the

¹ Illi dies per somnum, nox officiis et oblectamentis vitæ transiebantur. Utrique alios industria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat, habebaturque non ganeo et profligator, ut plerique sua haurientium, sed eruditio luxu. Ad dicta factaque ejus, quanto solutiora, et quamvis sui negligentiam præferentia, tanto gratius inspeciem simplicitatis accipiebantur. Proconsul tamen Bithyniæ, et mox Consul, vigentem se ac parem negotiis ostendit: deinde revolutus ad vitia, seu vitiorum imitationem, inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumtus est, elegantie arbiter, dum nihil amœnum et molle, nisi quod ei Petronius approbavisset. Unde invidia Tigellini, quasi adversus emulum, et scientia voluptatum potiorum. *Tacit. Annal. l. xvi. c. 18.*

² Scribebat carmina majore cura quam ingenio. *Plin. Ep. 7. l. iii.*

³ Martial Ep. 63. l. vii.

⁴ Perpetui nunquam moritura volumina Silii

Qui legis, et Latia carmina digna toga. *Ep. 63. l. vii.*

⁵ Plin. Ep. 7. l. iii.

⁶ Magna Cæsaris laus, sub quo hoc liberum fuit; magna illius, qui hæc libertate ausus uti. *Plin. ibid.*

⁷ Cujus (Virgilii) natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat; Neapoli maximè, ubi monumentum ejus adire ut templum solebat. *Plin. Ep. 7. l. iii.*

¹ Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

² Lucanum propriæ causæ accendebant, quod famam carminum ejus premebat Nero, prohibebaturque ostentare, vanus adsimulatione. *Tacit. Annal. l. xv. c. 49.*

dust of the library of St. Gal. Poggius found it there during the council of Constance, with many other manuscripts, as I have already observed elsewhere.

STATIUS.

STATIUS (*P. Statius Papinius*) lived in the reign of Domitian. Martial never mentions him, though they were contemporaries at Rome, which is believed to proceed from jealousy, because the extreme facility of Statius in making extemporary verses made him highly agreeable to Domitian.

We have two heroic poems of Statius: the *Thebaid* in twelve books, and the *Achilleid* in only two, because he was prevented by death from making an end of it.

His poems were highly esteemed at Rome in his time. Juvenal mentions the extraordinary crowding to hear them, and the applause they received.

Curritur ad vocem iuvendam, et carmen amicum
Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,
Promisitque diem: tanta dulcedine captos
Adficit ille animos, tantaque libidine vulgi
Auditur. Sat. 6. l. iii.

If we are to take the verses that follow these literally, and if they are not one of the hyperboles so common to Juvenal, they tell us that Statius was poor, and after having acquired great reputation by his *Thebaid*, was obliged to compose dramatic poems, and sell them to the actors for the means of life.

Sed cum fregit subsellia versu,
Esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.

Iulius Scalliger affirms that no author, either ancient or modern, comes so near Virgil as Statius, and makes no hesitation in giving him the preference to all the heroic poets, Greek or Latin, maintaining at the same time, that his verses are better even than Homer's. Such a judgment shows that illustrious critic not to have had so much justness of taste, as erudition. The one often hurts the other.

Statius, as well as Lucan and Silius, has treated his subject rather like an historian than a poet, without confining himself to what constitutes the essence of a true Epic poem. As to his diction and versification, in too much endeavouring to rise and appear great, he gives into bombast, and becomes tumid.

VALERIUS FLACCUS.

As the reign of Augustus produced the most excellent of the Latin poets, that of Domitian has also given us the most considerable poets of the second class.

C. *Valerius Flaccus Sertinus Balbus*. This poet was born at Setia, a town of Campania, but had fixed his abode at Padua. His heroic poem upon the voyage of the Argonauts in eight books is come down to us. It was begun in the reign of Vespasian, to whom it is inscribed; but the author was prevented from finishing it by a sudden death. The best judges have but an indifferent opinion of this work, because there are several things in it contrary to the rules of art, no grace and beauty, with a style, which, from affecting a greatness it wants nerve to sustain, becomes cold and languid. Quintilian says, however, that the Latin poetry has lost much by his death, which happened in the latter part of Domitian's reign. *Multum in Valerio Flacco nuper amissum*.¹ Martial writes to him as to his friend, and advises him to renounce poetry for the bar, and apply himself to something, by which more is to be got than by courting the muses, from whom he has nothing to expect, but unavailing wreaths and barren praise, attended with want and misery.

Pierios differ cantusque chorosque Sororum:

Æs dabit ex illis nulla puella tibi

Præter aquas Helicon, et sarta, lyrasque dearum,

Nil habet, et magnum sed perinane soporos.

Ep. lxxvi. li.

MARTIAL.

MARTIAL (*M. Valerius Martialis*) succeeded in the epigram. He was a Spaniard of the city of Bilbilis, which is said to have been not far from that of Calatunda in Arragon. He was born in the time of Clau-

dus, and at the age of twenty came to Rome in Nero's reign, where he stayed thirty years, beloved by the emperors, and in particular by Domitian, who conferred many favours upon him. It is believed, that his not being so well treated after the emperor's death, induced him to retire into his own country. He had full time there to grow weary of it, for want of good company, and such as had a taste for polite learning, which made him often think of his residence at Rome with regret. For instead of his verses being exceedingly admired and applauded, as they were in that learned city, at Bilbilis they only excited envy and slander against him; a treatment very hard to bear every day with patience. *Accedit his municipalium rubigo dentium, et judicii loco livor—adversus quod difficile est habere quotidie bonum stomachum*.² He died in the reign of Trajan, about the year of Christ 100.

Fourteen books of epigrams and one upon shows remain of his writings. Vossius believes the latter a collection of Martial's verses, and those of some other poets of his time upon the shows exhibited by Titus in the year of Christ 80.

Pliny, in honour of whom he had composed an epigram, (the 19th of the 10th book) gave him a sum of money when he retired from Rome:³ for he had made but small acquisitions in respect to the goods of fortune. Pliny on this occasion observes, that it was anciently the custom to confer rewards either of profit or honour upon those who had celebrated the glory of cities, or certain illustrious persons. At present, says he, that fashion is expired, with others no less great and noble. When we left off doings actions worthy of praise, we began to despise it, (if not with justice, at least with reason; for it reproached our want of merit.) *Postquam desimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus*. He lamented the death of Martial, when he was informed of it, and loved and esteemed his genius; but it were to be wished, that his verses had always been as chaste and modest, as they are sometimes witty. He is reproached for too much bitterness and ill-nature, his shameful flattery of Domitian, and his unworthy treatment of him after his death.

The love of subtleties or witticism, and the affectation of points in discourse, had from the time of Tiberius and Caligula, taken place of the fine taste that prevailed in the reign of Augustus. Those defects increased perpetually, which occasioned Martial's pleading so much. All his epigrams are far from having the same force and spirit; to which this verse of his own has been justly applied:

Sunt bona, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt mala plura.

Some good, some tolerable, but more bad.

And indeed most of them are bad; he has however some that are excellent: of which I shall give the reader the following examples.

Upon an Excellent Piece of Sculpture.

Artis Phidiæcæ toreuma clarum

Piæcis adpiciis: adde aquam, natabunt. Ep. xxxv. l. 3.

Upon the Slowness of a Barber.

Entrapelus tonor dum circuit ora Luperci,

Expingitque genas, altera barba subit.

Ep. lxxxiii. l. 7.

Advice to a Person not to go to Law.

Et iudex petit, et petit patronus:

Solvas censeo, Sexte, creditor. Ep. xiii. l. 2.

A judge, you say,—and patron you must get?

Take my advice, good Sextus; pay the debt.

Upon the sudden death of one who had often been victorious in the Races of the Circus.

Ille ego sum Scorpis, clamosi gloria Circi;

Plausus, Roma, tui, deliciæque breves:

Invida quæ Lachesis raptum trietride nona,

Dum numerat palmas, credidit esse senem.

Ep. li. l. 10.

Upon the bold action of Mucius Scaevola.

Dum peteret Regem decrepta satellitæ dextra,

Injicit sacris se peritura focis.

¹ Lib. 10. c. i.

² Martial in Præf. l. xii.

³ Plin. Ep. li. l. iiii.

Sed tam sæva pius miracula non tulit hostis,
Et raptum flammis jussit abire virum.
Urere quam potuit contempto Mucius igne,
Hanc spectare manum Forsena non potuit.
Major deceptæ fama est et gloria dextræ:
Si non erasset, fecerat illa minus. *Ep. xxii. l. 1.*

Against the inhumanity of a Covetous rich Man.

Tu spectas hiemem succincti lentus amici,
(Præ æculus!) et lateris frigora trita mei.
Quantum erat, infelix, pannis fraudare duobus,
(Quid renuis?) non te, Nævole, sed tuncas?
Ep. xvi. l. 2.

No riches are in reality saved but those we give away.

Callidus effracta nummos fur auferet arca:
Prosternet patrios impla flamma lares——
Extra fortunam est quicquid donatur amicis;
Quas dederis, solas semper habebis opes.
Ep. xlii. l. 8.

Praise and description of a little bitch. It is somewhat long, but of exceeding delicacy, and I could wish, for the sake of the ladies, that some able hand would translate it into our language in verse.

Issa est passere nequior Catulli:
Issa est purior osculo columbæ:
Issa est blandior omnibus puellis:
Issa est carior Indicis lapillis:
Issa est deliciæ catella Publi.
Hanc tu, si queritur, loqui putabis.
Sentit tristitiamque gaudiumque
Collo nixa cubat, capite somnos,
Ut suspiria nulla sentiantur:
Et desiderio coacta ventris,
Gutta pallia non fecellit ulla:
Sed blando pede suscitât, toroque
Depondi monet, et rogat levâri.
Castæ tantus inest pudor catellæ!
Ignorat Venerem, nec invenimus
Dignum tam tenera virum puellâ.
Hanc ne lux rapiat suprema tutam,
Picta Publius exprimit tabella.
In qua tam similem videbis Issam
Ut sit tam similis sibi nec Issa,
Issam denique pone cum tabella,
Aut utramque putabis esse veram,
Aut utramque putabis esse pictam.
Ep. cix. l. 4.

[For the sake of the ladies, as Mr. Rollio recommends it, the translator has attempted, or rather imitated this little poem in English measure, how unequally the comparison will best explain.]

Pretty Issa, what can be,
Of pretty things, compared to thee?
Lesbia's sparrow in its play
Was not half so arch and gay;
Issa's kisses sweeter far
Than the billing turtle's are:
Issa, fonder than the dove:
Issa, kind as maids in love:
India's gems with her compare!
Gems and gold are not so rare:
Cheap are those in Publius' sight;
Issa is his sole delight.
Issa has the art to trace
Joy and sadness in a face;
And such notice seems to take,
Issa, one would think, could speak.
Whilst she sleeps, her neck sustaining,
Not a breath her life explaining,
Should a call of nature take her,
No distresses rude can make her;
But swift-rising from her place,
Not a drop to her disgrace,
"Set me down," she tells you plain,
And now, "take me up again."
And so chaste's the little creature,
One would think her not of nature:
Never Venus and her son
To her spotless breast were known;
Nor a spouse could we provide
Worthy of the tender bride.
Lest death snatch her whole away,
Grief to think! at her last day,
Publius does her picture take,
Long to keep for Issa's sake:
Issa there as like you see,
As Issa can to Issa be:
Issa, by her picture place,
Issa's two with every grace!
Both painted seem, and both seem true;
They puzzle me and so would you.

SULPITIA

SULPITIA, a Roman lady, was the wife of Calenus. She wrote a poem upon the expulsion of the philosophers, wherein she severely lashes Domitian, and menaces him with death. It is the only one of a great number of poems composed by her, that has come down to us, and is usually printed at the end of Juvenal's satires. We have reason to regret the loss of the verses she inscribed to her husband upon conjugal love, and the chastity and fidelity to be observed in the married state. Martial gives her great praise in one of his epigrams, of which I shall repeat only some verses.

Omnes Sulpitiam legant puellâ,
Uni quæ cupiunt viro placere.
Omnes Sulpitiam legant mariti,
Uni qui cupiunt placere uxoribus
Hac condiscipula, vel hac magistra,
Esses doctior et pudica Sappho.

Epist. xxxv. l. 10.

IMITATED.

Ye tender brides, whom virtuous love inspires,
Refine by wise Sulpitia your desires;
She can the useful science well impart:
To keep one happy married lover's heart:
And you, whoever desire one bride to charm,
Yourselves with bright Sulpitia's dictates arm;
With her conversant, for her lessons taught,
Her lovely pupils rise, enlarged in thought;
Chaste and more learned Sapphos they become,
Their sex's glory, and the pride of Rome.

NEMESIANUS AND CALPURNIUS.

We have some eclogues, and part of a poem upon hunting wrote by *M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus*, who was very famous in his time for his poetical works. We are told that he was a native of Carthage. He inscribes his poem upon hunting to Carinus and Numerianus, after their father's death, that is to say in the year 284.

TITUS CALPURNIUS of Sicily, lived in the reigns of Carus, Carinus, and Numerianus. He composed seven eclogues, which he inscribed to Nemesianus, a pastoral poet as well as himself. The verses of both these poets have the character of the age in which they were written.

PRUDENTIUS.

PRUDENTIUS, (*Aurelius Prudentius Clemens*) a Christian poet, and officer in the court of the emperor Honorius, was born at Saragosa in Spain in the year 348, and died about 412. He did not begin his poems upon religion till the fifty-seventh year of his age. He had been first an advocate, then a judge, afterwards a soldier, and at last a retainer to the court in an honourable employment. He informs us himself of these circumstances in the prologue of his works.

Per quinquennia jam decem,
Ni fallor, fulmus: septimus insuper
Annum cardo rotat, dum fruimur sole volubili.

After having spoken of his youth he mentions his different employments.

Exin jurgia turbidos
Amarunt animos, et male pertinax
Vincendi studium subjacuit casibus asperis.
Bis legum moderamine
Frænos nobilium rexitque urbiū:
Jus civile bonis reddidimus, terribus reos.
Tandem militiæ gradu
Ejectum pietas principis extulit.
Adsumptum propius stare jubens ordine proximo.

The poems of Prudentius come down to us, abounding more with zeal for religion than ornaments of art. They are full of false quantities; besides which he is not always orthodox in his notions. We must, however, confess, that there is considerable taste and delicacy in many passages of his works: his hymns upon the Innocents are sufficient proofs of this, from which I shall repeat some strophes.

Salvete flores martyrum,
Quos lucis ipso in limine,

Christi insecutor sustulit,
 Ceu turba nascentes rosas,
 Vos prima Christi victima,
 Grex immolatorum tener,
 Aram sub ipsam simplices
 Palma et coronis luditis
 Audit tyrannus anxius
 Adesce regum principem,
 Qui nomen Israel regat,
 Teneatque David regiam.
 Exclamat amens nuntio:
 Successor instat, pellimur.
 Satelesti, ferrum rape,
 Perfunde cunas sanguine.
 Transigit ergo carnifex
 Muerone districto furens
 Effusa nuper corpora,
 Animasque rimatur novas.

The Augustan age has nothing more animated, nor more delicate, than these strophes.

CLAUDIAN.

CLAUDIAN, (*Claudius*), a Latin poet and a pagan, was a native of Egypt. He lived in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, who caused a statue to be erected in honour of him. He died soon after Arcadius. He merits the first rank amongst the heroic poets, who appeared after the Augustan age. Of all those who have endeavoured to follow and imitate Virgil, none come so near the majesty of that poet, and retain less of the corruption of the age he lived in, than he. He everywhere shows abundance of genius, and that he was born a poet. He was full of that fire which produces enthusiasm. His style is correct, sweet, elegant, and at the same time noble and sublime. He has, however, too many flights and sallies of youth, and swells too much. He has wit and imagination, but is far from that delicacy of numbers, that natural and exquisite harmony of verse which the learned admire in Virgil. He rings perpetually the same round of measures, the same cadence, the effect of which is, that one can scarce read him without being tired. Of the several poems of Claudian, his invectives against Rufinus and Eutropius have been highly esteemed.

AUSONIUS.

AUSONIUS, (*Decius*, or rather *Decimus Magnus Ausonius*), was born at Bourdeaux. At the age of thirty he was chosen professor of grammar, and afterwards of rhetoric. He acquired so great a reputation in the latter employment, that he was sent for to the Imperial court, and made preceptor to Gratian the son of the emperor Valentinian I., (An. 367.) He accompanied his pupil in that young prince's journey with his father into Germany. This employment acquired him the highest dignities of the empire. He was made questor by Valentinian. After the death of that prince, Gratian made him *Præfectus Prætorio*; which office he had twice, first for Italy and Africa, and afterwards for the Gauls. He was at length declared consul, (An. 379,) at which time Juvenal's maxim was again verified, "That when fortune pleases, she makes a consul of a rhetorician."

Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul.

The emperor, in conferring that dignity upon him, forgot nothing that could exalt the favour by the obliging and generous manner of doing it. To know how to improve gifts and graces thus, is a science worthy of a prince. He immediately despatched a courier to Ausonius with advice of his being nominated consul, and wrote to him in these terms.—"When I considered some time ago about the creation of consuls for this year, I implored the assistance of God, as you know it is my custom to do in whatever I undertake, and as I know it is your desire that I should. I believed it incumbent on me to nominate you first consul, and that God required that acknowledgment from me of the good instructions I have received from you. I therefore pay you what I owe you, and as I am sensible that we can

never sufficiently discharge our obligations to our parents and masters, I confess myself still no less in your debt than I was before." That nothing might be wanting to the favour he did him, he accompanied this letter with the present of a very rich robe, in which the figure of the emperor Constantius, his father-in-law, was embroidered in gold. Ausonius, on his side, employed the whole force and delicacy of his genius in praising his august benefactor both in verse and prose. His oration of thanks to the emperor is still extant, and has been highly esteemed. There is a great deal of wit in it, perhaps too much; with fine and solid thoughts, and sprightly turns, but often far-fetched and too much studied. The Latinity of it is hard, and speaks the age in which the author lived. That the reader may have some idea of his style, I shall repeat here the beginning of this speech, which he pronounced before the emperor.—"Ago tibi gratias, Imperator Auguste: si posseni, etiam referrem. Sed nec tua fortuna desiderat remunerandi vices, nec nostra suggerit restituendi facultatem. Privatorum ista copia est, inter se esse munificos. Tua beneficia, ut majestate præcellunt, ita mutuum non repossunt. Quod solum igitur nostræ opis est, gratias ago, verum ita, ut apud Deum fieri solet, sentiendo copiosius, quam loquendo; atque non in sacratio modò Imperialis oraculi, qui locus horrore tranquillo et pavore venerabili rard eundem animum præstat et vultum: sed usquequaque gratias ago, tum tacens, tum loquens; tum non in cœtu hominum, tum ipse mecum; et cùm voce potui, et cùm meditatione secessi; omni loco, actu, habitu, et tempore. Nec mirum, si ego terminum non statuo tam grata profîndi, cùm in finem facere nescias honorandi. Qui enim locus est, aut dies, que non me hujus aut similis gratulationis admoneant! Admoneat autem! O inertiam significationis ignave! Quis, inquam, locus est, qui non beneficiis tuis agitet, inflamment?"

There is an extreme inequality in the works of Ausonius. His style is stiff and hard, as I have already observed, but that stiffness, that roughness, is the least fault of his poems. The obscenity with which they abound, forbid the reading of them to every one who has not renounced all feelings of shame.

ST. PAULINUS.

ST. PAULINUS, bishop of Nola, was born at Bourdeaux, about the year 353. The celebrated Ausonius, of whom I spoke last, was his master in profane learning. St. Paulinus declares more than once that he was indebted for every thing to Ausonius, whom he calls his patron, master, father, and to whom he acknowledges himself indebted for the progress he had made in learning, and his elevation to offices and dignities.

Tibi disciplinas, dignitatem, litteras,
 Linguae, et togæ, et famæ decus,
 Provectus, altus, institutus debeo,
 Patrone, præceptor, parens.

Carm. 10.

He made a great progress under such a master; Ausonius congratulates him upon it in several of his poems, and owns, which is no small thing for a poet to allow, that his disciple carries the bays by his verses against him.

Cedimus ingenio, quantum præcedimus ævo.
 Assurgit Musæ nostra Camæna tuæ.

Auson. Epist. 20.

The retirement of St. Paulinus, who went into Spain to hide himself in solitude, drew upon him violent reproaches from Ausonius.² That worldly man wrote him many letters complaining of his injurious state of oblivion, and directing his severity particularly against his Tanaquil; by which odious name he means his wife Therasia, to whom he imputes that change. He accused his disciple of having lost his former good nature, and of having become morose, and a hater of mankind. He ascribes to him in terms sufficiently express, a mind perverted by spleen and melancholy, that induced him to fly the society and intercourse of men: the reproach usually made by

¹ Auson. in Grat. act.

² Id. Epist. xxiv. and xxv.

persons of the world to those who quit it. Divine providence prevented him from receiving any of these letters, till he was strong enough to resist the snares which the devil laid for him by the hand of a late esteemed, and much beloved master. At the end of four years he received three of them, which he answered by several on his side. After having explained the reason of his long silence, he excuses himself from resuming the study of profane poetry, which did not suit a person like him, who had devoted his thoughts solely to God.

Quid abdicatas, in meam ceram, pater
Redire Musas præcipis?
Negant Camænis, nec patent Apollini
Dicata Christo pectora.

He says that he is now no longer to invoke Apollo and the muses, divinities impotent and deaf; that a God more powerful has taken possession of his mind, and requires other sentiments and a different language from him—

Nunc alia mentem vis agit, major Deus
Aliosque mores postulat.

He afterwards describes the wonderful change operated by grace in the heart of man when it has seized it by right of conquest, and has entirely subjected it to itself, in making it by a chaste and pure joy lose all taste for its former pleasures and worldly delights; in extinguishing all his pains and disquiet of the present life by a lively faith and hope of future happiness; and in leaving it no other care, than to employ itself with its God; in contemplating his wonderful works, in studying his holy will, and endeavouring with all the powers of the soul to render him an homage worthy of him by an undivided love that knows no bounds.

Hic ergo nostra ut saum præcediis
Vibraverit celo jubat,
Absergit ægrum corporis pigri situm
Habitumque mentis innovat.
Exhaurit omne quod juvabat antea,
Castæ voluntatis vice.
Totoque nostra jure domini vindicat
Et corda, et ora, et tempora.
Se cogitari, intelligi, credi, legi,
Se vult timeri et diligi.
Ætus iuvenes, quos movet vitæ labor
Præsentis ævi tramite,
Aboluit futuræ eum Deo vitæ fides, &c.

To all this he adds a strong protestation never to be wanting in what his obligations to Ausonius required of him.

The praises which Ausonius gives St. Paulinus in many places, seems rather to regard the poems he composed before his renouncing the profane muses, than those he wrote after. For, after so uncommon and generous an abdication, he studied to extinguish the greater part of his fire; and having stifled in himself all desire of worldly reputation, he checked and neglected his genius and style, and confined himself within the bounds of a simplicity averse to all pride, and such as the Christian modesty requires. He carried this departure from the poet so far, as to disregard even the rules of prosody. But with all the air of negligence, that appears no less in his versification than in the general style of his poems, we always find certain natural charms and beauties, which makes us love the author and his works.

ST. PROSPER.

ST. PROSPER was of Aquitaine. He was married, and a layman, and secretary of the briefs, to St. Leo, the Pope.

Besides several other little pieces, which are dubious, we have a considerable poem of St. Prosper against the ungrateful, that is to say, against the enemies of the grace of Jesus Christ, wherein as a profound theologian, he explains the doctrine of the church against the Pelagians and Semipelagians. Mr. Godeau, after many other authors, judges this work an abridgment of all St. Augustine's books upon this subject, and particularly of those which he wrote against Julian. He adds, that the expressions are

wonderful, and that in many places, there is reason to be amazed how it was possible for this saint to unite the beauty of versification with the severity of his subject. What is besides surprising in this poem, is to see the exact regularity with which the maxims of the faith are observed in it, notwithstanding the constraint of verse, and the freedom of the poetic spirit; and that the truths of religion are neither altered nor weakened by the ornaments of poetry. This poem has been translated into French verse. I shall give the preface of it a place here, which will show both the subject of this excellent work, and the style of its author.—

PRÆFATIO.

Unde voluntatis sanctæ subsistat origo,
Unde animis pietas inest, et unde fides:
Adversum ingratos, falsa et virtute superbos,
Ceteris decies versibus excolui.
Quos si tranquilla studeas cognoscere cura,
Tutus ab adverso turbine, Lector, eris.
Nec libertate arbitrii rapiere rebellis,
Ulla nec audebis dona negare Dei.
Sed bona que tibi sunt, operante faterere Christo,
Non esse ex merito sumpta, sed ad meritum.

FRENCH TRANSLATION.

Ma plume en mille Vers combattant pour la Græce,
A pour Dieu combattu,
Attaquant ces Ingrats pleins de la vaine audace
D'une fausse vertu.
J'ai fait voir d'où nos cœurs conçoivent la racine
D'un céleste dessein,
D'où la foi naît dans nous, d'où la vertu divino
Germe dans notre sein.
Si donc ton esprit calme, en lisant eet ouvrage,
N'y cherche que du fruit,
Ces Vers te sauront du funeste naufrago
Où l'erreur nous conduit.
Tu n'élèveras point contre ton Roi suprême
Ta tière liberté,
Et tu ne croiras point mériter par toi-même
Les dons de sa bonté.
Mais tu reconnoîtras que tu dois toute chose
Au Dieu qui t'est si doux;
Et que notre mérite est l'effet, non la cause
De sa Grâce dans nous.

THE SAME IN ENGLISH.

Whence holiness of will derives its birth,
Whence piety, and faith, illumine earth,
'Gainst men ungrateful, of false virtue vain,
I sing: a thousand verses form the strain.
If, reader, to such knowledge you aspire,
Search here, and gratify your good desire.
From frantic error safe, the growth of pride,
These, if you study well, will be your guide:
Nor will you dare against the God of Grace
Rebellious human liberty to place,
Nor will you any of his gifts disown;
Nor think you merit, but by Him alone:
Whatever is good in you, you here will trace,
Not as the cause, but the effect, of Grace.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS.

C. SOLIUS APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS was born at Lyons. His father was *praefectus praetorio*, and son-in-law of the emperor Avitus. We have twenty-four of his poems, which are usually printed with the nine books of his epistles. The age in which he lived is an excuse for the hardness and obscurity of his style, and the false quantities of his verses. He renounced poetry with secular things, and composed no verses after he was made bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, which happened in the year 472.

AVIENUS.

RUFUS FESTUS AVIENUS lived in the reign of Theodosius the elder. This author translated the *Phænomena* of Aratus, and the *Metamorphosis* of Dionysius, that is to say, his description of the earth, into Latin verse. He had also turned all Livy into Iambics: a work useless enough, and of which the loss is only to be regretted, as it contained the substance of that excellent historian's matter not come down to us. There are fables of his extant, which he made into elegiac verse from Æsop, and dedicated to Theodosius, who is in reality Macrobius: they are very far remote from the purity, beauty, and elegance of Phædrus.

BÆTIUS.

BÆTIUS (*Anicius Manlius Severinus Bætius*) was sole consul in the year 510. What verses this great man made, are inserted in his five books *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, which he composed in the prison, where Theodoric king of the Goths, whose prime minister he was, confined him. His prose, which is not the most excellent, seemed to have contributed like shades in painting, to exalt the beauties of his poetry, that abounds with grave sentences and fine thoughts.

FORTUNATUS.

FORTUNATUS was born in the marquisate of Treviso. He was made bishop of Poitiers, and died about the beginning of the seventh century. He is one of the most considerable of the ancient Christian poets. We have eleven books of his miscellaneous poems in lyric and elegiac verse; and four of the *Life of St. Martin* in hexameters. The merit of his verses is to be judged from the age in which he lived.

CHAPTER II.
OF HISTORIANS.

HISTORY has with reason been called the evidence of time, the light of truth, the school of virtue, the depository of events, and, if the expression may be allowed, the faithful messenger of antiquity. And indeed it opens to our view the vast series of all past ages, and brings them in a manner down to our own times. It makes conquerors, heroes, princes, and all other great personages, appear before us; but without the pompous train which attended them during their lives, and reduced to their own persons, in order to render an account of their actions at the tribunal of posterity, and submit to a judgment, in which flattery has no longer any part, because they have no longer any power. History has also the privilege of approaching the thrones of the princes that reign, and is almost the only counsellor, who either can or dare impart truth to them, and even show them their faults if they have any, but under foreign names, to spare their delicacy, and to render its advice useful by avoiding to give them offence. It is no less intent upon the instruction of private persons. It sets before all in general, of whatever age or condition they be, both the models of virtue they are to follow, and the examples they ought to shun.

It is easy to conceive, that history, while artless and rude in its infancy, was not capable of rendering these important services to mankind. It contented itself at first with preserving the remembrance of events, by carving them upon stone and brass, in fixing them by inscriptions, by inserting them into public registers, and by consecrating them in some measure in hymns and songs of religion. It rose by degrees, till at length it attained that height of perfection, to which the Greek and Latin writers carried it.

I shall say nothing of the history of the people of God, composed by Moses, the most ancient and venerable of all historians: neither shall I speak of several historians, whose names only, or at most some small fragments of their writings, have come down to us. I shall confine myself here to the Greek and Latin historians whose works, either in whole or in part, are still extant. As I have taken care to quote them exactly in my Ancient History, and as they are my authorities for what I advanced there, it seemed necessary, that such of my readers as have not been conversant with them, should have some small knowledge of them, and know at least the times in which they lived, the principal circumstances of their lives, the works they composed, and the judgment passed on them by the learned.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE GREEK HISTORIANS.

SECTION I.—HERODOTUS.

HERODOTUS was of Halicarnassus, a city of Caria. He was born in the same year Artemisa queen of Caria died, and four years before the descent of Xerxes

upon Greece, A. M. 3520, Ant. J. C. 484.¹ Seeing his country oppressed by the tyranny of Lygdamis, Artemisa's grand-son, he quitted it, and retired into the Isle of Samos, where he learned the Ionic dialect perfectly. It was in this dialect he composed his history in nine books. He begins it at Cyrus, according to him first king of Persia, and continues it to the battle of Mycale, fought in the eighth year of Xerxes, which includes an hundred and twenty years under four kings of Persia, Cyrus, Cambyzes, Darius, and Xerxes, from the year of the world 3405 to 3524. Besides the history of the Greeks and Persians, which are his principal subjects, he treats that of several other nations, as the Egyptians, which takes up his second book. In the work of his which we have, he cites his histories of the Assyrians and Arabians;² but nothing of them is come down to us, and it is even doubted whether he finished them, because they are not mentioned by any author. The *Life of Homer*, ascribed to Herodotus, is not believed to be his.

Herodotus, in order to make himself known to all Greece at one and the same time, chose to make his appearance at the Olympic games, and read his history there, which was received with great applause.³ The style in which it is wrote seemed so sweet and flowing, that the audience thought they heard the muses themselves; and on that account, the names of the muses were afterwards given to the nine books of which the history consists. It appears, that he gave a particular reading of his work to the city of Athens, which well deserved that distinction: this was at the celebrated feast of the *Panathenææ*. It is easy to judge how highly a history, composed with so much art and eloquence, must have pleased such refined and delicate ears, and wits so curious, and of so exquisite a taste, as those of the Athenians. It is believed to have been rather at this assembly, than the Olympic games, that Thucydides, then very young, perhaps about fifteen, was so much affected with the beauty of this history,⁴ that he was seized with a kind of transport and enthusiasm, and shed tears of joy in abundance. Herodotus perceived it, and complimented Olorus, the father of the youth, upon that occasion; exhorting him in the strongest terms to take particular care of a son who already showed so extraordinary a taste for polite learning, and who might one day be the honour of Greece. Great persons cannot be too attentive in encouraging young men by just praises, in whom they observe fine talents, and generous inclinations. It is perhaps to these few words of Herodotus, that the world is indebted for the admirable history of Thucydides.

I have said, that Thucydides might be about fifteen when he was present at the reading of Herodotus's history at Athens. Suidas says, that he was then only a child, or rather very young, *ἑταρῆς*. As he was born but thirteen years after Herodotus, the latter himself in consequence could not at that time be above twenty-eight, which highly adds to the merit of that author, who at that age had composed so valuable a work.

Herodotus, crowned with glory, thought of returning into his own country; whither the heart always recalls us. When he arrived there, he exhorted the people to expel the tyrant that oppressed them, and to reinstate themselves in the possession of their liberty, dearer to the Greeks than life itself. His remonstrances had all the success that could be expected, but met with no other reward than ingratitude, through the envy so glorious and successful an enterprise drew upon him. He was obliged to quit an ungrateful country, and thought proper to take the advantage of an opportunity that offered itself very favourably. The Athenians were at this time sending a colony to Thurium, in that part of Italy called *Græcia Major*, to inhabit and repeople that city. He joined this colony, and went with it to settle at Thurium, where he ended his days. Thurium was the ancient Sybaris, or at least that city was built in the neighbourhood of Sybaris, and the remaining peo-

¹ Suidas.² Lib. i. c. 184.³ Suidas,⁴ Marcellin. de vit. Thucyd. Suidas.

ple of that ancient place, ruined by the Crotoniatae, were settled there.

I defer speaking of the judgment to be passed on Herodotus, till I have gone through the article of Thucydides, in order to compare them with each other.

SECTION II.—THUCYDIDES.

THE birth of Thucydides is dated in the 77th Olympiad, thirteen years after that of Herodotus, A. M. 3553, Ant. J. C. 471. His father was Olorus (so called from a king of Thrace) and his mother Hegesipyle.¹ One of his ancestors was the ancient Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, the founder of the kingdom of the Thracian Chersonesus, who having retired into Thrace by the consent of Pisistratus, there married Hegesipyle the daughter of Olorus king of Thrace, whose daughter of the same name was very probably the mother of our historian. He studied rhetoric under Antiphon, and philosophy under Anaxagoras. He speaks of the first in his viii. book,² and says that he was for abolishing the popular government, and establishing that of the four hundred at Athens. We have already said, that at the age of fifteen he had heard Herodotus's history read with extreme pleasure, either at Olympia, or Athens. As he had a violent inclination for study, he had no thoughts of concerning himself in the administration of the public affairs; and only took care to form himself in the military exercises that suited a young man of his birth. He was employed in the army, and made some campaigns. At twenty-seven he was joined in commission for conducting and settling a new colony of Athenians at Thurium, A. M. 3560. Ant. J. C. 444. He passed three or four years in that employment, after which he returned to Athens. He then married a very rich wife of Thrace, who had a great number of mines in that country. By this marriage his circumstances were rendered easy, and he obtained the means of expending considerable sums. We shall soon see the good use he made of this advantage.

In the meantime the Peloponnesian war broke out, and occasioned great revolutions and troubles in Greece, A. M. 3573. Ant. J. C. 431. Thucydides, who foresaw that it would be of long duration, and attended with important events, formed from the first the design of writing the history of it.³ It was necessary for this purpose to have the most faithful and certain accounts, and to be informed to the most minute circumstances of all that passed on both sides in every expedition and campaign. And this he effected in an admirable manner that has few examples. As he served in the troops of Athens, he was an eyewitness of what passed in the army of the Athenians till the eighth year of that war, that is to say, till the time of his banishment, of which this was the occasion, A. M. 3580, Ant. J. C. 424.⁴ He had been commanded to go to the relief of Amphipolis upon the frontiers of Thrace, a place of great importance to both parties. Brasidas, general of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither first, and took the place. Thucydides on his side took Eione upon the river Strymon. This advantage, which was inconsiderable to Athens in comparison with the loss of Amphipolis, was looked upon as nothing. His having failed of relieving Amphipolis through want of expedition, was made a crime, and the people, at the instigation of Cleon, punished his pretended fault by sentence of banishment.

Thucydides made his disgrace conduce to the preparation and executing of the great design he had formed of composing the history of this war. He employed the whole time of his banishment, which continued twenty years, in collecting his materials with more diligence than ever. His residing sometimes in the country of Sparta, and sometimes in that of Athens, extremely facilitated the inquiries he had to make. He spared no expense for that purpose, and made great presents to the officers on both sides, in order

to his being informed of all that passed in the two armies. He had taken the same method whilst in the service.

The Athenians, after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants by Thrasybulus, permitted all the exiles to return, except the Pisistratides, A. M. 3601, Ant. J. C. 403. Thucydides took the benefit of this decree, and returned to Athens after a banishment of twenty years, at the age of sixty-eight. It was not till then, according to Mr. Dodwell, that Thucydides actually applied himself to the composition of his history, of which he had hitherto been collecting and disposing the materials with incredible care. His subject, as I have already observed, was the famous Peloponnesian war, which continued twenty-seven years. He carried it down no farther than the twenty-first inclusively. The six years which remained were supplied by Theopompus and Xenophon. He used the Attic dialect in his history, as the purest, and most elegant, and at the same time the most nervous and emphatical: besides which it was the idiom of Athens his country. He tells us himself, that in writing it, his view was not to please, but to instruct his readers.⁵ For which reason he does not call his history a work composed for ostentation, ἀγώνισμα, but a monument to endure for ever, κτίσμα ἐς ἔτι. He divides it regularly by years and campaigns. There is a French translation of this excellent historian by Mr. D'Ablandcourt.

Thucydides is believed to have lived thirteen years after his return from banishment, and the end of the Peloponnesian war. He died A. M. 3613, Ant. J. C. 391, at the age of fourscore and upwards, at Athens according to some, and in Thrace according to others, whence his bones were brought to Athens. Plutarch says, that the tomb of Thucydides was shown in his time within the monument of Cimon's family.⁶

COMPARISON OF HERODOTUS AND THUCYDIDES.

DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, an excellent historian and critic, in a letter to Pompey the Great, compares Herodotus and Thucydides, the two most esteemed of the Greek historians, and expresses his judgment of them, as well in respect to history itself, as the style they use. I shall repeat in this place the principal points in this short dissertation: but we must remember that our critic is of Halicarnassus as well as Herodotus, which may perhaps give room to suspect him of some partiality to his countryman.

1. MATTER OF HISTORY CONSIDERED.

THE first duty of an author, who intends to compose a history, and to transmit the knowledge and remembrance of past actions to posterity, is, in my opinion, to make choice of a subject great, noble, and affecting: which by the variety and importance of facts, may render the reader attentive, and keep him always in a kind of busy suspense; and, lastly, engross and please him by the nature itself of the events, and the good success that terminates them.

Herodotus may indisputably in this point be said to take place of Thucydides. Nothing could be more agreeable and affecting than the subject chosen by the former. It is all Greece, jealous to the degree every body knows she was of her liberty, attacked by the most formidable power of the universe, which, with innumerable forces by sea and land, undertakes to crush and reduce her into slavery. It is nothing but victories upon victories, as well by sea as land, gained over the Persians by the Greeks, who, without mentioning the moral virtues carried to the highest degree of perfection, show all the valour, prudence, and military abilities, that can be expected from the greatest of captains. In fine, this war, so long and terrible, in which all Asia, departing out of herself and overflowing like a deluge, seems to make the total destruction of the little country of Greece inevitable, terminates with the shameful flight of Xerxes, the most powerful king of the earth, who is reduced to escape in a little boat, and with a success, that extinguishes for ever in the Persians all thoughts and desires of attacking Greece again with open force.

¹ Marcellin. de vit. Thucyd. Suidas.

² Thucyd. l. viii. p. 592.

³ Thucyd. l. v. p. 561.

⁴ Thucyd. l. iv. p. 321.

⁵ Thucyd. l. i. pp. 15, 16.

⁶ In vit. Cim. p. 4f

We see nothing of this kind in the choice Thucydides has made of his subject. He confines himself to a single war, which is neither just in its principle, very various in its events, nor glorious to the Athenians in its success. It is Greece become frantic and possessed with a spirit of discord, that inbrues her hands in her own blood, arming Greeks against Greeks, allies against allies. Thucydides himself, from the beginning of his history, declares and gives his reader a view of all the evils, with which that unfortunate war would be attended: slaughter of men, plundering of cities, earthquakes, droughts, famine, diseases, plagues, pestilence, in a word, the most dreadful calamities. What a beginning, what a prospect is this! Is there any thing more capable of disgusting and shocking the reader?

Such is the first reflection of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which, in my opinion, does not at all affect the merit of the writer. The choice of the matter, and the glorious success of a war, do not depend upon an author coteremporary with his subject, who is not master of his events, and who neither can nor ought to write any thing but what happens. He is unfortunate in being the witness of none but deplorable facts, but not the less excellent for that reason; which is at most a reproach, that will lie only against a tragic or epic poet, who disposes his matter at his own discretion. But as to an author, who writes the history of his own times, we have no right to require any thing of him, but that he should be true, judicious, and impartial. Is the sole end of history to delight the reader? Ought it not rather be to instruct him: and are not the great calamities, which are the necessary effects of bad passion and injustice, highly useful in teaching mankind to avoid them?

In the second place, it is very important for the writer to make a good choice of his point of view, in order to know where he is to begin, and how far carry on, his history. And in this Herodotus has succeeded wonderfully. He begins with relating the cause of the war declared by the Persians against Greece, which is the desire to revenge an injury¹ received above two hundred years before, and he concludes the relation of it with the exemplary punishment of the Barbarians. The taking of Troy could at most be only the pretext of this war, and what a pretext was it! The real cause was undoubtedly the ambition of the kings of Persia, and the desire of avenging themselves upon the Greeks for the aid they gave the Ionians. As for Thucydides, he begins his history with describing the unhappy situation of the affairs of the Greeks at that time; a first prospect little agreeable and affecting. He expressly imputes the cause of this war to the city of Athens; though he might have ascribed it to the envy of Sparta, its rival from the time of the glorious exploits by which the Athenians had so highly distinguished themselves in the war with the Persians.

This second reflection of our critic seems still worse founded than the first. Thucydides might have advanced this pretext, but I do not know whether he could have done it with truth and justice: or rather one may positively affirm, that he could not advance it with any appearance of reason whatsoever. It is certain, if we may believe Plutarch, that the cause of the war ought to be imputed to the unbounded ambition of the Athenians, who affected universal dominion. It is noble in Thucydides, to have sacrificed the glory of his country to the love of truth: a quality in which the most essential merit and highest praise of a historian consist.

Thirdly, Herodotus, who knew that a long relation of the same matter, how agreeable soever it might be, would disgust, and become tedious to the reader, has varied his work, after the manner of Homer, by episodes and digressions, which add much to its beauty and the reader's pleasure. Thucydides, on the contrary, is always uniform and in the same tone, and pursues his subject without giving himself time to take breath; heaping up battles upon battles, preparations upon preparations, harangues upon harangues; par-

celling out, to use that expression, actions by campaigns, which might have been shown in all their extent with more grace and perspicuity.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis seems here not to have had sufficient attention to the laws of history, and to have almost believed, that an historian might be judged of in the same manner as a poet. Many people blame Herodotus for his long and frequent digressions, as a considerable defect in point of history. I am far from agreeing with this opinion. They must have been very agreeable to the Greeks, at a time when the history of those different nations, of which they treat, was entirely unknown to them. But I am still farther from blaming the plan and conduct of Thucydides, who hardly ever loses sight of his subject; for this is one of the principal rules of history, from which a writer ought never to depart without the justest reasons.

Fourthly, Thucydides, religiously attached to truth, which ought to be the foundation of history, and which is certainly the first and most essential quality of a historian, inserts nothing fabulous in his work, has no regard to embellishing and enlivening it by relating facts and events of the marvellous kind, and does not, upon every occasion, introduce the gods and goddesses, acting by dreams, oracles, and prodigies. In this he is indisputably superior to Herodotus, who is little delicate and cautious in respect to many facts which he advances, and is generally credulous even to weakness and superstition.

Fifthly, If we may believe Dionysius of Halicarnassus, there is in the writings of Thucydides a gloominess of character, and a natural roughness of humour, which his banishment had sharpened and exasperated. He is most exact in noting all the faults, and wrong measures, of the generals; and if he sometimes remarks their good qualities and successes, for he often passes them over in silence, he seems to do it with regret and against his will.

I do not know whether this censure he well founded; but my reading of Thucydides gave me no such idea of him. I perceived indeed that his matter was sad and gloomy, but not the historian. Dionysius of Halicarnassus discerns a quite different temper in Herodotus, namely, a character of kindness and good nature always equal to itself, with an extreme sensibility for the good and bad fortune of his country.

2. ELOCUTION CONSIDERED.

Several things may be considered in respect to elocution.

Purity, propriety, and eloquence of language, These qualities are common to both our historians, who equally excelled in them, but always in adhering to the noble simplicity of nature. It is remarkable, says Cicero, that these two authors, who were coteremporary with the sophists, that had introduced a florid, trim, formal, artificial style, and whom Socrates for that reason called *λογιστῆς* never gave into those minute or rather frivolous ornaments.²

Diffusion or brevity of style. These particularly distinguish and characterize them. The style of Herodotus is sweet, flowing, and more diffuse; that of Thucydides lively, concise, and vehement. "The one," to use Cicero's words, "is like a calm stream, whose waves flow with majesty; the other like an impetuous torrent; and when he speaks of war we seem to hear the trumpet sound." *Alter sine ulla salebris quasi sedatus annis fluit: alter incitatione fertur, et de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodammodo bellicum.*³ "Thucydides is so full of things, that with him the thoughts are almost equal in number to the words; and at the same time he is so just and close in his expressions, that one cannot tell whether it be the words that adorn the thoughts, or the thoughts the word." *Qui (Thucydides) ita creber est*

² Sophistas *λογιστῆς* appellat in Phædro Socrates quorum satis arguta multa, sed minuta quedam nimiumque depicta. Quo magis sunt Herodotus Thucydidesque mirabiles: quorum etas cum in eorum tempora, quos nominamus, incidisset, longissime tamen ipsi a talibus delictis, vel potius ineptiis abfuerunt. *Cic. in Orat. n. 39.*

³ *Orat. n. 39.*

¹ The destruction of Troy by the Greeks, which city was in alliance with Persia.

*rerum frequentia, ut verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequatur: ita porro verbis aptius et pressus, ut necias utrum res oratione, an verba sententia illustrentur.*¹ This close, and in a manner abrupt, style, is wonderfully proper for giving strength and energy to discourse, but is generally attended with obscurity. And this is what has happened to Thucydides, especially in his harangues, which in many places are almost unintelligible. *Ipsæ illæ conscientie ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias, viæ ut intelligantur.*² so that the reading of this author requires an uninterrupted attention, and becomes a serious study. For the rest, it is not surprising that Thucydides, as he alludes in his harangues to many circumstances well known in his time, and forgot afterwards, should have obscurities in the sense of readers so many ages removed from those events. But that is not the principal cause of them.

What has been said, shows what we are to think of our two historians, in respect to the passions, which, as every body knows, prevail in and constitute the principal merit of, Eloquence. Herodotus succeeds in those which require sweetness and insinuation, and Thucydides in the strong and vehement passions. Both have harangues, but they are less frequent and shorter in the first. Dionysius of Halicarnassus finds a defect in those of Thucydides, which is, that they are always in one and the same form and tone, and that the characters of the speakers are ill sustained in them; whereas Herodotus is much happier in those respects. Some persons blame harangues in history in general, and especially the direct. I have answered this objection elsewhere.

I shall conclude this article, which has become longer than I intended, with the elegant and judicious character Quintilian³ has drawn of our two authors, in which he includes part of what has hitherto been said. *Historiarum multi scripsere, sed nemo dubitat duos longe ceteris præferendos, quorum diversa virtus laudem pene est parē consecuta. Densus, et brevis, et semper instans sibi Thucydides: dulcis, et candidus, et fusus Herodotus. Ille concitatus, hic remissus affectibus melior: ille concionibus, hic sermonibus: ille vi, hic voluptate.* "Greece has produced many famous historians; but all agree in giving the preference greatly to two of them, who by different qualities have acquired almost equal glory. Thucydides is close, concise, and always *hastening on*⁴ to the point in view: Herodotus is sweet, perspicuous, and more diffused. The one is best for the vehement passions, the other for the soft and agreeable. The one succeeds in harangues, the other in common discourse. Force strikes us in the one, and pleasure charms us in the other." What, in my opinion, highly exalts the merit of Herodotus and Thucydides, is that both of them, with few models they could follow, carried history to its perfection by a different method. The general esteem of the ancients for these two authors, is a circumstance highly in their favour. So many great men could hardly be mistaken in their judgment of them.

SECTION III.—XENOPHON.

I HAVE elsewhere treated with sufficient extent all that relates to the life and works of Xenophon; I shall only say a few words regarding them here, to recall the reader's remembrance of them, and their dates.

Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, was born at Athens in the third year of the 82d Olympiad, A. M. 3554, Ant. J. C. 450. He was something more than twenty years younger than Thucydides; and was a great philosopher, historian, and general. He engaged himself in the troops of young Cyrus, who marched against his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Persia, in order to dethrone him, A. M. 3603, Ant. J. C. 401. This occasioned his banishment, the Athenians

being at that time in amity with Artaxerxes. The retreat of the Ten Thousand under the conduct of Xenophon is known to every body, and has immortalized his fame. After his return, he was employed in the troops of Sparta, at first in Thrace, and afterwards in Asia, till Agesilaus was recalled, whom he accompanied as far as Bœotia. He then retired to Scyllontia, where the Lacedæmonians had given him lands, situate at no great distance from the city of Ellis. He was not idle in his retirement. He took advantage of the leisure it afforded him to compose his histories. He began with the *Cyropædia*, which is the history of Cyrus the Great, in eight books. It was followed with that of Cyrus the younger, which includes the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand, in seven books. He then wrote the Grecian history in seven books also, which begins where Thucydides left off. It contains the space of almost forty-eight years, from the return of Alcibiades into Attica, to the battle of Mantinæa. He also composed several particular tracts upon historical subjects.

His style, under an air of simplicity and natural sweetness, conceals inimitable graces, which persons of little delicacy of taste may not fully perceive and admire, but which did not escape Cicero, and which made him say, "That the muses seemed to speak by the mouth of Xenophon:" *Xenophonis voce musas quasi locutas ferunt.*⁵ Quintilian, in the praise he has left us of this author, has done little more than paraphrase that thought. *Quid ego commemorem Xenophonis jucunditatem illam infaictalam, sed quam nulla possit affectatio consequi? ut ipsæ finis se sermonem Gratia videantur: et, quod de Pericle veteris Comædiæ testimonium est, in hunc transferri justissimè possit, in labris ejus sedisse quandam persuadendi deam.*⁶ "What praises does not the charming sweetness of Xenophon deserve? so simple, so remote from all affectation, but which no affectation can ever attain. The Graces themselves seem to have composed his discourse; and what the ancient comedy said of Pericles may most justly be applied to him, that the goddess of persuasion dwelt upon his lips."

SECTION IV.—CTESIAS.

CTESIAS of Cnidos was Xenophon's cotemporary. He was taken prisoner after the battle of young Cyrus with his brother Artaxerxes. Having cured the king of the wound he received in it, he practised physic in the court of Persia with great success, and continued near the person of that prince seventeen years.

He wrote the history of the Assyrians and Persians, in twenty-three books.⁷ One of the fragments preserved by Photius, (for we have nothing of Ctesias but fragments) informs us, that his six first books treated of the history of Assyria, and of all that had happened there before the foundation of the Persian empire: and that from the seventh to the thirteenth inclusively, he related at large the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, Magus, Darius, and Xerxes. He continued the history of the Persians down to the third year of the 95th Olympiad, at which time Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Syracuse, was making great preparations of war against the Carthaginians.⁸

He contradicts Herodotus almost in every thing, and is particularly industrious to render him discreditable.⁹ But his attempt has fallen upon himself, and he is regarded by all the learned as a writer full of lies and unworthy of belief, as Aristotle calls him *ὁ ψευδογράφος*. He also differed very often with Xenophon in his accounts. It is surprising, that Diodorus Siculus, Troguus Pompeius, and some others, have chosen to follow Ctesias rather than Herodotus, and even than Xenophon. They were no doubt deceived by the assurance, with which he affirms, that he advanced nothing in his writings, of which he was not either an eye-witness himself, had been informed by the Persians concerned, or had extracted out of their archives.

¹ Lib. ii. de Orat. n. 56.

² Orat. n. 30.

³ Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

⁴ *Instans sibi* is hard to render: it means always pressing forward, hastening on to the end, tending perpetually to it, without either losing sight of it, deviating, or amusing himself in the least.

⁵ Orat. n. 62.

⁶ Lib. x. c. 1.

⁷ Photius.

⁸ Died. l. xiv. p. 273.

⁹ Photius.

SECTION V.—POLYBIUS.

I HAVE already spoken of this celebrated historian in several parts of my history, and shall only add in this place what seems most necessary for giving the reader some idea of his character, actions, and works. His life, of sufficient extent and very well wrote, may be found annexed to the Chevalier Polard's translation of Polybius, of which I shall make great use, but not without abridging it considerably.

Polybius was of Megalopolis, a city of Peloponnesus in Arcadia. He came into the world about the 548th year from the foundation of Rome, A. M. 3300, Ant. J. C. 204. His father's name was Lycortas, famous for his constancy in supporting the interests of the Achæan league, whilst under his government. He was educated, like all the children of his nation, in the highest veneration for the Divinity: a pious opinion in which the Arcadians placed their principal glory, and in which he persevered with so much constancy during his whole life, that few profane authors have thought more religiously, or spoke with more dignity, of the Godhead than he. Lycortas his father, a profound statesman, was his master in politics; as Philopœmen, one of the greatest and most intrepid captains of the ancient world, was in war. He reduced to practice the excellent lessons they had taught him in the different negotiations and affairs, wherein he was employed either jointly with his father or alone, especially during the war of the Romans with Perseus the last king of Macedonia, as I have observed in its place.

The Romans, after the defeat of that prince, in order to humble and punish such of the Achæans, as had been most warm in supporting the Achæan league, and had seemed most averse to their views and interests, carried away a thousand of them to Rome, A. M. 3837, Ant. J. C. 167: of which number was Polybius.

During his stay there, whether from his reputation having gone before him, or his birth and merit having made the greatest persons of Rome desire his acquaintance, I know not, but he soon acquired the friendship of Q. Fabius, and of Scipio the younger, both sons of Paulus Æmilius, the one adopted by Q. Fabius, and the other by P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of the first Scipio Africanus. He either lent them his own, or borrowed books for them of others, and conversed with them upon the subjects of which they treated. Charmed equally with his great qualities, they prevailed with the prætor, that he should not leave Rome with the rest of the Achæans. What passed at that time between young Scipio, who was but eighteen, and Polybius, and which made way for the great intimacy they afterwards contracted, is, in my opinion, a most affecting piece of history, and may be of great instruction to young nobility. I have related this circumstance at the end of the history of the Carthaginians.

It is evident that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or at least collected his materials for it, at Rome. For where could he be better informed of the events which had passed, either during the whole course of the second Punic war, than in the house of the Scipios; or during the campaigns against Perseus, than in that of Paulus Æmilius? The same may be said in respect to all the foreign affairs, which occurred either whilst he was at Rome, or accompanied Scipio. As he was upon the spot either to see with his own eyes, or to receive news from the best informed, he could not fail of being exactly informed of every thing most memorable that happened.

The Achæans, after many fruitless applications to the senate, at length obtained the return of their exiles, A. M. 3854, Ant. J. C. 150: their number was then reduced to three hundred. Polybius did not use this permission to go home to Megalopolis, or if he did, it was not long before he rejoined Scipio, as he was with him three years after at the siege of Carthage. After this expedition, he made some voyages upon account of the history he had always in view. But how great was his grief, when in re-

turning into Peloponnesus he saw Corinth burned and demolished, his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and obliged to submit to the laws of a foreign magistrate to be sent thither every year from Rome. If any thing could console him in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity his credit with the Romans gave him of obtaining some mitigations of the misfortunes of his country, and the occasion he had of defending the memory of Philopœmen, his master in the art of war, whose statues some were for pulling down. I have related this fact.

After having rendered his country many services, he returned to Scipio at Rome, whence he followed him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present, A. M. 3877, Ant. J. C. 127. When Scipio died he retired into Greece; (for what security could there be for Polybius at Rome, after Scipio had been put to death by the faction of the Gracchi?) and having enjoyed during six years in the bosom of his country, the esteem, gratitude, and affection of his dear citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse,¹ A. M. 3883, Ant. J. C. 121.

His principal works are, the life of Philopœmen; a treatise upon the Tactics, or the art of drawing up armies in battle; the history of the Numantian war, of which Cicero speaks in his letter to Luceius; and his universal history. Of all these works only the last remains, and that very imperfectly. Polybius himself calls it *Universal History*, not in respect of times, but of places, because it contained not only the wars of the Romans, but all that passed in the known world during the space of fifty-three years, from the beginning of the second Punic war to the reduction of the kingdom of Macedonia into a province of the Roman empire.

No history presents us, in so short a space of time, with so great a diversity of events, all of them decisive, and of the last importance. The second Punic war between the two most powerful and warlike people of the earth, which at first brought Rome to the very brink of destruction, and then, by a very surprising reverse of fortune, reduced the power of Carthage, and prepared the way for its final ruin; the war with Philip, whom the ancient glory of the Macedonian kings, and the name of Alexander the Great, still dreadful in some sense, rendered formidable; the war with Antiochus, the most opulent king of Asia, who drew after him great armies both by sea and land; and that with the Ætolians his allies, a warlike people, who pretended to give place to no nation in valour and bravery; and finally, the last Macedonian war with Perseus, which gave the fatal blow to that empire, once so terrible, and to which the whole earth was too narrow—all these events, within the space of little more than fifty years, gave the wondering world a sense of the Roman greatness, and shewed it that Rome was destined to command all the nations of the universe. Could Polybius desire a greater, more magnificent, or more affecting subject of history? All the facts which happened in this space of time, composed thirty-eight books, in the front of which he had placed two, by way of introduction to the others, and of continuation to the history of Timæus. His own consisted therefore of forty books, of which we have only the five first as Polybius left them, and fragments, sometimes considerable enough, of the twelve that follow, with the *embassies*, and *examples of virtue and vice*, which the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the twelfth century, caused to be extracted from Polybius' history, and to be inserted in his *Political Pandects*; a great collection, in which all that had been written by the ancient historians upon certain matters, were disposed under their several heads, and in which one might get instruction with regard to any particular circumstance in which one might be placed, without the trouble of reading all these historians. And this is the use and great advantage of history, which, properly speaking, is the science of kings,

¹ Lucian in Macrob. p. 642.

generals, ministers of state, and of all who are employed in, or have any relation to, government. For men are always the same; they act in all ages upon the same principles, and the same springs almost always set states in motion, and occasion the various revolutions that happen in them. That prince was therefore very wise to conceive the design of establishing in his empire a kind of perpetual council, composed of the most prudent, the most experienced, and most profound persons of every kind, that the ancient world had produced. This design, so laudable in itself, proved however the great misfortune of all succeeding ages. As soon as it became the habit to consult only these abridgments, (to which our natural indolence and sloth soon lead us) the originals were considered as useless, and no farther pains were taken to copy them. The loss of many important works are ascribed to this cause; though other circumstances no doubt contributed also to it. The abridgments themselves, of which I am speaking, are a proof of this. Of fifty heads, which they contained at first, only two are come down to us. If they had been preserved entire, they might in some manner have consoled us for the loss of the originals. But all has undergone the common fate of human things, and leaves us only matter of regret.

What a misfortune it is that such an history as Polybius' is lost! Who ever was so attentive and exact in assuring himself of the truth of facts as he? That he might not err in the description of places, a circumstance highly important in relating military affairs, as an attack, a siege, a battle, or a march, he went to them himself, and made a great number of voyages with that sole view.¹ Truth was his only view. It is from him we have this celebrated maxim, "That truth is to history, what eyes are to animals;" that as the latter are of no use without sight, so history without truth is only amusing and unprofitable narration. But the facts may here be said to be the least we have to regret. What an irreparable loss are the excellent maxims of policy, and the solid reflections of a man, who, with a natural passion for public good, had made it his whole study; who during so many years had been present in the greatest affairs; who had governed himself, and whose government had given such general satisfaction! In these the principal merit of Polybius consists, which is what a reader of taste ought principally to look for in him. For we must allow, that the reflections (I mean those of so wise a man as Polybius) are the soul of history.

His digressions are condemned. They are long and frequent, I confess; but they abound with such curious facts, and useful instructions, that we ought not only to pardon him that fault, if it be one, but think ourselves obliged to him for it. Besides, we should remember, that Polybius undertook the universal history of his own times, as he entitles his work; which ought to suffice in vindication of his digressions.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a critic of great reputation in the ancient world, has passed an opinion upon our historian, which gives us great reason to question his judgment in matters of criticism. Without any circumlocution he flatly tells us, that no patience is of sufficient proof to endure the reading of Polybius; and his reason for it is, because that author knows nothing of the disposition of words: that is to say, his history had not such round, flowing, numerous periods, as he uses himself, which is an essential fault in history. A military, simple, negligent style, is to be pardoned in such a writer as ours, who is more attentive to things, than to turns of phrase and diction.² I shall make no scruple therefore to prefer the judgment of Brutus to that of this rhetorician, who, far from finding it tedious to read Polybius, was continually perusing him, and made extracts from him at his leisure hours. We find him employed in this manner the evening before the battle of Pharsalia.

SECTION VI.—DIODORUS SICULUS.

DIODORUS was of Agrigum, a city of Sicily, whence he was called *Diodorus Siculus*, to distinguish him from several other authors of the same name. He lived in the time of Julius and Augustus Cæsar.

The title of his work is, *The Historical Library*. It contains the history of almost all the nations of the world, whom he in a manner passes in review before his reader: Egyptians, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, and several more. It consisted of forty books, of which he gives us the plan and series in his preface. The six first, says he, contain what passed before the Trojan war, that is to say, all the fabulous time; in the first three are the antiquities of the barbarians, in the other three those of the Greeks. The eleven that follow contain the history of all nations from the Trojan war to the death of Alexander the Great, inclusively. In the other twenty-three this general history is continued down to the beginning of the war with the Gauls, in which Julius Cæsar, after having subjected many very warlike nations of Gaul, extended the limits of the Roman empire to the British Isles.

Of these forty books, only fifteen remain with some fragments, most of them preserved by Photius, and the extracts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The five first follow each other in their order. In the first, Diodorus treats of the origin of the world, and of what relates to Egypt. In the second, of the first kings of Asia, from Ninus to Sardanapalus; of the Medes, Indians, Scythians, and Arabians. In the third, of the Æthiopians and Libyans. In the fourth, of the fabulous history of the Greeks. In the fifth, of the fabulous history of Sicily, and the other islands. The sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth books are lost. The following seven, from the eleventh to the seventeenth, inclusively, contain the history of ninety years, from the expedition of Xerxes into Greece to the death of Alexander the Great. The three following, the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth, treat of the disputes and wars of Alexander's successors down to the disposition of the two armies for the battle of Ipsus. And there ends what remains of the history of Diodorus Siculus, in a very important part of it, and at the moment a battle is going to be fought, which decides the fate of Alexander's successors. In these last ten books, which properly include the continued history of the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, Diodorus introduces also the history of other nations, and in particular that of the Romans, according as its events concur with his principal subject.

Diodorus tells us himself in his preface, that he employed thirty years in composing his history, in which his long residence at Rome was of great use to him. Besides this he travelled over, not without frequent dangers, many provinces of Europe and Asia, to inform himself fully of the situation of the cities and other places of which he was to treat; which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the perfection of history.

His style is neither elegant nor florid, but simple, clear, and intelligible: that simplicity has however nothing low and creeping in it. Though he does not approve of interrupting the thread of history with frequent and long harangues, he does not entirely reject the use of them, and believes they may be employed with great propriety, when the importance of the subject requires it.³ After the defeat of Nicias, the Syracusans deliberated in their assembly upon the treatment it was proper to give the Athenian prisoners.⁴ Diodorus repeats the harangues of two orators, which are long and very fine, especially the first. Neither his Chronology, nor the names either of the Archons of Athens, or of the consuls and military tribunes of Rome, into which many errors have crept, are to be relied on. Very solid and judicious reflections occur from time to time in this history. He takes particular care not to ascribe the success of wars, and other interprises, to chance or blind fortune, with

¹ Polyb. l. iii. p. 13.² Plut. in Brut. p. 985.³ Diod. l. xx. p. 749.⁴ Ibid. l. xiii. p. 149—161.

many other historians, but to a Wisdom and Providence which presides over all events. Every thing well weighed and considered, we ought to set a great value upon the works of Diodorus come down to us, and very much to regret the loss of the rest, which would have thrown great light upon every part of ancient history.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS.

THE historian of whom we now speak, apprises us himself, in the preface of his work, that there is little known of his person and history. He was a native of Halicarnassus, a city of Caria in Asia Minor, the country of the great Herodotus. His father's name was Alexander, of whom nothing more is known. He arrived in Italy about the middle of the 187th Olympiad, at the time Augustus Caesar terminated the civil war with Antony. He remained twenty-two years at Rome, which he employed in attaining the Latin tongue with great exactness, in studying the literature and writings of the Romans, and especially in carefully collecting materials for the work he had in view: for that seems to have been the motive of his voyage. In order to succeed the better in it, he contracted a great intimacy with all the most learned persons of Rome, with whom he frequently conversed. To their informations by word of mouth, which were of great use to him, he added a close application to the study of the Roman historians in greatest esteem, as Cato, Fabius Pictor, Valerius Antias, and Licinius Macer, who are often quoted by Livy. When he believed himself sufficiently informed in all that was necessary to the execution of his design, he applied himself to it. The title of his work is *The Roman Antiquities*, which he called it, because, in writing the Roman history, he traces it back to its most ancient origin. He continued his history down to the first Punic war, at which period he stopped, perhaps because his plan was to clear up that part of the Roman history which was least known. For, from the first Punic war, that history had been wrote by cotemporary authors in every body's hands.

Of the twenty books, which compose his *Roman Antiquities*, we have now only the first eleven, that come down no farther than the 312th year from the foundation of Rome. The nine last, which contained all that happened to the 488th according to Cato, and the 490th according to Varro, have perished through the injuries of time. Almost as often as we speak of any ancient author, are we obliged to deplore the loss of part of his works, especially when they are excellent, as were those of the writer in question.

We have also some fragments of his upon the subject of embassies, which are only detached and very imperfect pieces. The two heads of Constantine Porphyrogenitus which remain, have also preserved several fragments of this author. Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*, speaks of the twenty books of antiquities, as of a perfect work which he had read. He cites, besides, an abridgment, which Dionysius Halicarnassensis made of his history in five book. He praises it for its purity, elegance, and exactness; and makes no scruple to say, that this historian in his epitome has excelled himself.

We have two translations sufficiently recent of the history of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, which have each their merit, but of a different kind. It does not belong to me to compare them, or to give one the preference to the other. I leave that to the public, which has a right to pass judgment upon the works laid before it. I only propose to make great use of them in composing the Roman history.

Father Jay, the Jesuit, in the preface to his translation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, gives us an idea and character of this author, to which it is hard to add any thing. I shall almost do no more than copy him, except it be in abridging him in some places.

All the writers, ancient and modern, who have spoke, with any judgment, of his history, discover in him facility of genius, profound erudition, exact discernment, and judicious criticism. He was versed

in all the liberal arts and sciences, a good philosopher, a wise politician, and an excellent rhetorician. He has drawn himself in his work without designing it. We see him there a friend of truth, remote from all prejudice, temperate, zealous for religion, and a declared enemy of the impiety which denies Providence. He does not content himself with relating the wars abroad; but describes with the same care the transactions of peace, that conduce to good order at home, and to the support of union and tranquillity among the citizens. He does not tire the reader with tedious narrations. If he deviates into digressions, it is always to instruct him in something new and agreeable. He mingles his accounts with moral and political reflections, which are the soul of history, and the principal advantage to be attained from the study of it. He treats his matter with far more abundance and extent than Livy; and what the latter includes in his three first books, the Greek authors make the subject of eleven. It is certain that, without what remains of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, we should be ignorant of many things, of which Livy and the other Latin historians have either neglected to inform us, or speak of very superficially. He is the only writer that has given us a perfect knowledge of the Romans, and has left posterity a circumstantial account of their ceremonies, worship, sacrifices, manners, customs, discipline, triumphs, *Comitia* or assemblies, *Census* or the numbering, assessing, and distribution of the people into tribes and classes. We are indebted to him for the laws of Romulus, Numa, and Servius Tullius, and for many things of the like nature. As he wrote his history only to inform the Greeks, his countrymen, in the actions and manners of the Romans, which were unknown to them, he thought himself obliged to be more attentive and particular upon those heads than the Latin historians, who were not similarly situated.

As to the style which the Greek and Latin historians have used in their work, F. Jay contents himself with the judgment Henry Stephens passes upon it: "That the Roman history could not be better written than Dionysius of Halicarnassus has done it in Greek, and Livy in Latin." For my part I am far from subscribing to this opinion, which gives Dionysius of Halicarnassus a kind of equality with Livy, and seems to make them equal in point of style. I find an infinite difference between them in this respect. In the Latin author, the descriptions, images, and harangues, are full of beauty, force, vivacity, sublimity, majesty: in the Greek, every thing is weak, prolix, and languid, in comparison with the other. I could wish, that the limits of my work would admit me to insert here one of the finest facts in the history of ancient Rome: that is the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii, and to compare the two passages together. In Livy the reader believes himself actually present while they engage. At the first sight of their naked swords, the noise and clash of their arms, and the blood streaming from their wounds, he finds himself struck with horror. He shares with the Romans and Albans their different emotions of fear, hope, grief, joy, which on both sides alternately succeeded each other. He is continually in suspense, and anxiously waits the success, which is to decide the fate of the two people. The narration of Dionysius, which is much longer, gives the reader scarce any of these emotions. He runs it over in cold blood, without quitting his natural tranquillity and indifference, and is not in a manner transported out of himself by the violent agitations he feels from Livy on every change that happens in the fortune of the combatants. Dionysius of Halicarnassus may have several advantages over Livy in other respects; but, in my opinion, is by no means to be compared to him in respect of style.

PHILO. APION.

PHILO was a Jew of Alexandria, of the sacerdotal race, and descended from the most illustrious families of the whole city. He had studied the sacred writings, which are the science of the Jews, with great care. He acquired much reputation also by human

learning and philosophy, especially that of Plato. He was deputed by the Jews of Alexandria to the emperor Caligula, to vindicate the right they pretended to have to the freedom of that city.

Besides many other works, according to Eusebius,¹ he wrote the sufferings of the Jews under Caligula, in five books. Only the two first have been preserved, of which the one has for its title *Embassy to Caius*. The three others are lost.² It is said that Philo in the reign of Claudius having read in the full senate his writings against the impiety of Caligula, they were so well approved, that they were ordered to be placed in the public library.

APION, or APPION, was an Egyptian, born at Oasis, in the most remote part of Egypt. But having obtained the freedom of Alexandria, he called himself a native of that place. He was a grammarian by profession, as those who excelled in human learning and the knowledge of antiquity were termed in those times. He was placed at the head of the deputies sent by the people of Alexandria to Caligula against the Jews of that city. He had been the pupil of Didymus, a celebrated grammarian of Alexandria.³ He was a man of great learning, and perfectly versed in the Grecian history, but very full of himself, and passionately enamoured of his own merit.

His history of Egypt is cited by authors, and contained almost whatever was most memorable in that famous country. He spoke very ill of the Jews in it, and still worse in another work, in which he had industriously collected all kinds of calumny against them.

The story of a slave called Androcles, who was provided with food during three years by a lion he had cured of a wound, and afterwards recognized by the same lion in sight of the whole city of Rome, when he was exposed to fight with wild beasts, must have happened about the time we speak of, because Apion, from whom Aulus Gellius quotes it, declared that he was an eye witness of it.⁴ The slave, in consequence, was rewarded with his life and liberty, besides the lion. This fact is described at large in Aulus Gellius, and is worth reading.

JOSEPHUS.

JOSEPHUS was of Jerusalem, and of the sacerdotal race.⁵ He was born in the first year of Caligula, A. D. 37. He was so well instructed, that at the age of fourteen the Pontiffs themselves consulted him concerning the law. After having carefully examined the three sects into which the Jews were then divided, he chose that of the Pharisees. At the age of nineteen he began to have a share in the public affairs. He sustained with incredible valour the siege of Jotaphat for almost seven weeks. That city was taken in the thirteenth year of Nero, and cost the Romans very dear. Vespasian was wounded in it. Forty thousand Jews were killed there; and Josephus, who had hid himself in a cave, was at last reduced to surrender himself to Vespasian.⁶

I shall not relate all that passed from that time to the siege and taking of Jerusalem: he does it himself at large, to whom I refer the reader. I shall only observe, that during the whole war, and even whilst he continued captive, Vespasian and Titus always kept him near their persons; so that nothing happened of which he was not perfectly informed. For he saw with his own eyes all that was done on the side of the Romans, and set it down exactly; and was told by deserters, who all applied to him, what passed in the city, which no doubt he did not fail to note also.

It is more than probable that he learned the Greek tongue, after the taking of Jotaphat, and when he saw himself obliged to live with the Romans. He owns that he could never pronounce it well, because he did not learn it while young; the Jews setting little value upon the knowledge of languages.⁷ Photius judges his style pure.⁸

After the war, Titus went to Rome and took him

along with him, A. D. 71. Vespasian caused him to be lodged in the house he lived in before he was emperor, made him a citizen of Rome, gave him a pension with lands in Judea, and expressed much affection for him as long as he lived. It was undoubtedly Vespasian who gave him the name of Flavius, which was that of his family, when he made him a Roman citizen.

In the leisure Josephus enjoyed at Rome, he employed himself in writing the history of the war with the Jews from the materials he had prepared before. He composed it first in his own language, which was almost the same as the Syriac. He afterwards translated it into Greek for the nations of the empire, tracing it back to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees. Josephus makes profession of relating with entire veracity all that passed on both sides, reserving of his affection for his country, only the right of deploring its misfortunes sometimes, and of detesting the crimes of the seditious, who had occasioned its final destruction.

As soon as he had finished his history in the Greek, he presented it to Vespasian and Titus, who were extremely pleased with it. The latter afterwards was not content with ordering it to be published, and placing it in a library open to every body; but signed the copy deposited there with his own hand, to show that he desired it might be from him alone that all the world should be informed of what passed during the siege, and at the taking of Jerusalem.

Besides the veracity and importance of this history, wherein we find the entire and literal accomplishment of the predictions of Jesus Christ against Jerusalem, and the terrible vengeance taken by God of that unfortunate nation for the death they had made his Son suffer, the work in itself is highly esteemed for its beauty. Photius's judgment⁸ of this history is, that it is agreeable, and full of elevation and majesty, without swelling into excess or bombast; that it is lively and animated, abounding with that kind of eloquence, which either excites or soothes the passions of the soul at pleasure; that it has a multitude of excellent maxims of morality; that the speeches in it are fine and persuasive; and that, when it is necessary to support the opinions of the opposite parties, it is surprisingly fruitful of ingenious and plausible reasonings on both sides. St. Jerome⁹ gives Josephus still higher praises in a single word, which perfectly expresses his character by calling him the *Livy* of the Greeks.

After Josephus had written the history of the destruction of the Jews, he undertook the general history of that nation, beginning at the creation of the world, in order to make known to the whole earth the wonderful works of God that occur in it. This he executed in twenty books, to which he gives the title of *Antiquities*, though he continues them down to the twelfth year of Nero, when the Jews revolted. It appears that he inscribed this work to Epaphroditus, a curious and learned man, who is believed to be the celebrated freedman of Nero, that Domitian put to death in the year 95. Josephus finished this work in the 56th year of his age, which was the 13th of Domitian's reign, A. D. 93. He declares¹⁰ in it that he neither adds to, nor diminishes any thing of what is contained in the Holy Scriptures, from which he has extracted what he relates, till after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity. But he has not kept his word so religiously as might be desired. He inserts some facts which are not in the Scripture, retrenches many others, and disguises some in a manner that renders them merely human, and makes them lose that divine air, that majesty, which the simplicity of the Scripture gives them. Besides which, after having related the greatest of God's miracles, he is inexcusable for often weakening their authority by leaving every body at liberty to believe of them as they please.

Josephus was willing to annex the history of his own life to his *Antiquities*, whilst there were many persons still in being, who could have contradicted him, if he had departed from the truth. Accordingly it appears that he wrote it presently after them; and it is taken

¹ Euseb. l. ii. c. 5.

² Ibid. c. 13.

³ Suid. Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 14.

⁴ Aul. Gell. ibid.

⁵ Joseph. in vita sua.

⁶ Antiq. l. xx. c. 9.

⁷ Phot. c. 47.

⁸ Phot. c. 47.

⁹ Hieron. Ep. 22.

¹⁰ In præfat.

as part of the 20th book of his Antiquities. He employs almost all of it in relating what he did when governor of Galilee before the arrival of Vespasian.

As many persons declared they doubted what he said of the Jews in his Antiquities, and objected, that, if that nation were so ancient as he made it, other historians would have spoken of it; he undertook a work not only to prove, that many historians had spoken of the Jews, but to refute all the calumnies vented against them by different authors, and particularly Apion, of whom we have spoken; which occasions the whole work being usually called *Against Apion*.

No writings were ever more generally esteemed than those of Josephus. The translation of them appeared in our language at a time, when for want of better books, romances were the general study of the world. It contributed very much to abate that bad taste. And, indeed, we may easily conceive, that only persons of a wrong, light, superficial turn of mind could attach themselves to works, that are no more than the idle imaginations of writers without weight or authority, in preference to histories so fine and solid as those of Josephus. Truth alone is the natural nourishment of the mind, which must be distempered to prefer, or even compare, fiction and fable to it.

SECTION VII.—PLUTARCH.

PLUTARCH was born at Chæronea, a town of Bœotia, five or six years before the death of the emperor Claudius, A. D. 48, as near as can be conjectured. Bœotia was censured by the ancients as a country, that produced no men of wit or merit. Plutarch, not to instance Pindar and Epaminondas, is a good refutation of this unjust prejudice, and an evident proof, as he says himself, that there is no soil in which genius and virtue cannot grow up. He was descended from one of the best and most considerable families of Chæronea. The name of his father is not known: he speaks of him as a man of great merit and erudition. His uncle was called Lamprias, of whom he says, that he was very eloquent, had a fruitful imagination, and excelled himself when at table with his friends. For at that time his genius conceived new fire, and his imagination, which was always happy, became more lively and abundant: Plutarch has preserved this witty saying of Lamprias upon himself: "That wine had the same effect upon his wit, as fire upon incense; it made the finest and most exquisite parts of it evaporate."

Plutarch tells us, that he studied philosophy and mathematics at Delphi, under the philosopher Ammonius, during Nero's voyage into Greece, at which time he might be about seventeen or eighteen years old. The talents of Plutarch seem to have displayed themselves very early in his country. For while he was very young, he was deputed with another citizen upon an important affair to the proconsul.¹ His colleague having stopped on the way, he went forward alone, and executed their joint commission. At his return, when he was preparing to give an account of it to the public, his father taking him aside spoke to him to this effect: "In the report you are going to make, son, take care not to say, 'I went, I spoke, I did thus;' but always say, 'We went, we spoke, we did thus,' giving your colleague a part in all your actions, that half the success may be ascribed to him, whom his country honoured with an equal share in the commission: by this means you may avoid the envy, which seldom fails to attend the glory of having succeeded." This is a wise lesson, but seldom practised by such as have colleagues, either in the command of armies, public administrations, or in any commissions whatsoever; in which it often happens, through a mistaken self-love, and a despicable and odious meanness of spirit, that men are for arrogating to themselves the honour of a success, to which they have only a right in common with their colleagues. They do not reflect, that glory generally follows those who fly it, and pays them back with great interest the praises they are willing to divide with others.

He made many voyages into Italy, on what occasion

is not known. We can only conjecture with very good foundation, that the view of carrying on and making his lives of illustrious men as complete as possible, obliged him to reside more at Rome, than he would otherwise have done. What he says in the life of Demosthenes,² strengthens this conjecture. According to him, "a man who undertakes to collect facts, and to write an history consisting of events, which are neither in his own hands, nor have happened in his own country, but which are foreign, various, and dispersed here and there in many different writings; it is absolutely necessary for such a man to reside in a great and populous city, where good taste in general prevails. Such a residence puts it into his power to have a multiplicity of books at his disposal, and to inform himself, by conversation, of all the particulars which have escaped writers, and which, from being preserved in the memories of men, have only acquired the greater authority from that kind of tradition. It enables the writer to compose a work, more perfect, and less defective in its particular parts."

It is impossible to tell exactly when he took these voyages. We can only say for certain, that he did not go to Rome for the first time till the end of Vespasian's reign, and that he went there no more after that of Domitian. For it appears, that he was finally settled in his own country, a little before the latter's death, and that he retired thither at the age of forty-four or forty-five. His motive for fixing his retirement there is worth observing. "I was born," says he, "in a very small city; and to prevent it from being smaller, I choose to remain in it." And indeed, what glory has he not brought it? Cato of Utica, having with difficulty prevailed upon the philosopher Athenodorus to go with him from Asia to Rome, was so much pleased with, and so proud of that conquest, that he considered it as a greater, more glorious, and more useful exploit, than the exploits of Lucullus and Pompey, who had triumphed over the nations and empires of the East. If a stranger, famous for his wisdom, can do so much honour to a city of which he is not a native, how much must a great philosopher, a great author, exalt the city that produced him, and in which he chooses to end his days, though he could find greater advantages elsewhere. Mr. Dacier says with reason, that nothing ought to do Plutarch more honour than this love and tenderness which he expressed for Chæronea. We every day see people quit their country to make their fortunes, and aggrandize themselves; but none who renounce their ambition, to make, if we may be allowed to say so, the fortune of their country. Plutarch has rendered his very famous. Hardly any body remembers that Chæronea was the place where Philip gained the great victory over the Athenians and Bœotians, which made him master of Greece; but multitudes say, it was there Plutarch was born, it was there he ended his days, and wrote most of those fine works that will be of lasting use and instruction to mankind.

During his stay at Rome, his house was always full of the lovers of learning, among whom were the greatest personages of the city, who went thither to hear his discourses upon the different subjects of philosophy. In those times, the principal persons of the state, and the emperors themselves, thought it for their honour, and made it their pleasure to be present at the lectures of the great philosophers and famous rhetoricians. We may judge of the passion with which these public dissertations of Plutarch were heard, and of the attention of his auditors, from what he tells us himself in his treatise upon curiosity.³ "Formerly, at Rome," says he, "when I was speaking in public, Arulenus Rusticus, whom Domitian afterwards put to death through envy of his glory, was one of my hearers. Whilst I was in the midst of my discourse, an officer came in and delivered him a letter from Cæsar (probably Vespasian.) The assembly kept a profound silence at first, and I stopped to give him time to read his letter: but he would not; and did not open it till I had done, and the assembly was dismissed." This was perhaps carrying deference for the orator a little

¹ Plut. in Moral. p. 816.

² In vit. Demost. p. 846.

³ P. 522.

too far. A fault not very common, with the excuse of a very laudable principle!

Plutarch's dissertations were always in Greek. For, though the Latin tongue was used throughout the empire, he did not understand it well enough to speak it. He tells us himself, in the life of Demosthenes, that during his residence at Rome, the public affairs, with which he was charged, and the number of persons that came every day to entertain themselves with philosophy, did not afford him time for learning it; that he did not begin to read the writings of the Romans till very late; and that the terms of that language did not serve so much to make him understand the facts, as the knowledge he had before of the facts, to make him understand the terms. But the Greek tongue was well known at Rome, and, properly speaking, was even the language of the sciences; witness the works of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who wrote his admirable reflections in Greek. This want of knowing the Latin tongue made Plutarch commit some faults, which are to be observed in his writings.

He had the most considerable offices in his country: for he was Archon, or principal magistrate. But he had passed through inferior employments before, and had acted in them with the same care, application, and satisfaction to the public, as he did afterwards in the most important. He was convinced, and taught others by his example,² that the employments with which our country thinks fit to charge us, however low they may seem, reflect no dishonour upon us, and that it depends on a man of worth and sense to make them noble, by the manner in which he acquits himself of them; and this he proves by the example of Epaminondas.

As Plutarch punctually discharged all the duties of civil life, and was at the same time a good son, a good brother, father, husband, master, and citizen; he had the pleasure to find in his domestic affairs, and throughout his family, all the peace and satisfaction he could desire: a felicity not very common, and the effect of a wise, moderate, and obliging spirit. He speaks much in favour of his brothers, sisters, and wife.³ The latter was descended from the best families of Chæroneæ, and was esteemed a model of prudence, modesty, and virtue: her name was Timoxena. He had four sons successively by her, and one daughter. He lost two of the first, and after them the daughter at two years of age. We have his letter of consolation to his wife upon the death of this child. He had a nephew, called Sextus, a philosopher of such great learning and reputation, that he was sent for to Rome to teach the emperor Marcus Aurelius the Grecian literature. That emperor mentions him much for his honour in the first book of his reflections. "Sextus," says he, "taught me by his example to be mild and obliging, to govern my house as a good father of a family, to have a grave simplicity without affectation, to endeavour to find out and prevent the desires and wants of my friends, to bear the ignorant and presuming, who speak without thinking of what they say, and to adapt myself to the understanding of all men," &c. These are all excellent qualities, especially that which induced him to "find out and prevent the desires and wants of his friends," because it shows that Marcus Aurelius knew the essential duty of a prince, which is to be fully convinced within himself, that, as a prince, he is born for others, and not others for him. As much may be said of all persons in place and authority.

It is time to proceed to the works of Plutarch. They are divided into two classes, the *Lives of Illustrious Men*, and his *Morals*.

In the latter there are a great number of curious facts not to be found elsewhere, with very useful lessons both for the conduct of private life, and the administration of public affairs, and even admirable principles concerning the divinity, providence, and the immortality of the soul; but with a mixture everywhere of the absurd and ridiculous opinions, which we find in almost all the pagans. The ignorance also of

true physics renders the reading of many of these tracts tedious and disagreeable.

The most esteemed part of Plutarch's works is his *Lives of Illustrious Men*, Greeks and Romans, whom he matches as near as possible, and compares together. We have not all he composed; at least sixteen of them are lost. Those, of which the loss is most to be regretted, are the lives of Epaminondas and the two Scipios *Africani*. The comparisons of Themistocles and Caninius, of Pyrrhus and Marius, of Phocion and Cato, and of Cæsar and Alexander, are also wanting. It would not be surprising, if a man of fine taste and judgment were asked, which of all the books of profane antiquity he would preserve, he having the choice of saving only one of them—it would not be surprising if such a man pitched upon Plutarch's *Lives*. It is not only the most accomplished work we have, but the most proper for forming men either for public affairs and functions abroad, or for private and domestic life. Plutarch does not suffer himself, like the generality of historians, to be dazzled by the splendour of actions, which make a great deal of noise, and attract the admiration of the vulgar, and the many. He usually judges of things by what constitutes their real value. The wise reflections, which he scatters every where in his writings, accustom his readers to think in the same manner, and teach them wherein true greatness and solid glory consist. He inflexibly denies those exalted attributes to every thing that does not bear the stamp of justice, truth, goodness, humanity, love of the public, and has only the appearances of them. He does not stop at the exterior and glittering actions, in which princes, conquerors, and the other great ones of the earth, intent upon acquiring themselves names, play each their part upon the stage of the world, where they exhibit, to use the expression, a transitory and assumed character, and succeed in the counterfeit for a time. He unmask and divests them of all the foreign glare and disguise that surround them; he shows them as they are in themselves; and to put it out of their power to escape his piercing sight, he follows them with his reader into the most secret recesses of their houses, examines them, if I may say so, in their dishabille, listens to their most familiar conversations, considers them at table where constraint seldom comes, and even at play, where disguise is still more unusual. These are the qualities in which Plutarch is wonderful, and which, in my opinion, are too much neglected by modern historians, who shun particulars of a common nature as low and trivial, which, however, show the characters of men better than more great and glaring circumstances. These details are so far from diminishing the merit of Plutarch's *Lives*, that they are directly what renders them at the same time more agreeable, and more useful.

The reader will permit me to give an instance of this kind of action in this place. I have already cited it in my treatise upon the study of polite learning, in that part of it where I examine in what true greatness consists.

The marshal Turenne never set out for the army, without having first ordered all his tradesmen to be directed to deliver in their bills to his steward. His reason for it was, that he did not know whether he should return from the field. This circumstance may appear trifling and low to some people, and not worthy of a place in the history of so great a man as that marshal. Plutarch would not have thought so; and I am convinced, that the author of the new life of that prince, who is a man of sense and judgment, would not have omitted it, if it had come to his knowledge. For indeed it argues a goodness, equity, humanity, and even religion, which are not always to be found in great lords, who are too apt to be insensible to the complaints of the artisan and the poor, the payment of whom, however, deferred only a few days, according to the Holy Scripture, cries for vengeance to heaven, and does not fail to obtain it.

As to the style of Plutarch, his diction is neither pure nor elegant: but to make us amends, it has a wonderful force and energy in painting the most lively images in few words, in venting the sharpest and most piercing things, and in expressing noble and sublime

¹ P. 846.

² *Consol. ad uxorem*. p. 608, &c.

³ In *Moral*. p. 811.

thoughts. He frequently enough makes use of comparisons, which throw grace and light into his narrations and reflections; and has harangues of inimitable beauty, almost always in the strong and vehement style.

The beauties of this author must be very solid and bear much of the stamp of good taste in them to make themselves so perceptible as they still are in the old French of Amiot. But I mistake. That old French has an air of freshness, a spirit in it, that seems to make it bloom and grow young again every day. Hence it is that very good judges choose rather to use the translation of Amiot, than to translate the passages they quote from Plutarch themselves, "not believing," says Mr. Racine, in the preface to his *Mithridates*, "themselves capable of equalling the beauties of it." I never read it, without regretting the loss of many happy terms and expressions in that old language, which have almost as much energy as those of Plutarch. We suffer our language to impoverish itself every day, instead of being studious, after the example of our neighbours the English, of discoveries to enrich it. It is said that our ladies, out of too much delicacy, are partly the cause of that dearth, to which our language is in danger of being reduced. This would be very wrong, and they ought rather to favour with their suffrages, which would bring over abundance of followers, the prudent boldness of writers of a certain rank and merit; who, on their side, should assume more boldness, and venture more new words than they do, but always with judicious reserve and discretion. We are, however, obliged to Mr. Dacier for having substituted a new translation of Plutarch's *Lives* to that of Amiot, and for having thereby enabled a greater number to read them. It might have been more elegant and more laboured. But to carry a work of so vast an extent to its ultimate perfection, would require the whole life of an author.

ARRIAN.

ARRIAN was of Nicomedia. His learning and eloquence, which acquired him the title of the new Xenophon, raised him to the highest dignities, and even the consulship at Rome. There is reason to believe him the same Arrian who governed Cappadocia in the latter part of Adrian's reign, and repulsed the Alans. He lived at Rome in the time of Adrian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius. He was the disciple of Epictetus, the most celebrated philosopher of that time. He wrote a work upon the *Conversations of Epictetus*, in eight books, of which we have only the four first, and composed many other treatises.

His seven books upon the expeditions of Alexander are come down to us; a history the more valuable, as we have it from a writer, who was both a warrior and a good politician. Photius accordingly gives him the praise of having wrote the life of that conqueror better than any body. We have from that critic an abridgment of the lives of Alexander's successors, which Arrian also wrote in ten books. He adds, that the same author composed a book upon India; and it is still extant, but has been made the eighth book of the History of Alexander. He also wrote a description of the coast of the Euxine Sea. Another is ascribed to him upon those of the Red Sea, that is to say the eastern coast of Africa, and those of Asia as far as India. But this seems to be a more ancient author's, cotemporary with Pliny the naturalist.

ÆLIAN. (CLAUDIUS ÆLIANUS.)

ÆLIAN was of Præneste, but passed the greater part of his life at Rome; for which reason he calls himself a Roman. He wrote a little work, in fourteen books, entitled, *Historiæ Variæ*, or *Miscellaneous Histories*; and another in seventeen books, upon the History of Animals. We have a treatise in Greek and Latin upon the order observed by the Greeks in drawing up armies ascribed to Adrian, and composed by one of the name of Ælian. All these works may be the same author's, who is believed to be the person whose eloquence Martial praises in one of his epigrams.¹

APPIAN.

APPIAN was of Alexandria, and lived in the time of Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus. He plead some time at Rome, and was afterwards comptroller of the imperial domains. He wrote the Roman History, not in the order of time like Livy, but making each nation subjected by the Romans a work apart, and relating events as they happened to each separately. Accordingly his design was to write an exact history of the Romans, and of all the provinces of their empire, down to Augustus; and sometimes he went also so low as to Trajan. Photius speaks of twenty-four books of it, though, when he wrote, he had not seen all those which Appian mentions in his preface.

We have at present the history of the wars of Africa, Syria, Parthia, Mithridates, Iberia or Spain, and Hannibal; some fragments of those of Illyria; five books of the civil wars, instead of eight mentioned by Photius, and some fragments of several others, extracted by Mr. Valois out of the collections of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with extracts of the like nature from Polybius, and several other historians. Photius observes, that this author has an extreme passion for the truth of history; that none teach the art of war better; and that his style is simple and void of superfluity, but lively and vigorous. In his harangues he gives his reader excellent models of conduct, either for re-animating troops when discouraged, or for appeasing them when mutinous and violent. He borrows many things from Polybius, and often copies Plutarch.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS lived in the time of Antoninus, or soon after. Others place him in the reign of Severus and his successors. He wrote the *Lives of the Philosophers*, in ten books, and carefully relates their opinions and apophthegms. This work is of great use for knowing the different sects of the ancient philosophers. The surname of *Laertius* usually given him, probably implies his country, which was perhaps the fortress or city of Laertia in Cilicia. We find by his writings, that after having studied history and the maxims of the philosophers, he embraced the sect of the Epicureans, the farthest from truth and the most contrary to virtue, of them all.

DION CASSIUS. (COCCÆIUS or COCCÆIANUS.)

DION was of Nicæa in Bithynia. He lived in the reigns of the emperors Commodus, Pertinax, Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, and Alexander, who all had a very high regard for him, and confided the most important offices and governments of the empire to his care, A. D. 229. Alexander nominated him consul for the second time. After this consulship, he obtained permission to retire, and pass the rest of his life in his own country, upon account of his infirmities.

He wrote the whole Roman History,² from the arrival of Æneas in Italy to the reign of the emperor Alexander, in eight decades, or fourscore books. He tells us himself,³ that he employed ten years in collecting materials of all that passed from the foundation of Rome to the death of Severus, and twelve years more in composing his history down to that of Commodus. He afterwards added to it that of the other emperors,⁴ with as much exactness as he could, to the death of Heliogabalus, and a simple abridgment of the eight first years of Alexander, because from having been little in Italy during that time, it had not been in his power to know so well how things had passed.

Photius observes that his style is lofty, and adapted to the greatness of his subject: that his terms are magnificent, and that his phrases and manner of writing have the air of antiquity: that he has taken Thucydides for his model, whom he imitates excellently in the turn of his narration and harangues, and has followed him in all things, except in being perspicuous. This praise is much in Dion's favour, but I do not know whether it does not a little exceed the bounds

of truth. Vossius says, and Lepsius had thought the same before him, that this historian is unpardonable for not having known how to esteem virtue according to its value, and for having censured the greatest men of antiquity, as Cicero, Brutus, Cassius, and Seneca, either out of malignity of mind, or corruption of manners and judgment. That he did so is certain; and whatever his motives were, the thing in itself can never be for his honour.

He composed, as we have said, fourscore books of the Roman history; but only a very small part of that great work has come down to us. For the first thirty-four books are lost, with the greater part of the thirty-fifth, except some fragments. The twenty that follow, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fifty-fourth, are the part that remain entire. Vossius believes that the six following, which come down to the death of Claudius, are also perfect. But Bucherius maintains, that they are much otherwise; which seems very probable. We have only some fragments of the last twenty. This defect is somewhat supplied by an abridgment of Dion from the thirty-fifth book, the time of Pompey, to the end, composed by Johannes Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople in the eleventh century. This epitome is found to be sufficiently just, Xiphilinus having added nothing to Dion, except in some very few places where it was necessary, and having generally made use of his own words. The history of Zonarus may also be called an abridgment of Dion, for he follows him faithfully, and sometimes informs us of things omitted by Xiphilinus.

HERODIAN.

NOTHING is known of the life of Herodian, except that he was of Alexandria, the son of a rhetorician named Apollonius *Dyscolus*, or the *Rigid*, and that he followed his father's profession. He is much known by his History of the Emperors, in eight books, from the death of M. Aurelius to those of Maximus and Balbinus. He assures us himself, that his history of those sixty years, is that of his own times, and what he had seen himself. He had borne different offices both in the court and civil government of Rome, which had given him a share in several of the events which he relates. As to his history, Photius judges much in its favour. For he tells us that it is perspicuous, lofty, and agreeable; that his diction is just and sober, observing the medium between the affected elegance of such as disdain simple and natural beauties, and the low and languid expression of those, who either do not know, or despise, the delicacy and refinements of art; that he does not aim at a false agreeable by multiplying words or things, and omits nothing necessary; in a word, that he gives place to few authors for all the beauties of history. Politian's translation of Herodian's work happily sustains, and almost equals, the elegance of the original. The French version of it which the Abbé Mongaut has given the public, improves much upon the Latin.

EUNAPIUS.

EUNAPIUS was of Sardis in Lydia, and came to Athens at the age of sixteen, A. D. 363. He studied eloquence under Proterus the Christian sophist, and magic under Chrysantus, who had married his cousin. Eunapius's Lives of the Sophists of the Fourth Century is extant. There are many circumstances in it relating to the history of that time. He begins with Plotinus, who appeared in the middle of the third century, and goes on to Porphyrius, Jamblichus, and his disciples, upon whom he expatiates particularly. He also wrote an History of the Emperors, in fourteen books, which began in the year 263, in the reign of Claudius the successor of Gallienus, and ended at the death of Eudoxia the wife of Arcadius. Some fragments of this history have been preserved in the extracts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus upon embassies, and in Suidas. We find in them that he was exceedingly exasperated against the Christian emperors, and especially against Constantine. The same spleen is observed to prevail in his lives of the sophists, especially against the monks. It is no wonder that a magician was an enemy to the Christian religion.

ZOSIMUS.

ZOSIMUS, count and advocate fiscal, lived in the time of Theodosius the younger, A. D. 415. He wrote the History of the Roman Emperors, in six books. The first, which contains the succession of those princes from Augustus down to Probus (for what relates to Diocletian is lost,) is extremely abridged. The other five are more diffuse, especially to the time of Theodosius the Great and his children. He goes no farther than the second siege of Rome by Alaric. The end of the sixth book is wanting. Photius praises his style. He says that Zosimus has almost only copied and abridged Eunapius's history, which perhaps occasioned its being lost. He is no less exasperated than the other against the Christian emperors.

PHOTIUS.

PHOTIUS, patriarch of Constantinople, lived in the ninth century. He was a person of immense erudition, and of still vaster ambition, which hurried him into horrible excesses, and occasioned infinite troubles in the church. But that is foreign to our present subject.

I have placed him among the Greek historians, and shall conclude my account of them with him, not because he composed an history in form, but because, in one of his works, he has given us extracts from a great number of historians, of whom many, without him, would be almost entirely unknown. This work is entitled *Μορφολογία*, *Bibliotheca*, or *Library*, and indeed it merits that name. Photius examines almost three hundred authors in it, and tells us their names, countries, times when they lived, works they composed, judgment to be passed on them in respect to style and character; and sometimes even gives us extracts of considerable length, or abridgments from them, which are to be found only in this work. Hence we may judge of how great value his work is to us.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE LATIN HISTORIANS.

I SHALL not say much upon the feeble beginnings, and, to use the expression, the infancy, of the Roman history. Every body knows that it consisted at the first only of simple notes or memorandums drawn up by the *Pontifex Maximus*,¹ who regularly set down every year whatever passed of most consequence in the state, either in war or peace; and this custom, established very early at Rome, subsisted to the time of P. Mucius the Pontifex Maximus, or to the year of Rome 629, or 631. The name of the *Great Annals* were given to these memoirs.

We may suppose, that in those early times these records were written in a very simple and even gross style. The pontiffs contented themselves with setting down the principal events, the times and places wherein they happened, the names and condition of the persons who had the greatest share in them, in a plain manner without regard to ornament.² However rude and imperfect these annals were, they were of great importance, because there were no other monuments to preserve the memory of all that passed at Rome, and it was a great loss when most of them were destroyed at the burning of the city by the Gauls.³

Some years after, history began to quit this gross antique garb, and to appear in public with more decency. The poets were the first who conceived the design of improving and adorning it. NEVIUS com-

¹ Erat historia nihil aliud nisi Annalium confectio: cujus rei, memoriarumque publicarum retinendæ causâ, ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium Pontificem maximum res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis Pontifex maximus—qui etiam nunc *Annales maximi* nominantur. Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 52.

² Sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solam temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt—Nod exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt. Ibid. n. 51.

³ Si quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliisque publicis privatque erant monumentis, læcens urbe pleraque interierunt. Liv. l. vi. n. 1.

posed a poem upon the first Punic war, and ENNIUS wrote the annals of Rome in heroic verse.

History at length assumed a regular form, and appeared in prose. Q. FABIVS PICTOR is the most ancient of the Latin historians: he lived in the time of the second Punic war. L. CINCIVS ALIMENTVS was his contemporary. Livy cites them both with praise.¹ It is believed that they wrote their histories first in Greek, and then in Latin. Cincius certainly wrote the history of Gorgias the celebrated rhetorician in the latter language.

CATO the censor (*M. Portius Cato*) has a juster title than them to the name of Latin historian: for it is certain that he wrote his history in that tongue. It consisted of seven books, and was entitled *Origines*, because in the second and third books he related the origin of all the cities of Italy.² We find that Cicero set a great value on his history. *Jam vero Origines ejus (Catonis) quem florem, aut quod lumen eloquentiæ non habent?*³ But upon Brutus' judging this praise excessive, he put a restriction to it by adding, That nothing was wanting to the writings of Cato, and the strokes of his pencil, but a certain lively glow of colours, not discovered in his time: *Intelliges nihil illius lineamentis nisi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem et colorem defuisse.*⁴

L. PISO FRUGI, surnamed Calpurnius, is also cited among these ancient historians. He was tribune of the people in the consulship of Censorinus and Manlius, in the 605th year of Rome. He was also several times consul. He was a civilian, orator, and historian; and had composed harangues, which were no longer in being in Cicero's time, with annals, of a style mean enough, in that orator's opinion. Pliny speaks more advantageously of them.

The true character of all these writers was great simplicity.⁵ They did not yet know what delicacy, beauty, and ornament of speech were. They were satisfied with making their readers understand them, and confine themselves to a close and succinct style.

I proceed now to the historians better known, and whose writings have come down to us.

SALLUST.

It is not without reason that Sallust has been called the first of the Roman historians;

Crispus Romana primus in historia.—*Martial.*

and that he has been believed equal to Thucydides, so generally esteemed among the Greek historians: *Nec opponere Thucydidi Sallustium verear.*⁶ But without determining their ranks here, which would not become me to do, it suffices to consider Sallust as one of the most excellent historians of antiquity. The reader may find very solid reflections upon his character in the preface to the *French* translation of this historian.

The prevailing quality of his writings, and that which characterizes Sallust in a more peculiar and singular manner, is the brevity of his style, which Quintilian calls *Immortalem Sallustii velocitatem*. Scaliger is the only one who denies him this praise; but, as I have already observed, he is almost always odd and singular in his judgments. This brevity of Sallust proceeds from the lively vigour of his genius. He thinks strongly and nobly, and writes as he thinks. His style may be compared to those rivers, which whilst they flow within narrower banks than others, are deeper, and carry greater burthen. The language in which he wrote was extremely adapted to a close diction, and thereby favoured him in following the bent of his genius. It has, as well as the Greek, the advantage of being equally susceptible of the two opposite extremes. In Cicero it gives us a numerous, flowing, periodic style: in Sallust, a short, broken,

precipitate one. The latter often suppresses words, and leaves the care of supplying them to his reader. He throws many terms and phrases together, without any conjunctions, which gives a kind of impetuosity to his discourse. He makes no scruple to use old words in his history, if they be shorter, or have more energy than the terms in fashion; a liberty for which he was reproached⁷ in his lifetime, as the following ancient couplet shows:

Et verba antiqui multum furate Catonis
Crispe, Jugurthinæ conditor historiae.

But he especially makes great use of metaphors, and does not choose the most modest, and least glowing, as the masters of the art declare necessary, but the most concise, the strongest, the most lively, and the most bold. By all these methods, and others, which I omit, Sallust has succeeded in framing himself an entirely particular style, and one that suits him only. He quits the common road, but without going out of his way, and by paths that only shorten it. He seems not to think like other men, and yet good sense is the source of all his thoughts. His ideas are natural and reasonable: but all natural and reasonable as they are, they have the advantage of being new, from being peculiarly curious and exquisite.

We know not which to admire most in this excellent author, his descriptions, characters, or harangues: for he succeeds alike in them all; and we cannot discern upon what foundation Seneca the elder, or rather Cassius Severus, whose opinion he repeats, could say, that the harangues of Sallust are suffered only upon account of his history: *in honorem Historiarum leguntur*. Nothing can be added to their force, spirit, and eloquence. It is highly probable that the passage in question is not applied to the harangues inserted by Sallust in his history, but to those he spoke in the senate, or to some pleadings of his. When we read in the history of the Jugurthine war, the account of a fort surprised by a Ligurian soldier of Marius's army, so lively and animated is the description, that it is as if we saw him climb along the steep rocks, and even as if we climbed along with him.

We find five or six characters in Sallust, which are so many masterpieces; and I do not know whether there be any thing in the whole extent of literature of a beauty that approaches nearer the idea of perfection. I shall repeat two of them in this place, from which the reader may judge of the rest.

CHARACTER OF CATALINE.

"L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intus estina, caedes, rapinae, discordi civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem suam exercevit. Corpus patiens inediae, algoris, vigiliæ, supra quam cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdoluus, varius, cujuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulatur: alieni appetens, sui profusus; ardens in cupiditatibus. Satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat."

"L. Catilina was of noble birth, and of great strength both of body and mind, but of a disposition highly corrupt and depraved. From his earliest years, intestine wars, murders, rapine, and civil discord were his delight, and the usual exercises of his youth. He bore hunger, cold, watching and fatigues, with a patience not credible of any body. He was bold, deceitful, inconstant, and capable of assuming and disguising any thing: greedy of another's, profuse of his own, and violent in all his appetites. He had eloquence enough, but little wisdom. His vast spirit, his boundless ambition, perpetually covered things of an excessive, incredible, and lofty nature."

CHARACTER OF SEMPRONIA.

"In his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit: Litteris Græcis et Latinis docta: psallere, saltare ele-

¹ Liv. l. xxi.

² In Brut. n. 66.

³ Cornel. Nepos. in fragm.

⁴ Ibid. n. 253.

⁵ Qualis apud Græcos Pherecydes, Hellenicus, Acusilaus fuit; tales noster Cato, et Pictor, et Piso: qui neque tenent quibus rebus oratur oratio; (modò enim luc ista sunt importata) et dum intelligitur quid dicant unam dicendi laudem putant esse breviter. Lib. ii. de Orat. n. 53.

⁶ Quintil.

⁷ Sallustii nova studiū multa cum invidia fuit. *Aug. Gell. l. i. iv. c. 15.*

gañtiùs, quàm necesse est probare: multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt, sed ei cariora semper omnia, quàm decus atque pudicitia fuit. Pecunia an famem minùs parceret, haud facillè discerneres.—Ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci. Prorsus multæ factiæ, nullusque lepos inerat."

"Of this number was Sempornia, who had in many things frequently instanced a masculine boldness of genius for vice. This woman was sufficiently happy in her person and birth, as well as in her husband and children: she was well read in the Greek and Roman learning: could sing and dance with more elegance than was necessary for a matron of virtue; and had besides many of those qualities, that minister to luxury and render vice amiable, on which she ever set an higher value than upon the decency and chastity of her sex. It was not easy to say whether she was less frugal of her money or of her reputation. Her wit was by no means disagreeable: she could make verses, jest agreeably, and converse either with modesty and tenderness, or tartness and freedom: but in whatever she said there was always abundance of spirit and humour."

There are many admirable passages in Sallust, especially when he compares the ancient manners of the commonwealth with those of his own times. When we hear him speak strongly, as is usual enough with him, against luxury, debauchery, and the other vices of his age, one would take him for a man of the strictest habits and greatest probity in the world. But we must not conclude so from so plausible an appearance. His conduct was so immoral, that it occasioned his being expelled the senate by the censors.

Besides the wars of Cataline and Jugurtha, Sallust wrote a general history of the events that happened during a certain number of years, of which amongst other fragments there are several perfectly fine discourses.

CORNELIUS NEPOS.

FOR some time the works of Cornelius Nepos were ascribed by mistake to Emilius Probus. Vossius thought that that was the name of the bookseller who offered to Theodosius the Lives of Great Generals, written partly by his own hand and partly by that of his father and of his mother. Cornelius Nepos lived during the time of Cæsar and of Augustus, and died under the latter. He was born in Cisalpine Gaul, at Hostilia, a little village dependant upon Verona.

Of the different works which he composed, there now remain the Lives of Great Generals abridged, an abridgment of that of Cato, and the Life of Pomponius Atticus, which is sufficiently extended. There are twenty-two Lives of Great Generals, all Grecians, except the two last, Hamilcar and Hannibal, who were Carthaginians. Between Timoleon and Hamilcar, Nepos gives a kind of catalogue of kings, both of Persia and of Greece, in the twenty-first chapter, which is very short. He had written abridged Lives of Roman Generals on the same plan as those of the Greeks, in order that, as he himself says, a comparison may be made and judgment more easily passed on their respective merits.¹ It would appear, also, that he had composed lives of other Greeks and Romans. He speaks² of that of Philistus in his life of Dion. Aulus Gellius quotes from the first book of the life of Cicero. In the abridged life of Cato,³ which has come down to us, Nepos cites a more extended one, which he had written at the request of Atticus, and to which he refers his readers.⁴ In fine, we have the life of Pomponius Atticus, which is a precious morsel, and which of itself could give us an accurate idea of this historian's merit.

His style is pure, neat, elegant. Simplicity, which is one of his chief characteristics, is mingled with a remarkable delicacy, and relieved at times by reflections noble and solid. But that which appears to me the most valuable thing in this author is a marked regard for the great principles of honour, probity,

virtue, disinterestedness, and love of the public good, which he has contrived to introduce into all his writings. His intimate connexion with Atticus, and through it, of course, with Hortensius, Cicero, and his other illustrious contemporaries, are sufficient proofs of their esteem of the goodness of his heart and the excellence of his genius.

LIVY.

THE Latin preface to the new edition of Livy, of which Mr. Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais, has lately published two volumes, would supply me with the little I intend to say here of this excellent historian. If I was less Mr. Crevier's friend, who insists absolutely upon my declaring him my pupil, which I think highly for my honour, I should expatiate upon the usefulness and merit of his work. The preface of it alone is sufficient to inform the reader what value he ought to set upon it.

The more earnestly we desire to know an author famous for his writings, the more we regret, that little or nothing more than his name is come down to us. Livy is one of those authors who have rendered their names immortal, but whose lives and actions are little known. He was born at Padua, in the consulship of Piso and Gabinius, fifty-eight years before the Christian era. He had a son, to whom he wrote a letter upon education and the studies proper for youth which Quintilian mentions in more than one place, and of which we ought very much to regret the loss. It is in this letter, or rather short treatise, that he says in respect to the authors proper to be recommended to the reading of youth, that they ought first to study Demosthenes and Cicero, and next such as resemble these excellent orators most: *Legendos Demosthenem atque Ciceronem, tum ita ut quisque esset Demostheni et Ciceroni similis.*⁵ He speaks in the same letter, of a rhetorician⁶ who disapproved of the compositions of his pupils, when they were perspicuous and intelligible, and made them correct them, as he called it, by throwing obscurity into them. When they had retouched them in this manner, he would say, "Ay, this now is much better, I understand nothing of it myself."⁷ Could one believe so ridiculous an extravagance possible? Livy also composed some philosophical works, and dialogues, in which philosophy had a part. But his great work was the Roman history in an hundred and forty, or an hundred and forty-two books, from the foundation of Rome to the death and funeral of Drusus, which happened in the 743d year of Rome, and consequently included that number of years. We find, from some dates in his history, that he employed the whole time between the battle of Actium and the death of Drusus in composing it, that is to say, about twenty-one years. But he published it from time to time in parts;⁸ and this was what acquired him so great a reputation at Rome, and the honourable visit of a stranger from the remotest part of Spain, who took so long a journey only for the sake of seeing him. The capital of the world had enough to engage and satisfy the eyes of a curious person in the magnificence of its buildings, and the multitude of its paintings, statues, and ancient monuments. But this stranger found nothing so rare and precious in Rome as Livy. After having enjoyed his conversation at pleasure, and entertained himself agreeably with reading his history, he returned with joy and content to his own country. And this is knowing the value of men.

Nothing more is known of what regards Livy personally. He passed a great part of his life at Rome, esteemed and honoured by the great as he deserved. He died in his country at the age of seventy-six, in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius. The people of Padua have honoured his memory in all times, and pretend to have actually preserved among them

¹ Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

² Apud Titum Livium invenimus quem, qui discipulos obscurare, fuisse præceptorem alibi, an dicent juberet, Græcè verbo utens, οὐδέν. Unde si, an dicent juberet, Græcè Tanto melior; ne ego quidem ita, sed felicit egregia laudatio.

³ Seuec. Epist. 100.

⁴ Plin. Epist. iii. l. 2.

⁵ In vit. Hannib. c. 13.

⁶ Cap. 3.

⁷ Cap. 3.

⁸ xv. 23.

some remains of his body, and to have made a present in the year 1451, of one of his arms to Alphonso V. king of Arragon, at least the inscription says so. It were much more to be wished, that they had preserved his history. Only thirty-five books of it are come down to us, which is not the fourth part of the work, and even some of them imperfect. What a loss is this! The learned have flattered themselves from time to time with some faint hopes of recovering the rest, which seem solely founded in their great desire of them. *Johannes Freinshemius* has endeavoured to console the public for this loss by his *Supplements*; and has succeeded in it as far as it was possible. Freinshemius, born at Ulm in Suabia in 1603, studied at Strasburgh with great success. In 1642, he was invited into Sweden, where he filled several considerable employments of literature. Upon his return into his country, he was made honorary professor in the university established by the elector Palatine at Heidelberg, where he died in 1660. The commonwealth of letters is under infinite obligations to him for having rendered Livy the same service as he had before done Quintus Curtius, by filling up all we have lost of that great writer of the Roman history, with an hundred and five books of supplements. Mr. Doujat also filled up the deficient places in the last books which remain of Livy, but with very different success. Mr. Crevier has revised and retouched Freinshemius's supplements in several places, and worked those of Doujat entirely anew. By these means we have a continued and complete body of the history of the Roman commonwealth.

It is doubted whether Livy himself divided his history from ten to ten books, that is to say into decades. However that may be, the division seems commodious enough. Respecting the epitomes in the front of each book, the learned do not believe them either done by Livy or Florus. Whoever the author was, they have their use, as they serve to show, of what the books we have lost, treated.

Let us now examine the work in itself. There reigns throughout all its parts, an eloquence perfect, and perfect in every kind. In the narrations, descriptions, speeches, the style, though varied to infinity, sustains itself equally every where: simple without meanness, elegant and florid without affectation, great and sublime without tumour, flowing or concise, and full of sweetness or force, according to the exigency of the matter; but always clear and intelligible, which is not the meanest praise of history. Pollio, who was of a refined taste difficult to please, pretended he discovered *Pavinity* in the style of Livy: that is to say, some words or turns of phrase which savoured of the country of Padua.¹ A man born there might retain, if we may be allowed the expression, some smatch of the soil, and might not have all the refinement and delicacy of the Roman *urbanity*, which was not so easily communicated to strangers, as the freedom of the city. But this is what we can now neither perceive nor understand. This reproach of *Pavinity* has not hindered Quintilian² from comparing Livy to Herodotus, which is giving him great praise. He makes us observe the sweet and flowing style of his narrations, and the supreme eloquence of his harangues, wherein the characters of the persons he introduces speaking, are sustained with all possible exactness, and the passions, especially the soft and tender, are treated with wonderful art. All however that Livy could do was to attain, by qualities entirely different, to the immortal reputation which Sallust acquired by his inimitable brevity:

¹ In *Oratio Livio miræ faciendæ viro putat inesse Pollio Asinius*, ut jam *Pavinitatem*. Quare, si fieri potest, et verba omnia, et vox, hujus alumnus urbis oleat: ut oratio Romana plane creatur non civitate donata. *Quintil. l. viii. c. 1.*

² Nec indignetur sibi Herodotus æquare Titum Livium, cum in narrando inter præclarissimæ candoris, tum in concionibus supra ceteros præcipue eloquentem: ita dicuntur omnia cum rebus imperiosis accommodata. Sed affectus quidem, præcipue æque et dulciore, ut parcissime dicam, nemo historicorum commendavit magis. Ideoque immortalem illam Sallustii velocem, tem diversis virtutibus consecutus est. *Quint. c. 1.*

for these two historians have with reason been said rather to be equal, than like each other, *pares magis, quam similes*.

It is not only by his eloquence, and the beauty and spirit of his narration, that Livy acquired the reputation he has enjoyed for so many ages. He recommended himself no less by his fidelity, a virtue so necessary and desirable in a historian. Neither the fear of displeasing the power of his times, nor the desire of making his court to them, prevented him from telling the truth. He spoke in his history³ with praise of the greatest enemies of the house of the Cæsars, as of Pompey, Brutus, Cassius and others; and Augustus took no offence at it: so that we know not which most to admire, the moderation of the prince, or the generous freedom of the historian. In the thirty-five books that remain of Livy, he mentions Augustus only twice,⁴ and that too with a reserve and sobriety of praise, which reproaches those flattering, self-interested writers, who, without discretion or measure, are so lavish of an incense to office and dignity, due only to merit and virtue.

If any defect may be imputed to Livy, it is his over fondness for his country: a rock he has not always taken care enough to avoid. While he perpetually admires the greatness of the Romans, he not only exaggerates their exploits, successes, and virtues; but disguises and diminishes their vices, and the faults they commit.

Seneca the elder⁵ reproaches Livy with having expressed a mean jealousy of Sallust, in accusing him of stealing a sentence from Thucydides, and of having maimed it by translating it ill. What probability is there that Livy, who copied whole books from Polybius, should make it a crime in Sallust to copy a single sentence, or rather a line? Besides, it is perfectly well rendered. *Διναί γὰρ αἱ ἰστορίαι συγχεῖσθαι καὶ συκίσθαι τὰ ἱστορῶν ἀμαρτήματα. Res secundæ miræ sunt vitii obtentui.* And how shall we reconcile this accusation with what the same Seneca says in another place, that Livy judged with the utmost equity and candour of the works of the learned? *Uti est natura candidissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum æstimator T. Livius.*⁶ I believe we may rely upon this last testimony.

There is another complaint against him of a much more serious and important kind. He is taxed with ingratitude and want of fidelity, either in not having named Polybius, or for having done it with too much indifference, in places where he copied him word for word. I should be sorry if this reproach could be made with good foundation: for it affects the qualities of the heart, of which the honest man ought to be very jealous. But is it not probable, that he did speak of Polybius with praise in the other parts of his history not come down to us, that he did him all the justice due to his merit, and declared beforehand, that he made it his glory, and thought it his duty, to copy him word for word in many places, and that he should often do so without citing him, to avoid repeating the same thing too often? My own interest is a little concerned here: for in this point I have some occasion for the reader's indulgence.

These kind of blots observed in Livy have not however impaired his glory. Posterity on account of them has not admired his work the less, not only as a masterpiece of eloquence, but as a history, which every where inculcates the love of justice and virtue; wherein we find, mingled with his narration, the soundest maxims for the conduct of life, with a singular attachment and respect, that shines out every where, for the religion established at Rome when he wrote; (unfortunately for him it was false, but he knew no other;) in fine, a generous boldness and pious zeal in condemning with force the impious sentiments of the unbelievers of his age. *Nondum hæc, sicut in a passage of Lib. 3. n. 20. que nunc tenet seculum, negligentia deum venerat: nec interpretando sibi quisque jusjurandum et leges optas ficebat, sed suos potius mores ad ea accommodabat.* "The contempt of the gods,

³ Tacit. *Annal. l. iv. c. 24.*

⁴ Lib. l. n. 19. and l. iv. n. 20.

⁵ Id. *suasor. vii. 6.*

⁶ Lib. 4. *Controv. 4.*

so common in our age, was not yet known. Caths and the laws were the rules to which people conformed their conduct, and the art of adapting them to their own convenience by illusive interpretations was then unknown."

From what I have now said, it seems reasonable to justify Livy in respect to the pretended superstition with which he affects to relate such a number of miracles and prodigies equally ridiculous and incredible. The faith of history required, that he should not suppress things said to have happened before him, which he found in his own collections and the annals, and which made a part of the religion commonly received in those times, though perhaps he did not believe them himself. And he explains himself on this head often and clearly enough, attributing most of the pretended prodigies, which made so much noise, to an ignorant and credulous superstition.¹

CÆSAR.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR distinguished himself no less by his wit than his valour. He applied himself first to the bar, where he made a great figure. Only the desire of attaining the first rank in the commonwealth in respect to power, prevented him from disputing also the first rank at the bar in respect to eloquence.² His peculiar character was force and vehemence. The same fire which he made appear in battle, is discernible in his writings. To this vigour of style he added great purity and elegance of language, which he had made his peculiar study, and upon which he piqued himself more than any other Roman.

He composed many works, among others two books upon the analogy of the Latin tongue.³ Who could believe, that so great a warrior as Cæsar should employ himself seriously in composing tracts upon grammar? How different are our manners and inclinations from those of that age! It is in one of those books upon analogy, that he recommended avoiding new and unusual expressions, as rocks: *tanquam scopulum, sic fugius insolens verbum*.

There were several pleadings of his also extant. Besides the elegance of his Latin, which is necessary, says Atticus, or rather Cicero, not only to every orator, but every Roman citizen of condition, he adds all the ornaments of art, but principally a wonderful talent in painting objects, and placing things in all their lights.⁴

Only two of Cæsar's works remain; his seven books of war with the Gauls, and his three of the civil war. They are properly speaking only Memoirs, and he made them public only as such: *Commentarii*. He wrote them hastily, and even in the midst of his expeditions; solely with the view of leaving materials to writers, for composing a history.⁵ The perspicuity and elegance of style, natural to him, are certainly evident in them; but he has neglected all the shining ornaments a genius so happy as his could have diffused throughout a work of that nature. All simple and negligent as it may appear, says Hirtius, it is however generally agreed, that no other work, however laboured and polished, can come up to the beauty of Cæsar's Commentaries.⁶ His design was only to supply those

with materials, who might undertake to compose a history from them in form. "In which," says Cicero, "he may have pleased writers of mean parts, who will not fear disfiguring his natural graces with trivial ornament: but every man of sense will be far from touching or altering them in any manner whatsoever. For nothing in history gives so much pleasure as a clear and elegant brevity of style." *Dum voluit alios habere parata unde sumerent, qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis fuisse gratum fecit, qui volent illa calamistris inarere; sanos quidem homines à scribendo deterruit. Nihil enim est in Historia, pura et illustri brevitate dulcius.* Hirtius has the same remark respecting writers who should conceive thoughts of composing a history from Cæsar's Commentaries. "He certainly supplies them with the means," says he; "but if they are wise, those very means ought for ever to prevent their having such a thought." *Adco probantur omnium judicio, ut præcepta non præbita facultas scriptoribus videatur.* Mr. Blancourt's translation of Cæsar's Commentaries is very much esteemed. It might be improved, if some able hand would retouch it in some places.

Cæsar had undoubtedly great wit and the most happy natural parts: but he had also taken pains to cultivate them by assiduous study, and to enrich them with all that was most curious and exquisite in literature; by which means he arrived at excelling almost all the most eloquent orators of Rome in purity of language and delicacy of style.⁷ I purposely make this remark after Cicero, to excite our young nobility to follow so good an example, in uniting with the praise of valour that of fine sense and polite knowledge. I have seen young Englishmen of distinction, who have done me the honour of a visit, that were well read in the learning of the Greeks and Romans, and no less versed in history. In these points jealousy, or, to speak more justly, emulation, is laudable between nation and nation. The French youth are inferior to none in vivacity and solidity of genius. In my opinion, they ought to pique themselves upon not giving place in any thing to strangers, and in not abandoning to them the glory of erudition and fine taste. This is what Cæsar seems to advise. His Commentaries ought always to be in their hands. It is the soldier's book. The greatest generals in all times have made him their master. The reading of these memoirs have been always their employment and delight. They find in them the rules of the art military, whether in sieges or battles, reduced to practice. They may learn also there, the manner of composing memoirs, which is no vulgar talent. It were to be wished, that all generals would regularly set down all the operations of the campaigns in which they command. What an assistance would that be to historians, and what a light to posterity! Is there any thing more valuable than the memoirs of the Marshal Turenne printed in the second volume of his life, or than those of James II. king of England, then duke of York?

Hirtius finished what Cæsar could not. The eighth book of the war with the Gauls is his, as well as those of the war of Alexandria, and that of Africa. It is doubted whether he is the author of the book which treats of the war in Spain.

Mr. Blancourt's translation of Cæsar, as well as of Tacitus, is very good in many things, but wants retouching in many places.

PATERCULUS.

CAIUS, or PUBLIUS, or MARCUS VELLEIUS PATERCULUS flourished in the reign of Tiberius. There is great reason to believe that he was born in the 735th year of Rome, A. D. 15. His ancestors were illustrious by their merit and offices. He was a tribune in the army, when Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, had an interview with the king of Parthia in an

sectum, quod non horum elegantia Commentariorum superetur. *Ibid.*

⁷ Audio (inquit Atticus Cæsarem) omnium fero oratorum latine loqui elegantissime—Et ut esset perfecta illa bene loquendi laus, multis literis, et his quidem reconditis et exquisitis, summoque studio diligenter esse consecutus. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 252, 253.

¹ Romæ, aut circa urbem, multa ea hieme prodigia facta, aut (quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis) multa nuntiata et temere creditu sunt. *Lib. xxi.* n. 62.

² Cumis (adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inserit deos) mures in æde Jovis aurum rosisse unciatum est. *Lib. xviii.* n. 23.

³ C. vero Cæsar, si soro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem numinaretur. Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quod bellavit, appareat. Exornat tamen hæc omnia mira sermonis, ejus proprie studiosius fuit elegantia. *Quintil.* l. x. c. 1.

⁴ Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 10.

⁵ Cum, inquit Atticus, ad hæc elegantiam verborum Latinorum (quæ etiam orator non sis, et sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est) adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi: tum videtur tanquam tabulas bene pictas collocare in bono lumine. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 252.

⁶ Cæteri quàm bene atque commendate, nos etiam quàm facile atque celebriter eos confecerit, scimus. *Hirt. Pref.* l. viii. de *Bell. Gall.*

⁷ Constat inter omnes nihil tam operose ab aliis esse per-

island of the Euphrates.¹ He had a command in the cavalry under Tiberius, and attended that prince nine years successively in all his expeditions, who rewarded him honourably.² He was raised to the prætorship the same year in which Augustus died.³

The time when he began to write his history is not known, nor what it contained. The beginning of it is lost. What has come down to us of it is a fragment of the ancient Greek history with that of the Romans, from the defeat of Perseus to the sixteenth year of Tiberius. He addressed it to M. Vincius, who was consul at that time, and promised one of greater extent. His travels into different regions might have furnished him with very agreeable and curious facts.

His style is highly worthy of the age in which he lived, which was still that of fine taste and pure language. He excels principally in the characters of men, some of which I shall cite at the end of this article.

His narration is judged to be faithful and sincere down to the time of the Cæsars, and in such facts as do not concern them. For, from that time the desire of flattering Tiberius makes him either omit, disguise, or alter the truth in various instances. He accuses Germanicus of cowardice,⁴ or rather of a too soft complacency for the seditions, whilst he gives many others excessive praises. *Quo quidem tempore—pleraque ignave Germanicus.*⁵ He is justly reproached with having praised Tiberius extravagantly. His unfair evasions of offending that emperor appear, as I have already said, in the care he takes to run slightly over the glorious actions of Germanicus, to suppress most of them, and to attack the fame of Agrippina, and other persons hated by Tiberius.

But he is still more unpardonable for loading Sejanus with praises, who occasioned so many misfortunes to the empire, and for having represented him as one of the most virtuous personages the Roman commonwealth had ever produced. *Sejanus, vir antiquissimi moris, et priscam gravitatem humanitate temperans.*⁶ This is nothing to the panegyric he bestows upon him in the sequel. "He previously laid down by many examples the necessity princes were under of assistance in their government, and of associating coadjutors to divide with them the weight of public affairs." *Raro eminentes viri non magnis adiutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam suam uti sunt—Etenim magna negotia magnis adiutoribus egent.*⁷ Who doubts it? but the question is to make a good choice. He proceeds then to Sejanus, and after having exalted the splendour of his birth, he represents him "as a man, who knows how to temper the severity of power with an air of sweetness, and the cheerful serenity of the ancients; who transacts the most weighty affairs with all the ease of leisure; who assumes nothing to himself, and thereby attains every thing; who always is less in his own opinion than in that of the public; whose aspect and behaviour appear calm and tranquil, while the cares of the state afford him no rest. In which judgment of his merits, the court and the city, the prince and the people, contend with each other." "Virum severitatis lætissimæ, hilaritatis priscæ; actu otiosis simillimum; nihil sibi vendicantem, eoque assequentem omnia; semper infra aliorum æstimationes se metientem; vultu vitæ tranquillum, animo exsomnia. In hujus virtutum æstimationem jam pridem judicia civitatis cum judiciis principis certant." How great was his love of the public good, if we may believe his historian! What application to business! What zeal for the interests of the prince and state! How amiable his character under the oppressive weight of the public business! What moderation, and in a word, what an assemblage of the greatest virtues, attested by the unanimous voice of all the world! In order to know what we are to think of them, let us consider a second picture of the same Sejanus drawn by another master, who did not receive

hire from him, and was never suspected of flattery. This was Tacitus, of whom we shall soon speak. "Sejanus Tiberium variis artibus devinxit adeo, ut obscurum adversus alios, sibi nui incautum intectumque efficeret; non tam solertia, (quippe isdem artibus victus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam; cujus pari exito viguit, ceciditque. Corpus illi laborum tolerans; animus audax, sui obtegens; in alios crimator: juxta adulatione et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, ejusque causa modò largitio et luxus, sæpe industria ac vigilantia, haud minùs noxiæ quotiens parando regno finguntur."⁸ "Sejanus by various arts gained the ascendancy of Tiberius so far, that though that prince was gloomy and impenetrable to every body else, he disguised nothing, and kept no secret from him; which is not so much to be ascribed to the craft and address of that minister, (for he fell by the same arts of cunning and deceit himself) as to the anger of the gods against the Roman empire, to which his power and fall were equally pernicious. He had strength of body to support great fatigues; the character of his mind was presumption, disguise, and malignity in calumniating others. He was at the same time a flatterer to the lowest degree of meanness and haughtily to excess: his outside wore the appearance of great modesty and reserve; within the lust of gain and ambition wholly engrossed him. His means for the attainment of his ends were luxury and corruption, and sometimes vigilance and application, no less dangerous, when assumed for usurping empire." To say every thing in a word, Sejanus, so much extolled by Paterculus, was the scourge of the divine wrath against the Roman empire: *deum irâ in rem Romanam.* Persons in high stations, who have the dispensation of graces and advantages, may judge from this of the value they ought to set upon the praises lavished upon them so immoderately, and often with so little shame.

I have said before that Paterculus excelled particularly in drawing the characters of men. Some of his descriptions are short, which are not the least beautiful; and many of greater extent. I shall repeat here some examples of both.

Marius.

"Hirtus atque horridus, vitæque sanctus; quantum bello optimus, tantum pace pessimus; immodicus gloria, insatiabilis, impotens, semperque inquietus." "Marius had something savage and horrid in his nature: his manners were austere, but irreprovable; excellent in war, detestable in peace; greedy, or rather insatiable of glory; violent, and incapable of rest."⁹

Sylla.

"Adeo Sylla dissimilis fuit bellator ac victor, ut, dum vincit, iustissimo leniori; post victoriam, audito fuerit crudelior." "Nothing was more different than Sylla at war, and Sylla victorious. In the field, he was milder than the justest; after the victory, more cruel than the most barbarous."¹⁰

Mithridates.

"Mithridates, Ponticus rex: vir neque silendus, neque dicendus, sine cura. Bello acerrimus, virtute eximius; aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus: consiliis dux, miles manu, odio in Romanos Annibal." "Mithridates king of Pontus, of whom it is difficult either to speak or to be silent. Most expert in war, of extraordinary valour; sometimes very great by fortune, always by magnanimity: in counsels a general, in executing a soldier, in hatred to the Romans a Hannibal."¹¹

Mæcenas.

"C. Mæcenas, equestris sed splendidi genere natus: vir, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sanè exsomnia, providens, atque agendi sciens; simul verò aliquid ex negotio remitti posset, otio ac molliis, penè ultra feminam fluens." "Mæcenas descended from an equestrian, but illustrious and ancient family. Where vi-

¹ Vell. Pat. l. xx. c. 101. ² Ib. c. 104. ³ Ib. c. 124.

⁴ Lib. 2. c. 125.

⁵ A learned commentator (Boisclerus) believes this passage corrupt, and that grave ought to be read. But to correct a text in such a manner, contrary to the faith of manuscripts, is only to guess.

⁶ Lib. 2. c. 116.

⁷ Lib. 2. c. 127, 128.

⁸ Tacit. An. l. iv. c. 1.

⁹ Lib. ii. c. 25.

¹⁰ Lib. ii. c. 9.

¹¹ Lib. ii. c. 13.

gillance was necessary, he was able, provident, and active, without allowing himself rest. But as soon as affairs would admit of relaxation, he gave himself up to the charms of ease and voluptuousness with almost more than female softness."¹

Scipio Æmilianus.

"P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani patrisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenique ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui: qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, ac sensit.—Tam elegans liberalium studiorum omnique doctrinæ auctor et admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellentes ingenio viros, domi militiæque escum habuerit. Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio dispanxit: semperque aut belli aut pacis servit artibus; semper inter arma ac studia versatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animi disciplinis exercuit." "P. Scipio Æmilianus, who perfectly resembled Scipio Africanus his grandfather, and Paulus Æmilius his father, in their virtues, was the most eminent person of his age, for all the talents, natural or acquired, that could adorn peace or war; a man, who never during his life either did, said, or thought any thing but what deserved praise. He was so great an admirer of polite learning and science in general, in which he himself excelled, that he always had with him, as well at home as in the field, Polybius and Panætius, two of the most illustrious learned men of his time. No man knew how to apply the intervals of leisure from business with more elegance and taste than this Scipio: and as the arts of war or peace were his continual employments, between arms and books, he incessantly exercised either his body in the dangers and fatigues of the one, or his mind in the refined studies and speculations of the other."²

Cato of Utica.

"M. Cato, genitus proavo M. Catone, principe illo familie Porciæ: homo virtuti simillimus, et per omnia ingenio diis quàm hominibus propior: qui nunquam rectè fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat; cuique id solum visum esse rationem habere, quod haberet justitiam: omnibus humanis vitiis immunis, semper fortunam in sua potestate habuit." "Cato of Utica's great grandfather was Cato the censor, that illustrious head of the Porcian family. He was in all things more like a god than a man, and seemed *virtue itself in human shape*. He never did any thing virtuous for the sake of seeming virtuous, but because he could not do otherwise; and never thought any thing could have reason, that wanted justice. Exempt from all human vices, fortune, to which he never gave way, was in his power, and in a manner his slave."³

Pompey.

"Innocentia eximius, cunctitate præcipuus, eloquentia mediis: potentiæ, quæ honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus. Dux bello peritissimus; civis in toga (nisi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem) modestissimus. Amicitiarum tenax, in offensis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia fidelissimus, in accipienda satisfactione facilissimus. Potentia sua nunquam, aut rarò, ad impotentiam usus: penè omnium vitiorum expertus, nisi numeraretur inter maxima, in civitate libera dominique gentium indignari, cum omnes cives vix haberet pares, quenquam æquelem dignitate conspiciere." "Pompey's manners were blameless and noble, his probity supreme, his eloquence indifferent. He was extremely fond of power, when conferred upon him freely and for his honour, but not so much as to seize it by violence: a most able general in war, a most moderate citizen in peace, except when he apprehended having an equal. Tenacious in friendship, easy in forgiving injuries, most faithful in reconciliation, and far from rigid in exacting satisfaction. He never, or very rarely, employed his power in committing violence

and oppression: and might be said to be exempt from all vices, if it were not the greatest in a free state, the mistress of the world, where all the citizens were equal by right and constitution, to be incapable of suffering any equal in power and authority."⁴

Cæsar.

"Cæsar forma omnium civium excellentissimus, vigore animi acerrimus, munificentie edulcentissimus, animo super humanam et naturam et fidem evectus: magnitudine consiliorum, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum, Magao illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo simillimus: qui denique semper et somno et cibo in vitam non in voluptatem uteretur." "Cæsar, besides excelling all the Romans in the beauty of his person, surpassed them still more in the force and superiority of his genius, in munificence and liberality to profusion, and in valour and ability above either human nature or belief. The greatness of his projects, the rapidity of his conquests, and his intrepid valour in confronting dangers, make him entirely resemble Alexander the Great, but Alexander sober, and free from rage. Food and rest he used only for refreshment, not for pleasure."⁵

TACITUS.

TACITUS (*C. Cornelius Tacitus*) was older than the younger Pliny, who was born in the year of Christ 61. Vespasian first raised him to dignities, in which Titus continued him, and to which Domitian added greater. He was prætor in the reign of the latter, and in that of Nerva was substituted consul to Verginius Rufus, whose panegyric he composed.⁶ He married the daughter of Cn. Julius Agricola, famous for the conquest of Britain, A. D. 77, or 78. He had been four years out of Rome with his wife, when Agricola died, A. D. 93. Lipsius believes that Tacitus left children, because the emperor Tacitus said, he was descended from him or from the same family.⁷ Learning rendered Tacitus more illustrious than his dignities.⁸ He plead even after he had been consul, with great reputation for eloquence, of which the peculiar character was weight and majesty. He had been highly esteemed from his first appearance. Pliny the younger was one of his earliest admirers, and they contracted a great friendship with each other.⁹ They mutually corrected each other's works; which is of great service to an author.¹⁰ This I experience every day with the utmost gratitude, and am conscious that I owe the success of my labours to the like assistance of no less learned than affectionate friends.

It appears that Tacitus published some orations or pleadings.¹¹ He also composed some pieces in verse; and there is a letter of his among those of Pliny. But he is only known in these days, by his historical writings, to which St. Sidonius¹² tells us he did not apply himself, till after he had endeavoured in vain to persuade Pliny to undertake his subject. He composed his *Description of Germany*¹³ during Trajan's second consulship: at least there is room to conjecture so. *The Life of Agricola*, his father-in-law, appears also from the preface to have been one of his first works, and written in the beginning of Trajan's reign. He employs part of the preface in describing the tempestuous times of a cruel reign at enmity with all virtue: *Sæva et infesta virtutibus tempora*. This was that of Domitian. He concludes it with observing, that he dedicates that book to the glory of Agricola his father-in-law; and hopes that the respect and gratitude which induced him to undertake it, will either recommend it to favour, or be its excuse: *Hic interim liber honori Agricolæ socii mei destinatus professione pietatis aut laudatus erit, aut excusatus*. He then proceeds to his subject, and explains the principal circumstances and actions of his father-in-law's life. This piece is one of the finest and most valuable fragments of antiquity; in which soldiers, courtiers, and magistrates, may find excellent instructions.

⁴ Lib. ii. c. 29.

⁵ Plin. Ep. i. l. 2.

⁶ Plin. Ep. i., xi. l. 2.

⁷ Id. Ep. vii. l. 8.

⁸ Sidon. Ep. xiii. l. 4.

⁹ Lib. ii. c. 41.

¹⁰ Vopisc. in vit. Tacit.

¹¹ Id. Ep. ii. l. 7.

¹² Id. Ep. x. l. 9.

¹³ De Germ. c. 37.

¹ Lib. ii. c. 82.

² Lib. ii. c. 35.

³ Lib. i. c. 12. Ibid. c. 13.

The great work of Tacitus is that wherein he wrote the history of the emperors,¹ beginning at the death of Galba, and concluding at that of Domitian: which is what we call his *Histories*. But of the twenty-eight years contained in this history, from the year sixty-nine to ninety-six, we have only the year sixty-nine and part of seventy. To compose this work, he asked memoirs of particular persons, as he did of Pliny the younger, concerning his uncle's death.² Such as were desirous of being known to posterity sent him accounts without application, which we find from the same Pliny, who was in hopes of being immortalized by that means.³ The letters which he wrote him upon that head, seem to be of the year 102 or 103, whence we may judge at what time Tacitus applied himself to that work.

He intended, after having finished it, if God prolonged his life, to write also the history of Nerva and Trajan: happy times, says he, in which a man might think as he pleased, and speak as he thought. *Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet.*⁴ But it does not appear that he executed this design. Instead of that he resumed the Roman history from the death of Augustus to the reign of Galba; and this is the part that he calls his *Annals*, because he endeavoured to introduce all the events under their respective years, which, however, he does not always observe in relating some wars. In a passage of these annals, he refers to the history of Domitian,⁵ that he had written before: which shows that the *Histories* were prior to the *Annals*, though the latter are placed first. And it is observed that the style of his histories is more florid and diffuse than that of his annals, which is more grave and concise, without doubt, as he was naturally inclined to brevity, from his having grown stronger in that habit the more he wrote. Of the four emperors, whose history Tacitus wrote in his annals, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, only that of the first and last are come down to us almost entire; we, however, want three years of Tiberius, and the latter part of Nero's reign. Caligula is entirely lost, and we have only the end of Claudius.

He designed also to have written the history of Augustus: but St. Jerome⁶ seems to have known nothing more of his, except what he treated of from the death of that prince to that of Domitian, which, says he, made thirty books.

If what Quintilian says of a celebrated historian of his times, whom he does not name, is to be understood of Tacitus, as some authors have believed, it seems that he had been obliged to retrench some places in which he was too free and bold. The passage of Quintilian says,⁷ "There is an historian who still lives for the glory of our age, and who deserves to live eternally in the remembrance of succeeding times. He will be called by his name hereafter, at present it suffices that we know him. This great man has admirers, but no imitators; his freedom and love of truth having done him hurt, notwithstanding his having suppressed part of his writings. In what remains, however, we perfectly discern the elevation of his genius, and his bold and noble manner of thinking."

It is a misfortune that we are no better informed in the circumstances of the life of so illustrious a writer; nor do we know any thing regarding his death. The emperor Tacitus, who held it an honour to descend from our historian's family, decreed, that his works should be placed in all libraries, and that ten copies should be made of them every year at the expense of the public, in order to their being more correct.⁸ This was a wise and laudable precaution, which, one would think, might have preserved entire a work so

worthy in all its parts of being transmitted to posterity.

Tacitus boasts of having written without passion or prejudice, *sine ira et studio*, and of having strictly adhered to truth in every thing, which is the principal duty of an historian. To effect this, Tacitus had occasion not only for a great love of truth, but a very fine discernment, and much precaution. For he observes himself, in speaking of the histories of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, that whether they were written during their lives or after their deaths, falsehood was equally notorious in them, fear having dictated some of them, and hatred others: *Florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ; postquam occiderunt, reventibus odiis compositæ sunt.*⁹ "There are," says he, "two failings highly apt to injure truth: either abandoned adulation, or revengeful hatred against those that reign. It is not to be expected, that historians, who are either flatterers or declared enemies, should have any great regard for posterity." *Veritas pluribus modis infracta—libidine assentandi, aut rursus odio adversus dominantes. Ita neutris cura posteritatis, inter infensos vel obnoxios.*¹⁰ "We are presently disgusted with the sordid flattery of a writer, but hear slander and reproach with pleasure: for adulation bears the odious brand of slavery, and malignity the specious show of freedom." *Sed ambitionem scriptoris facillè adverteris, obrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulatione factum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest.* Tacitus promises to avoid these two extremes, and professes to be above all prejudices. *Incorruptam fidem professis, nec amore quisquam, et sine odio dicendus est.*

The part which we have of Tiberius's reign is judged Tacitus's masterpiece in respect to politics. The rest of his history, say the same critics, might be composed by another as well as by him; Rome not wanting declaimers to paint the vices of Caligula, the stupidity of Claudius, and the cruelties of Nero. But to write the life of a prince like Tiberius, required a historian like Tacitus, who could unravel all the intrigues of the cabinet, assign their real causes to events, and distinguish pretext and appearance from actual motives and truth. It is useful and important, I confess, to unmask false virtues, to penetrate the mists and obscurity, in which ambition and the other passions conceal themselves, and to set vice and guilt in full light, in order to inspire the horror of them. But is it not to be feared that a historian, who almost every where affects to dive into the human heart, and to sound it in its most secret recesses, gives us his own ideas and conjectures for reality, and frequently lends men intentions they never had, and designs of which they never thought? Sallust throws political reflections into his history, but he does it with more art and reserve, and thereby renders himself less suspected. Tacitus, in his history of the emperors, is more attentive to exposing the bad, than showing the good: which perhaps is because all those whose lives we have from him are bad princes. As to the style of Tacitus, we must own it very obscure: it is sometimes even hard and stiff, and has not all the purity of the good authors of the Latin tongue. But he excels in expressing much sense in few words, which gives a very peculiar force, energy, and spirit, to his discourse. He excels also in painting objects, sometimes with brevity, and sometimes with greater extent, but always in lively colours, that in a manner set what he describes before our eyes, and (which is his peculiar character) suggest much more than they express. Some examples will prove this better than what I say; which I shall extract solely from the life of Agricola.

Passages of Tacitus full of spirit.

1. Tacitus speaks of the Britons, who voluntarily supplied recruits, paid tributes, and submitted to all other impositions, when the governors sent from Rome acted with lenity and moderation, "but suffered cruelly and violent treatment with great reluc-

¹ Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 1.

² Plin. Ep. xvi. l. 6.

³ Id. Ep. xvi. xx. l. 6.

⁴ Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 1.

⁵ Annal. l. xi. c. 11.

⁶ Hieron. Zachar.

⁷ Supercor adhuc, e texorant ætatis nostræ gloriam, vir seculorum memoria dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intelligitur. Habet amatores nec imitatores, ut libertas, quamquam circumcisus quæ dixisset, c. nocuerit; sed elatum abunde spiritum et audaces sententias deprehendas etiam in iis quæ manent. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

⁸ Vopisc. in vit. Tacit. Imper.

⁹ Annal. l. i. c. 1.

¹⁰ Histor. l. i. c. 1.

tance, sufficiently subjected to obey, but not to be used like slaves." *Has (injurias) agrè tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant.* Cap. xiii.

2. "Agricola, having applied himself from the first year of his government to put a stop to these disorders, reinstated the desire of peace, which before, either through the negligence or collusion of his predecessors, was no less terrible than war. *Huc primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quæ, vel incuria vel tolerantia priorum, haud minus quam bellum timebatur.* Cap. xx.

3. Domitian's reception of Agricola at his return from his glorious campaigns, is one of the finest passages in Tacitus, but the spirit of it cannot be rendered in a translation. *Exceptus brevi osculo, et nullo sermone, turbæ servientium innixtus est.* "After a short cool embrace, in which the emperor did not say one word, he was left to mix with the crowd of courtiers attending." Cap. xl.

4. The same may be said of what immediately follows. Agricola, who perfectly knew the genius of the court, and how offensive the reputation of a successful general is to idle courtiers without merit, to soften the lustre of it, and to elude envy, thought proper to lead a quiet life remote from business. *Cæterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit.* "He retained a moderate equipage, treated every body with affability, and went abroad in the company of only one or two friends; so that the generality of people, who usually judge of the merit of men by the splendour and magnificence of their train, when they saw and considered him, asked themselves whether that was the so much celebrated Agricola, and could scarce believe it was him under such an appearance." *Cultu modicus, sermone facili, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus: adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est, quærent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* How are we to render these two last phrases, *quærent famam, pauci interpretarentur*, which have a profound sense, that it is almost necessary to guess? The historian has provided for this, in telling us, people generally judge of great men by the splendour that surrounds them; *plerisque magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est.* He distinguishes two kinds of spectators. The one, which is the most numerous, in seeing the modesty of Agricola's outside, inquired upon what his reputation could be founded, not perceiving the usual marks of it: *ut plerique quærent famam.* The other, which is the smallest in number, did not judge by vulgar opinion, but comprehended, that great merit might be concealed under a simple and modest appearance, and that the one was not incompatible with the other: *pauci interpretarentur.*

5. Tacitus sometimes mingles his facts with very judicious reflections. This he does in a wonderful manner, where he extols the wisdom and moderation with which Agricola managed and soothed the violent temper of Domitian, though himself had frequently experienced bad treatment from it. "Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse quem læseris. Domitiani verd natura præcepit in iram, et quod obscurior, eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricola leniebatur: quia non contumacia, neque inani jactatione libertatis, famam fatumque provocabat. Sciunt quibus moris illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quod plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reip. usum, ambitiosa morte inclauerunt." Cap. xlii. "Though it is of the nature of man to hate him whom he has injured, and Domitian was excessively prone to anger, and the more irreconcilable the more he concealed it, Agricola knew how to pacify him by his prudence and moderation. For he never aggravated his rage by contumacious behaviour, and was not so eager after fame, as to urge on his fate for the empty reputation of a generous freedom of speech. Let those who admire such a rashness of generosity, learn from him, that great men may live under bad princes; and that submission and modesty, if support-

ed with vigour and industry, may acquire greater fame, than many have aspired to by a bold and hardy behaviour, without any emolument to the public, and with no other fruit to themselves, except a more distinguished death."

QUINTUS CURTIUS. (RUFUS.)

I HAVE already observed elsewhere, that the time when Quintus Curtius lived is not precisely known. The learned are very much divided on this head; some placing him in the reign of Augustus or Tiberius, and others, in that of Vespasian, and even of Trajan.

He wrote the history of Alexander the Great, in ten books, of which the two first have not come down to us, but which have been supplied by Freinshemius. His style is florid, agreeable, and full of wise reflections; and he has many very fine harangues, but generally too long, and sometimes in the spirit of declamation. His thoughts, which are full of wit, and often very solid, have, however, an affected glitter and conceit, which do not seem to belong to the Augustan age. It would be surprising enough, that Quintilian, in his enumeration of the Latin authors, should have omitted to mention a historian of the merit of Quietus Curtius, had the latter lived before him.

He is reproached with many faults of ignorance in respect to astronomy, geography, the dates of his events, and even the most known effects of nature, as having thought the moon indifferently eclipsed when new, and when at the full. *Lunam deficere, cum aut terram subiret, aut sole premeretur.*¹

There is an excellent French translation of this author by M. Vaugelas.

SUETONIUS. (CAIUS SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS.)

SUETONIUS was the son of Suetonius Lenis,² a tribune of the thirteenth legion, who was at the battle of Bedriacum, where the troops of Vitellius were defeated by Otho. He flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian. Pliny the younger had a great affection for him, and was very desirous of having him always with him.³ He says, that the more he knew him the better he loved him, on account of his probity, politeness, good conduct, application to letters, and erudition; and did him many services.

Suetonius composed a great number of books, which are almost all lost. Only his History of the first Twelve Emperors, and part of his treatise upon the celebrated grammarians and rhetoricians have come down to us. This history is very much esteemed by the learned. He confines himself in it less to the affairs of the empire, than the persons of the emperors, whose particular actions, domestic behaviour, and inclinations in general, good or bad, he relates. He does not observe the order of time, and no history ever differed more from annals than this. He reduces the whole to certain general heads, setting down under each all that relates to it. His style is strong and simple, in which it plainly appears, that he was more intent on truth than eloquence. He is blamed for having given too much license to his pen, and for being as loose and debauched in his narrations, as the emperors, whose history he writes, were in their lives.

LUCIUS FLORUS.

FLORUS is believed to have been a Spaniard, of the family of the Senecas, and to have had the names of *L. Annaeus Seneca* by birth, and of *L. Julius Florus* by adoption.⁴ We have an abridgment of his, in four books, of the Roman History from Romulus down to Augustus, which seems to have been written in Trajan's time. It has not the usual fault of abridgments, of being dry, barren, and insipid. Its style is elegant, agreeable, and has a kind of poetical vivacity in it: but in some places it has too much emphasis and pomp, and sometimes even bombast. It is not an abridgment of Livy, with whom

¹ Lib. iv. c. 10.

² Plin. l. x. Ep. 100.

³ Sæton. in Othon. c. x.

⁴ Vossius.

he often differs. We have said before, that it is doubted whether the epitomes or summaries at the head of the books of Livy were written by Florus.

JUSTIN.

JUSTIN is believed to have inscribed his abridgment of the History of Troguus Pompeius to Titus Antoninus: but that is not certain, there having been several emperors of the name of Antoninus. Troguus Pompeius was one of the illustrious writers of the time of Augustus, and is ranked among the historians of the first class, Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus. His work was of immense extent, and contained the Greek and Roman history entire down to the reign of Augustus. Justin has abridged it in the same number of books; for which we are not obliged to him, if it be true that his abridgment occasioned the loss of the original. We may judge of the purity and elegance of Troguus' style from the speech of Mithridates to his troops, which Justin has inserted entire in his thirty-eighth book. It is very long and indirect. For Justin takes notice, that Troguus did not approve the direct harangues introduced by Livy and Sallust in their histories. It is at the end of this speech, after having represented to his soldiers, that he is not going to lead them into the frightful solitudes of Scythia, but the most fertile and opulent region in the universe, that Mithridates adds: "Asia expects them with impatience, and seems to offer them her hand, whilst she loudly invokes their aid: so much have the rapaciousness of proconsuls, the oppressions of tax-farmers, and the vexations of unjust tribunals, inspired them with hatred and detestation for the Romans." "Tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet: adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniae litium." The style of Justin is clear, intelligible, and agreeable: we find in him from time to time fine thoughts, solid reflections, and very lively descriptions. Except a small number of words and modes of speech, his Latinity is sufficiently pure; and it is very probable that he generally uses the words and even phrases of Troguus.

AUTHORS OF THE AUGUST HISTORY.

THE lives of the Roman emperors from Adrian to Carinus is called *The August History*. Those authors are Spartianus, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiscus. They all lived in the reign of Diocletian, though some of them wrote also under his successors. I shall not enter into a particular account of their works, which have no relation to my history.

AURELIUS VICTOR.

AURELIUS VICTOR lived in the reign of Constantius, and long after. He is believed to have been an African. He was born in the country, and the son of a very poor illiterate man. He seems to have been a pagan at the time he wrote. His History of the Emperors begins at Augustus, and goes on to the twenty-third year of Constantius. We have also, of the same author's, an abridgment of the Lives of Illustrious Men, almost all Romans, from Procas to Julius Cæsar. Others ascribe this little work to Cornelius Nepos, Æmilius Probus, &c., but Vossius maintains that it is Aurelius Victor's. This abridgment contains little more than proper names and dates, and for that reason does not suit children, who cannot learn much Latinity from it.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS was by nation a Greek, of a considerable family in the city of Antioch. He served many years in the Roman armies in the time of Constantius. He afterwards quitted the troops, and retired to Rome, where he wrote his history, which he divided into thirty-one books. He continued it from Nerva, where Suetonius ends, to the death of Valens. We have now only the last eighteen books, which begin at the end of the year 353, immediately after the death of Magnentius. Though he was a Greek, he wrote it in Latin, but in a Latin

that savours much of the Greek and the soldier. This defect, says Vossius, is made amends for by the author's other qualities, who is grave, solid, judicious, very sincere, and a great lover of truth. His zeal for idols and their adorers, particularly for Julian the apostate, whom he makes his hero, is very evident; and on the contrary he appears much the enemy of Constantius. He does not, however, fail to treat both the one and the other with justice.

EUTROPIUS.

EUTROPIUS wrote his Abridgment of the Roman History in the reigns of Valentinian and Valens, but by order of the latter, to whom he inscribes it. To judge of it by his style, one would believe him rather a Greek than a Roman.

CHAPTER III. OF ORATORS.

INTRODUCTION.

I AM to speak in this place of that part of polite learning, which has the most beauty, solidity, greatness, and splendour, and is of the most extensive use, namely, Eloquence. This is a talent, which exalts the orator above the vulgar of mankind, and almost above humanity itself; which renders him in some measure the guide and arbiter of the most important deliberations; which gives him an empire over the mind, the more admirable as it is entirely voluntary, and founded solely upon the force of reason placed in all its light: in a word, which enables him to sway the heart to his purposes, to overcome the most obstinate resistance, and to inspire such sentiments as he pleases; joy or sorrow, love or hatred, hope or fear, compassion or resentment. If we represent to ourselves the numerous assemblies of Athens or Rome, in which the greatest interests of those states are considered, and where the orator, from the tribunal of harangues, reigns by his eloquence over an immense people, who hear him with a profound silence interrupted only by applauses and acclamations; of all that the world ever contained of magnificent in appearance, and most capable of dazzling the mind of man, is there any thing so grand, so soothing to self-love as this?

What still greatly exalts the value of eloquence, according to the judicious reflection of Cicero, is the amazing scarcity of good orators in all ages.¹ If we look back into all other professions, arts, and sciences, we find numbers distinguished for excelling in them, generals, statesmen, philosophers, mathematicians, physicians, in a word, great persons in every way. We cannot say quite the same respecting poets; I mean such as have attained perfection in their art: the number of these has always been extremely small, although much greater than that of good orators. What I now say ought to seem the more surprising, as in respect to the other arts and sciences, it is generally necessary to imbibe them from sources devious and unknown, and not of common use; whereas the talent of speaking is a thing merely natural, that seems to be within every one's capacity, that has nothing in it obscure or abstracted, and of which one of the principal rules and most essential virtues is to express one's self clearly, without ever departing from nature. It cannot be said, that, among the ancients, the success of the other arts proceeded from a great number of persons being induced by the allurements of rewards to apply themselves to them. As well at Athens as Rome, the two great theatres in which the talents of the mind shone out with most lustre, no study was ever cultivated more universally, nor with greater application and ardour, than that of eloquence. And we ought not to wonder at it. In republics like these, where all the affairs of the state were examined in common; where war and peace, alliances and laws, were deliberated upon either before the people or senate, or with both; and where every thing was determined by plurality of voices; the talent of speaking must necessarily have prevailed. Whoever spoke in these as-

¹ Lib. i. Orat. n. 6—16.

semblies with most eloquence, became by necessary consequence the most powerful. Hence the youth, of any ambition, did not fail to apply themselves with the utmost diligence, to a study, that alone opened the way to riches, credit, and dignities. Whence therefore was it, that, notwithstanding the application and efforts of so great a number of excellent geniuses, the great advantages in respect to fortune, and the attraction of so soothing a reputation, the number of excellent orators has always been so small? The reason is evident, and we ought to conclude, that of all the arts which are the object of human study, eloquence must necessarily be the greatest, the most difficult, and that which requires the most talents, and talents entirely different and even opposite in appearance, for succeeding in it.

Every body knows that there are three kinds of style, the great or sublime, the common or simple, and the mediate or florid, which holds the mean between the other two.

In the sublime kind,¹ the orator employs whatever is most noble in the thoughts, most lofty in the expressions, most bold in the figures, and most strong and pathetic in the passions. His discourse is then like an impetuous torrent, incapable of being stopped or kept in, which in its violence bears away those that hear it, and forces them, whether they will or not, to follow it wheresoever it hurries them. But this is not the place for treating of this subject, which would alone prove the extent of the talents necessary to eloquence.

The simple style² is quite different. It is clear, pure, intelligible, and nothing more. It has no thoughts of soaring, and endeavours only to be understood. It values itself solely upon a peculiar purity of language, great elegance, and refined delicacy. If it sometimes ventures upon ornament, that ornament is entirely simple and natural. Horace's expression, *simplex munditiis*, is the best I can use to describe this style; of which Phædrus and Terence are the most perfect models.

A third species of eloquence is in a manner the mean between the other two, and is therefore called the mixed, florid, or mediate style.³ It has neither the delicacy of the latter, nor the force and thunder of the former. It borders upon both, but without attaining to, or resembling either. It participates of the one and the other, or, to speak more justly, it is neither the one nor the other. The orator, in this way, designedly uses the glitter of metaphors, the glow of figures, agreeable digressions, harmony of disposition, and beauty of thoughts; retaining always, however, the mild and temperate character peculiar to it: so that it may then be compared to a stream, that rolls its silver waves through flowery banks shaded with verdant trees.

Each of these kinds of eloquence is highly estimable in itself, and acquires all writers that succeed in them great reputation. But the sublime⁴ rises infi-

nitely above the other two. It is this kind of eloquence which excites admiration, ravishes applause, and sets all the passions of the soul in motion; that sometimes by its impetuosity, its thunders, throws trouble and emotion into the mind, and sometimes insinuates itself with a majesty of sweetness, a dignity of softness, irresistibly tender and affecting.

It is the union of all these parts which forms the perfect orator; and it is easy to perceive how difficult and extraordinary it is for one man to possess so many different qualities. The enumeration, which we shall soon make of the ancient Greek and Latin orators, will show us some, who have confined themselves with success to the two latter kinds, but very few who have been able to attain to the sublime, and still fewer who have succeeded in all three at the same time. What renders success in this respect so difficult and extraordinary, is that the excellent qualities which form the three kinds of style, have each a defect, that borders very close upon them, which adorns itself with their name, which does indeed resemble them in some measure, but at the same time alters and vitiates them, by carrying them too far, by making simplicity degenerate into meanness, ornament into tinsel and glare, and the great and sublime into empty swell and bombast. For it is in style, as in virtue. There are in the one and the other certain bounds and modifications to be observed, beyond which lie the vicious extremes:

*Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.* Hor.

Extremes the more to be feared, as they seem to spring from virtue itself, and confound themselves with it. The Greeks call this excess *κακὴ δόξα*, vicious affectation.⁵ It appears in the three kinds of style, when they exceed the bounds of the just and the true, when the imagination throws off the guidance of the judgment, and the mind is dazzled with a false appearance of the good: this, in respect of eloquence, is the greatest and most dangerous of faults, because, instead of being avoided like others, the phantom is pursued as merit. There is also one virtue common to all the three kinds of style, with which I shall conclude.⁶ Among orators, and the same may be said of historians, poets, and all writers, there are an infinite variety of styles, geniuses, and characters, which occasions so great a difference between them, that scarce one can be found, who perfectly resembles another. There is, however, a kind of secret resemblance and common tie between them, which makes them approach, and unites them with each other. I mean a certain delicacy and refinement of taste, a kind of tincture of the true and the fine, a manner of thinking and expressing themselves, of which nature itself is the source; in fine, a something which it is easier to conceive than express, by which a reader of taste and sense discerns the works both ancient and modern, that bear the stamp of pure and elegant antiquity. And this is what young persons, who desire to make any progress in polite learning, ought to make the principal object of their care and application; I mean, to study in the works of the learned those natural beauties, which are the growth of all ages and all languages, and to make themselves familiar with them by a serious and repeated intercourse with the authors, wherein they are to be found, in order to attain so happy a taste as to discern them at first sight, and, if I may venture the expression, to perceive them like fragrant odours almost by the scent.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE GREEK ORATORS.

SECTION I.—AGE IN WHICH ELOQUENCE FLOURISHED MOST AT ATHENS.

GREECE, so fertile in fine geniuses for all the other arts, was a long time barren in respect to eloquence,

¹ Κακὴ δόξα, id est mala affectatio, per omne dicendi genus peccat.—Ita vocatur, quicquid est ultra virtutem, quoties ingenium judicio caret, et specie boni fallitur: omnium in eloquentia vitiorum pessimum; nam cetera cum vitentur, hoc petitur. *Quintil.* l. viii. c. 3.

⁶ Habet omnis eloquentia aliquid commune. *Quintil.* l. x. c. 2.

¹ Grandiloqui [quidam] ut ita dicam fuerunt, eum ampla et sententiarum gravitate, et majestate verborum; vehementes, varii, copiosi, graves, ad permovendos et convertendos animos instructi et parati. *Cic. in Orat.* n. 20.

At ille qui saxa deolvat, et pontem indignetur, et ripas sibi faciat, multus et torrens judicem vel nitentem contrā feret, cogetque ire qua rapit. *Quintil.* l. xii. c. 10.

² Contrā [sunt quidam] tennes, acuti, omnia docentes, et dilucidiora non ampliora facientes, subtili quadam et pressa oratione limati.—Alii in eadem jejunitate concinniores, id est faceti, florescentes etiam, et leviter orati. *Orat.* n. 20.

³ Est autem quidam interjectus, medius et quasi temperatus, nec acuminis posteriorum, nec fulmine utens superiorum: vicius amorum, in neutro excellens: utriusque particeps, vel utriusque (si verum querimus) potius expertus. *Orat.* n. 21.

Medius hic modus et translationibus crebrior, et figuris erit jucundior; egressionibus amœnæ, compositione aptas, sententiis dulcis: lenior tamen, ut amicus lucidus quidam, et virentibus utrinque sylvis inbramatus. *Quintil.* l. xii. c. 10.

⁴ Tertius est amplius, copiosus, gravis, oratus, in quo profecto vis maxima est. Ille est enim, cujus oratum dicendi et copiam admiratæ gentes, eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere passæ sunt: sed hanc eloquentiam, quæ cursu magno sordique ferretur, quam suspicerent omnes, quam admirarentur, quam se æsequi passæ didicerent. Hujus eloquentiæ est tractare animos, hujus omni modo permovere. Hæc modò perfringit, modò irripit in sensus: inserit novas opiniones, evellit insitas. *Orat.* n. 97.

and, before Pericles, may in some measure be said to have only spoken like an infant, and that till then she had but a small idea, and set little value upon the talent of speaking.¹ It was at Athens that eloquence began first to appear with splendour. And it is not surprising that it was not in honour there, till after many ages. Eloquence does not usually grow up amidst the cares that are necessary in founding a state, and the tumult of wars. She is the friend of peace, and the companion of tranquillity, and requires, if I may venture the expression, for her cradle a commonwealth already well established and flourishing. But what ought to appear surprising, is, that eloquence, almost in her birth, and from her first appearance, (which Cicero dates in the time of Pericles) should on a sudden attain to such a height of perfection.² Before Pericles there was no work or discourse in which any trace of beauty or ornament appeared, or which expressed the orator; and his harangues displayed even then whatever is finest, most vigorous, and most sublime in eloquence.³

Pericles, whose view was to render himself powerful in the republic, and to sway in the assemblies of the people, considered eloquence as the most necessary means for the attainment of these ends, and devoted himself wholly to it. The natural excellency of his genius supplied him with whatever was wanting for his success, and the great application he had before made to philosophy under Anaxagoras, had taught him by what springs the human heart was to be moved and actuated at will.⁴ He employed with wonderful art sometimes the charms of insinuation to persuade, and sometimes the force of vehement passions to oppose and subdue. Athens, who saw a new light shine out in her bosom, charmed with the graces and sublimity of his discourse, admired and feared his eloquence.⁵ It is observed, that, at the very time he opposed the passions of the people with a kind of inflexible obstinacy, he knew how to please them, and had the address to bring them over insensibly to his opinion.⁶ The comic poets accordingly, in their satires upon him (for at that time they did not spare the most powerful) said to his praise on one side, that the goddess of persuasion with all her charms dwelt on his lips; and on the other, that his discourse had the vehemence of thunder, and that it always left behind it a kind of stimulation in the souls of his hearers.⁷ By this extraordinary talent of speaking, Pericles held during forty years, as well in war as peace, an entire authority over the most inconstant and capricious, and at the same time the most jealous people of their liberty in the world, whose discouragement in disgrace it was

sometimes necessary to remove, as it was sometimes to abate their pride, and to check their rashness in success.⁸ Hence we may judge of the power and value of eloquence.

Though Pericles left no piece of eloquence behind him, he however deserves to be ranked at the head of the Greek orators; and the more so, according to Cicero,⁹ because it was he who first taught Athens a taste for sound and perfect eloquence, placed it in honour, showed its true use and destination, and made its salutary effects evident by the success which attended his harangues.

I proceed now to speak of the ten Athenian orators, of whose lives Plutarch has given us an abridgment, and shall treat only of those, who are most known, with some extent.

OF THE TEN GREEK ORATORS.

ANTIPHON.

ANTIPHON improved himself very much in his conversations with Socrates.¹⁰ He taught rhetoric; he also composed pleadings for such as had occasion for them, and is believed to have been the first that introduced that custom. His invention was warm and abundant, his style exact, his proofs strong, and he had a great felicity in answering unforeseen objections. He was no less successful in moving the passions, and in giving the persons he introduced speaking their just and peculiar characters. He was condemned to die for having favoured the establishment of the Four Hundred at Athens.

ANDOCIDES.

ANDOCIDES was also the contemporary of Socrates. He began to flourish twenty years before Lysias.¹¹ He was brought to a trial as an accomplice, in throwing down the statues of Mercury, which were all either thrown down or mutilated in one night in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. He could extricate himself from this danger only by promising to discover the guilty, in which number he included his own father, whose life however he saved. His style was simple, and almost entirely void of figures and ornaments.

LYSIAS.

LYSIAS was by origin of Syracuse, but born at Athens.¹² At fifteen years of age, he went to Thurium in Italy with two of his brothers in the new colony sent thither to settle. He continued there till the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, and then returned to Athens in the forty-eighth year of his age. He distinguished himself there by his peculiar merit, and was always considered as one of the most excellent of the Greek orators, but in the simple and tranquil species of eloquence. Perspicuity, purity, sweetness, and delicacy of style, were his particular attributes. He was, says Cicero, a writer of great subtlety and elegance, in whom Athens might almost boast already of a perfect orator.¹³ Quintilian give us the same idea of him. Lysias, says he, is subtle and elegant, and if it sufficed for an orator to instruct, none were more perfect than he.¹⁴ For he has nothing superfluous, nothing affected in his discourse. His style however resembles more a small and clear stream than a great river.

If Lysias generally confined himself to that simplicity, and as Cicero calls it, leanness of style,¹⁵ it was

¹ Græcia—omnes artes vetustiores habet, et multo antè non inventas solum, sed etiam prefectas, quam est à Græcis elaborato vis dicendi atque copia. In quam cum intueor, maxime mihi occurrunt, Attice, et quasi Lucent Athenæ, tum, qui in urbe primùm se orator extulit.—Non in constitutibus Remp. nec in bella gerentibus—nasci cupiditas dicendi solet. Pacis est comes, otique socia, et jam bene constitutæ civitatibus quasi alumna quædam eloquentia. Cic. in Brut. n. 26, et 45.

² Hæc ætas prima Athenis oratorem prope perfectum tulit. Cic. in Brut. n. 45.

³ Ante Periclem—litera nulla est, quæ quidem ornatum aliquem habeat, et oratoris esse videatur. Ibid. n. 27.

⁴ In Phædro Platonis [page 270.] hæc Periclem præstitisse ceteris dicit oratoribus Socrates, quod is Anaxagoras Physici fuerit auditor; à quo censet esse, cum alia præclara quædam et magnifica didicisset, uberrimè et faciundum fuisse, gnarumque (quod est eloquentiæ maximum) quibus orationis modis quæque animorum partes pellerentur. Cic. in Brut. n. 15.

⁵ Hujus suavitate maximè exhilaratæ sunt Athenæ, hujus ubertatem et copiam admiratæ; ejusdem vim dicendi terroremque timebant. In Brut. n. 44.

⁶ Quid Pericles? de ejus dicendi copia sic accepimus, ut, cum contra voluntatem Atheniensium loqueretur pro salute patriæ, severius tamen id ipsum, quod ille contra populares hominis diceret, populare omnibus et jucundum videretur. Cujus in labris veteres comici, etiam cum illi male dicerent (quod tum Athenis fieri licebat) leporem habitasse dixerunt; tantumque in eo vim fuisse, ut in eorum mentibus qui audissent quasi aculeos quosdam relinqueret. De Orat. l. iii. n. 138.

⁷ Ab Aristophane poëta fulgurare, tonare, permiscere Græciam dictus est. Orat. n. 29.

⁸ Ἡγεμὴν, ἰσχυρὰν, ζυγνύκην τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

⁹ Itaque hic doctrina, consilio, eloquentia excellens, quadraginta annos præfuit Athenis, et urbanis eodem tempore et bellicis rebus. Ibid.

¹⁰ Pericles primus addidit doctrinam, &c. In Brut. n. 44.

¹¹ Plut. de vit. decem Rhet. 11 Plut.

¹² Dionys. Halic. in Lys.

¹³ Fuit Lysias—egregiè subtilis atque elegans, quem jam prope audeas oratorem perfectum dicere. Cic. in Brut. n. 35.

¹⁴ Lysias subtilis atque elegans, et quo nihil, si oratori satis sit docere, quæras perfectius. Nihil enim est inane, nihil acceritum: puro tamen fonti, quam magno flumini, propior. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

¹⁵ In Lysia sunt sæpe etiam lacerti, sic ut nihil fieri possit valentius: verum est certè genero toto strigosior. Brut. n. 64.

not because he was absolutely incapable of force and greatness: for according to the same Cicero, there were very strong and nervous passages in his harangues. He wrote in that manner through choice and judgment.¹ He did not plead at the bar himself, but composed pleadings for others; and to suit their character, was often obliged to use a simple style with little or no elevation; without which those native graces which were admirable in him had been lost, and he had betrayed the secret himself. It was therefore necessary that his discourses, which he did not pronounce himself, should have a natural and negligent air, that requires great art, and is one of the most refined secrets of composition. In this manner the law for accused persons to plead their own causes without the help of advocates was eluded.

When Socrates was summoned before the judges to answer for his opinions concerning religion, Lysias, brought him a speech, which he had composed with great care, and in which he had undoubtedly introduced whatever was capable of moving the judges.² Socrates, after having read it, told him, that he thought it very fine and oratorical, but not consistent with the resolution and fortitude that became a philosopher.³

Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes at large, and with much taste and judgment, the character of Lysias's style, of which he enumerates the constituent parts, that are all of the simple and natural kind of eloquence I have spoken of. He even repeats some passages in one of his harangues, the better to make known his style.

ISOCRATES.

ISOCRATES was the son of Theodorus the Athenian, who having enriched himself by making musical instruments, was in a condition to give his children a good education: for he had two more sons and one daughter. Isocrates came into the world about the 86th Olympiad, A. M. 3568, Ant. J. C. 436, twenty-two years after Lysias, and seven before Plato. He had an excellent education under Prodicus, Gorgias, Tisias, and, according to some, Theramenes, that is to say, all the most famous rhetoricians of these times. His inclination would have led him to follow the usual course of the young Athenians, and to have shared in the public affairs: but the weakness of his voice, and his almost insurmountable timidity, not permitting him to venture appearing in public, he directed his views a different way. He did not however entirely renounce either the glory of eloquence, or the desire of rendering himself useful to the public, which were his ruling passions; and what the natural impediment of his voice denied him, he conceived thoughts of attaining by the help of his industry and pen. Accordingly he applied himself diligently to composition, and did not, like the generality of the sophists, make chimerical and useless questions, or subjects of mere curiosity, the objects of his application, but solid and important topics of government, which might be of use to states, and even princes as well as private persons, and at the same time do honour to himself by the graces he should endeavour to diffuse throughout his writings. Isocrates himself informs us in the exordium of his discourse, that these were his views.⁴ He exercised himself also in composing pleadings for such as had occasion for them, according to the custom general enough in these times, though contrary to the laws, which, as I have observed before, ordained that persons should defend themselves without using the help of others. But as these pleadings drew trouble upon himself in consequence of the violation of the law, and obliged him to appear often before the judges, he renounced them entirely, and opened a school for the instruction of youth in eloquence.

By this new application, the house of Isocrates became in respect to Greece in general, a fruitful nursery of great men, and, like the Trojan horse, none came out of it but illustrious persons.⁵ Though he did not appear in public at the bar, and confined himself within the walls of his school or study, he acquired a reputation to which none after him could attain, and was equally esteemed for the excellence of his compositions, and his art of teaching, as his writings and pupils sufficiently proved. He had a wonderful capacity in discerning the force, genius and character of his scholars, and in knowing how to exercise and direct their talents: a rare, but absolutely necessary quality⁶ for succeeding in the important employment of instruction. Isocrates, in speaking of two of his most illustrious disciples, used to say, that in regard to Ephorus he used the spur, and to Theopompus the bridle, in order to quicken the slowness of the one, and check the too great vivacity of the other. The latter, in composing, gave loose to his fire and imagination, and exhausted himself in bold and glowing expressions: him he curbed. The other, on the contrary, who was timid and reserved, regarded nothing but a rigid correctness, and never dared to venture the least excursion: to him he recommended soaring, and the flights of imagination. His design was not to make them like each other: but by retrenching from the one, and adding to the other, to conduct each to the highest point of perfection of which his genius was susceptible.

Isocrates's school was of great use to the public, and at the same time of great gain to himself.⁷ He acquired more money in it than any sophist had ever done before him. He had generally more than an hundred scholars at five hundred drachmas (about twenty-five pounds) each, in all probability for the whole time of their studying under him. For the honour of so great a master, I should be sorry if what is said of him in respect to Demosthenes were true, that he would not instruct him because he was not able to pay the usual price. I choose rather to hold what Plutarch tells us in the same place, that Isocrates took nothing of the citizens of Athens, and only of strangers. So generous and disinterested a conduct suits much better with his character, and the excellent principles of morality diffused throughout all his works.

Besides his income from his school, he received great presents from considerable persons. Nicodes king of Cyprus, and son of Evagoras, gave him twenty talents (about five thousand pounds) for the discourse inscribed with his name.

A very sensible saying of Isocrates is related.⁸ He was at table with Nicocreon king of Cyprus, and was pressed to talk, and supply matter for conversation. He persisted in excusing himself, and gave this reason for his refusal: "What I do know, does not suit this place; and what would suit it, I do not know." This thought is very like that of Seneca: "I never desired to please the people: for they do not approve what I know, and I do not know what they approve."⁹

Isocrates upon the news of the defeat of the Athenians by Philip at the battle of Chæronea, could not survive the misfortune of his country, and died of grief.

¹ Exstitit igitur Isocrates—(cujus domus cunctis Græcæ quasi ludus quidam patuit atque officina dicendi) magnus orator et perfectus magister, quamquam ferens luee erant, intraque parietes aluit eam gloriam, quam nemo quidem, meo iudicio, est postea consecutus. *Cic. in Brut. p. 32.*

Ex Isocrates ludo, tanquam ex eque Trojana, innumeri principes extiterunt. *Lib. ii. de Orat. n. 94.*

Clarissimus ille præceptor Isocrates, quem non magis libri bene dixisse, quam discipuli bene docuisse testantur. *Quintil. l. ii. c. 9.*

⁶ Diligentissime hoc est eis, qui instituunt aliquos atque erudiunt, videndum, quò sua quæque natura maxime ferre videatur.—Dicebat Isocrates, doctor singularis, se calcari in Ephure, contra autem in Theopompo frenis uti soleire. Alterum enim exultantem verborum audacia reprimbat, alterum cunctantem et quasi revercundantem incitabat. Neque eos similes efficit inter se, sed tantum alteri affert, de altero limavit, ut id conformaret in utroque, quod utriusque natura pateatur. *Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 36.*

⁷ Plut. de decem Orat. Gr. in Isocr.

⁸ Plut. *ibid.*

⁹ Nunquam volui populo placere: nam, quæ ego scio, non probat; quæ probat populus, ego nescio. *Senec. Ep. 26.*

¹ Illud in Lysia dicendi textum tenue atque rarum lætioribus numeris corrupendum non erat. Perdidiſſet enim gratiam, quæ in eo maxima est, simplicis atque inaffectati coloris: perdidisset fidem quoque. Nam scribebat aliis, non ipse dicebat; ut oportuerit esse illa rudibus et incompositis cœmilia, quod ipsum compositio est. *Quintil. l. ix. c. 4.*

² Lib. i. de Orat. n. 231.

³ Lib. II orationem disertam sibi et oratoriam videri, ferrem et virilem non videri.

⁴ In Panathen.

after having continued four days without eating.¹ He was then fourscore and eighteen, or an hundred years old.

It is hard to describe the style of Isocrates better than Cicero and Quintilian have done it: I shall cite their own words. Cicero, after having related the favourable idea which Socrates had conceived of Isocrates while very young, and Plato's magnificent praise of him when very old, though he seems the declared enemy of the rhetoricians, goes on thus describing his style.² "Dulce igitur orationis genus, et solutum, et effluens, sententiis argutum, verbis sonans, est in illo epidictico genere, quod diximus proprium Sophistarum, pompe quam pugne aptius, gymnasiis et palaestrae dicatum, spretum et pulsum foro." "This kind of eloquence is smooth, agreeable, flowing, and abounds with fine thoughts and harmonious expressions: but it has been excluded the bar, and transferred to the academies, as more proper for preparatory exercises, than real affairs." The following is Quintilian's picture of it, and seems to have been copied from the former.³ "Isocrates in diverso genere dicendi [he had just before spoke of Lysias] nitidus et comptus, et palaestrae quam pugnae magis accommodatus, omnes dicendi vix secutus est. Nec immerito, auditoris enim se, non iudicis compararat: in inventione facilis, honesti studiosus, in compositione adeo diligens, ut cura ejus reprehendatur."

Lysias and Isocrates resembled each other very much in many points, as Dionysius Halicarnassensis shows at large: but the style of the latter is more smooth, flowing, elegant, florid, and adorned; his thoughts are more lively and delicate, with a disposition of words extremely laboured, and perhaps to excess. In a word, all the beauties and graces of eloquence, used by the sophists in the demonstrative kind, are displayed in his discourses, not designed for action and the bar, but pomp and ostentation.

Cicero in many parts of his books *de Republica*, strongly insists that Isocrates was, properly speaking, the first that introduced into the Greek tongue, number, sweetness, and harmony, which before him were little known, and almost generally neglected.

It remains for me to explain one more quality of Isocrates, his love of virtue and good in general, which Quintilian expresses, *honesti studiosus*, and which, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, infinitely exalts him above all the other orators. He runs over his principal discourses to show, that they have no other tendency but to inspire states, princes, and even private persons, with sentiments of probity, honour, fidelity, moderation, justice, love of the public good, zeal for the preservation of liberty, respect for the sanctity of oaths, the faith of treaties, and for all that relates in any manner to religion. He advises all those, who have the government of states, and the administration of public affairs, confided to their care, to read and study these admirable books with singular attention, which contain all the principles of true and salutary policy.

ISÆUS.

ISÆUS was of Chalcis in Eubœa. He went to Athens,⁴ and was the pupil of Lysias, whose style he imitated so well, that in reading their discourses it was hard to distinguish the one from the other. He began to appear with splendour after the Peloponnesian war, and lived to the time of Philip. He was Demosthenes's master, who gave him the preference to Isocrates, because the eloquence of Isæus was stronger, and more vehement than the other's, and for that reason suited better the warm and vigorous genius of Demosthenes.⁵

LYCURGUS.

LYCURGUS was highly esteemed at Athens for his eloquence, and still more for his probity. Several important employments were conferred upon him, in which he always acquitted himself with success. The civil government of Athens was confided to his care,

during which he made so severe a war upon malefactors, that he obliged them all to quit the city. He passed for a severe and inexorable judge, to which Cicero alludes in his letter to his friend Atticus: *Nosmetipsi, qui Lycurgei à principio fuissesemus, quotidie demitigamur.*⁶

Lycurgus was appointed questor, or receiver general of the revenues of the commonwealth, at three different times, and exercised that function during fifteen years. In that time fourteen thousand talents (about two millions sterling) passed through his hands, of which he gave an exact account. Before him the revenues of the city amounted only to sixty talents, and he augmented them to twelve hundred, (about three hundred thousand pounds.)⁷ It was this questor, who seeing one of the farmers of the revenue carrying the philosopher Xenocrates to prison, because he had not paid a certain tribute as a stranger at the time, took him from the officers, and made them carry the farmer thither in his stead, for having had the insolence and cruelty to treat a man of learning in that manner. That action was universally applauded. Lycurgus was one of the orators demanded by Alexander of the Athenians, to which they could not consent.

ÆSCHINES. DEMOSTHENES.

I HAVE related at large elsewhere⁸ the history of these two celebrated orators, who were always each other's rival, and whose disputes did not cease till the banishment of Æschines. I have also treated of their style and eloquence in the same place; and as I have nothing to add to what I have said in respect to them, I shall content myself here with setting before the reader their pictures as drawn by Quintilian.⁹ "Sequitur oratorum ingens manus, cum decem simul Athenis ætas una tulerit; quorum longè princeps Demosthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit: tenta vis in eo, tam densa omnia, ita quibusdam nervis intenta sunt,¹⁰ tam nihil otiosum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quid desit in eo, nec quid redundet, invenias. Plenior Æschines, et magis fusus, et grandiori similis, quo minùs strictus est; carnis tamen plus habet, laceratorum minus." "An infinite number of orators follow, for Athens had ten at one and the same time; at the head of these was Demosthenes, who far surpassed them all, and who deserves to be considered almost as the rule and standard of eloquence. His style is so strong, his sense so close and so impressive, and every thing so just, so proper, and exact, that nothing can be added or retrenched from him. Æschines is more abundant and diffuse. He seems greater, because more loose, and less collected in himself; he has, however, only more flesh with less nerves."

HYPERIDES.

HYPERIDES had been at first the hearer and disciple of Plato. He afterwards applied himself to the bar, where his eloquence was admired.¹¹ His style had much sweetness and delicacy, but was fit only for small causes.¹² He was joined with Lycurgus in the administration of the public affairs, when Alexander attacked the Greeks, and always declared openly against that prince. After the loss of the battle of Cranon, the Athenians being upon the point of delivering him up to Antipater, he fled to Ægina, and thence took refuge in a temple of Neptune, where he was taken by force, and carried to Antipater at Corinth, who put him to the most cruel tortures, in order to draw from him some secrets and discoveries

⁶ Ad. Attic. Ep. xiii. l. 1.

⁷ This would be a very small revenue for such a city as Athens, and the augmentation surprisingly considerable; wherefore I do not know whether ἑξήκοντα, six hundred, may not be read instead of ἑξήκοντα, sixty.

⁸ See vol. i. p. 511, &c.

¹⁰ Lib. x. c. 1.

⁹ The metaphor here is not taken from the nerves of the body, but the strings of a bow, which, being drawn to the utmost, discharge the arrows with extraordinary force and impetuosity.

¹¹ Plur. in Hyper.

¹² Dulcis imprimis et acutus Hyperides: sed minoribus causis, ut non dixerim utilior, magis par. Quintil. l. i. c. 1.

¹ Senec. Ep. 29. ² In Orat. n. 41, 42. ³ Lib. x. c. 1.

⁴ Plut. in Isoc.

⁵ Isæo torrentior. Juven.

he wanted to know. But, lest the violence of the pain should force him to betray his friends and country, he bit off his tongue with his teeth, and expired in the torments.

DINARCHUS.

DINARCHUS, according to some, was a native of Corinth, and came to settle at Athens when Alexander was pursuing his conquests in Asia.¹ He was the disciple of Theophrastus, who had succeeded Aristotle in his school, and contracted a particular intimacy with Demetrius Phalereus. He did not plead himself, but composed pleadings for those who had occasion for them. He made Hyperides his model, or rather, according to others, Demosthenes, whose animated and vehement style suited his genius better.

CHANGE OF ELOQUENCE AMONG THE GREEKS.

THE space of time between Pericles and Demetrius Phalereus, of whom we are going to speak, was the golden age of eloquence among the Greeks; and included about an hundred and thirty years. Before Pericles, Greece had produced abundance of great men for government, policy, and war; besides numbers of excellent philosophers: but eloquence was very little known there. It was he, as I have already observed, who first placed it in honour, who demonstrated its force and power, and introduced the taste for it. This taste was not common to all Greece. Is there any mention in those times of any Argive, Corinthian, or Theban orator? It confined itself to Athens, that in the interval of which I am speaking, produced the great number of illustrious orators, whose merit has done it so much honour, and has rendered its reputation immortal. All that time may be called the reign of solid and true eloquence, which neither knows nor admits of any other ornament, but natural beauty without paint. "*Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam; et, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in quo naturalis inesset non fucatus nitor.*"²

As long as Greece proposed to herself these great orators for models, and imitated them with fidelity, the taste for sound eloquence, that is, the manly and the solid, subsisted in all its purity. But, after their deaths, when she began insensibly to lose sight of them, and to follow different tracks, an eloquence of a new kind, more set off and embellished, succeeded the ancient, and soon made it disappear. Demetrius Phalereus occasioned this change; of whom it remains for me to speak.

DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS.

DEMETRIUS was surnamed *Phalereus* from Phalera, one of the ports of Athens, where he was born. The celebrated Theophrastus was his master.

I shall not repeat his history in this place, which is related with sufficient extent elsewhere.³ The reader may see there, that Cassander, having made himself master of Athens some time after the death of Alexander the Great, confided the government of it to Demetrius, who retained it ten years, and acted with so much wisdom, that the people erected three hundred and sixty statues in honour of him; in what manner they were afterwards thrown down, and he himself obliged to retire into Egypt, where Ptolemy Soter received him with great kindness: and lastly, his imprisonment in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, where he died by the bite of an asp.

I consider Demetrius Phalereus here only as an orator, and am to show in what manner he contributed to the decline and destruction of eloquence at Athens.

I have already said that he had been the disciple of Theophrastus, so called from his excellent and *divine manner of speaking*. He had acquired under him a florid and elegant style, abounding with ornaments, and had exercised himself in that kind of eloquence, which is called the *temperate* or *mediate*, which keeps the mean betwixt the sublime and simple; admits all the ornaments of art; employs the shin-

ing graces of elocution, and the glitter of thoughts; in a word, which abounds with the sweet and agreeable, but is void of force and energy, and with all its glow and embellishment rises no higher than mediocrity. Demetrius excelled in this manner of writing, which is highly capable of pleasing and exciting admiration of itself, if not compared with the sublime kind, the solid and majestic beauty of which makes the faint lustre of its slight and superficial charms appear like nothing. It was easy to perceive from his flowing, sweet, agreeable style, that he had been the scholar of Theophrastus.⁴ His shining expressions, and happy metaphors, says Cicero, were a kind of stars, that glittered in his discourse, and made it luminous.

The mind is generally apt enough to be dazzled by this kind of eloquence, which deceives the judgment by pleasing the imagination. And this happened now at Athens, where Demetrius⁵ was the first who struck at the ancient solid taste, and began the corruption of eloquence. His sole view in speaking to the people was to please them. He was for showing the mildness and benevolence of his disposition, which indeed was his character: but the smooth terms and accent in which he conveyed it, tickled the ears of his auditors without going farther, and only left behind it a pleasing remembrance of a sweet and harmonious disposition of studied words and thoughts. It was not like the victorious eloquence of Pericles, which, whilst it abounded with charms, was armed with thunders and lightning, and left in the mind of the hearer, not only a sense of pleasure and delight, but a lively impression, a kind of resistless impulse, that reached and engrossed the heart.

This showy eloquence may sometimes be applicable on occasions of pomp and splendour, in which no other ends are proposed, but to please the auditors, and to display wit, as in the case of panegyrics, provided, however, that wise restrictions be observed, and the liberty allowed to this kind of discourse be kept within just bounds. Perhaps also this species of eloquence would have been less dangerous, if it had been confined to the private assemblies of the rhetoricians and sophists, who admitted only an inconsiderable number of hearers. But that of Demetrius had a far more ample theatre. It appeared before the whole people; so that his manner of speaking, if applauded, as it always was, became the rule of the public taste. No other language was heard at the bar; and the schools of rhetoric were obliged to conform to it. All declamations, which were their principal exercise, and of which the invention is ascribed to our Demetrius, were formed upon the same plan. In proposing his style to themselves, they did not keep within the bounds he had observed: for he was excellent in parts, and merited praise in many things. But as for them, elocution, thoughts, figures, every thing, as is usual, was strained, and carried to excess. This bad taste made its way with rapidity into the provinces, where it still grew much more corrupt. As soon as eloquence had quitted the Piræus in this condition, and dispersed itself into the islands, and over Asia, it lost that Attic health and vigour it had preserved so long at home, assumed the manners of strangers and almost unlearned to speak;⁶ so great and precipitate was its decline. We have this description of it from Cicero.

The ruin of liberty at Athens partly conduced to

¹ Orator parum vehement, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrastus discipulum agnosceret. *Offic.* l. i. n. 3.

² Cujus oratio cum sedate placidèque loquitur, tum illotrant eam quasi stellæ quædam tralata verba atque immutata. *Orat.* n. 92.

³ Hic primus inflexit orationem, et eam mollem teneramque reddidit: et suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit, quàm gravis; sed suavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret; et tantum ut memoriam concitatis suæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Lappide) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum, à quibus esset auditus. *Brut.* n. 53.

⁴ Ut simul et Piræo eloquentia evecta est, omnes peregravit insulas, atque peregrinata tota Asia est, ut se externis oblineret moribus, omnemque illam salubritatem Atticæ dictionis quasi sanitatem perderet, ac loqui pene dediceret. *Brut.* n. 51.

¹ Plut. in Dinar. ² Brut. n. 36. ³ See vol. ii. p. 22, &c.

basten that of eloquence. The great men, who had done it so much honour by the talent of speaking, appeared there no more. Only some rhetoricians and sophists, dispersed in the several parts of Greece and Asia, supported in some small degree its ancient reputation. I have spoken of them elsewhere.

But, what is most surprising, some ages after, eloquence resumed new force, and appeared again with almost as much splendour as of old at Athens. It is plain that I mean those happy times in which the Greek fathers made so laudable and holy a use of this talent. For I am not afraid to compare St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, and some others, with the most celebrated orators of Athens. I have inserted several extracts from them in the second volume of the treatise upon study, especially from St. Chrysostom, which in my opinion are not inferior to the orations of Demosthenes, either in beauty of style, solidity of argument, greatness of matter, or force and vehemence of passions. The reader may consult these passages, which renders unnecessary my giving new proofs of what I advance here; and I believe he will agree with me, that there is nothing finer or more eloquent to be found in all the writings of ancient Greece.

We shall soon see that the Latin eloquence had not the same good fortune. As soon as it began to decline, after having shone out with extraordinary lustre for some years, it continually languished, and sunk by degrees sufficiently rapid, till it fell at last into a state of corruption, from which it has never since raised itself. And this is what I am to show in the following article.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE LATIN ORATORS.

ROME, intent at first upon strengthening herself in her new establishment, then upon extending her dominions continually around her, and afterwards on pushing her conquests into remote regions, devoted her whole care and application for many ages to military exercises, and continued during all that time without taste for the arts and sciences, in general, and in particular for eloquence, of which she had hitherto scarce any idea. It was not till after she had subjected the most powerful nations, and established herself in peace and tranquillity, that her commerce with the Greeks began to reform her grossness and kind of barbarity in respect to the exercises of the mind.¹ The Roman youth, who seemed then to awake out of a profound sleep, became sensible of a new species of glory unknown to their ancestors, and began to open their eyes, and conceive a taste for eloquence.

In order to give some idea of the beginning, progress, perfection, and decline of eloquence, I shall divide the Roman orators into four ages; but shall expatiate only upon such of them as are most known either by their works or reputation.

SECTION I.

FIRST AGE OF THE ROMAN ORATORS.

THE Romans, in the arms of peace, the friend of science, and mother of leisure, made at first some efforts for the attainment of eloquence. But as they were entirely ignorant of the means necessary to use for acquiring it, and had no other guide but their own reason and reflections, they made but little progress.² It was necessary to call in conquered Greece to the aid of her victors. As soon as the Grecian rhetoricians had been heard at Rome, had taught there, and

their books began to be read, the Roman youth conceived an incredible ardour for eloquence. We have seen elsewhere³ what difficulties it met with on its first entrance into Rome, and what obstacles it had to surmount in establishing itself there. But it is of the nature of eloquence to conquer opposition, and to force the barriers laid in its way. It succeeded at Rome, notwithstanding the endeavours of Cato, who, though a great orator himself, was against the people's devoting themselves too much to the arts of Greece; and in a short time became the reigning study there. The greatest men afterwards, as Scipio and Lælius, had always learned Greeks about them, from whom they made it their glory to receive lessons.⁴

To proceed to the orators of the first age, the most known are Cato the Censor, the Gracchi, Scipio Ænilius, and Lælius. They had excellent natural parts, a wonderful fund of wit, great order in their discourse, force in their proofs, solidity in their thoughts, and energy: but neither art, delicacy, grace, care in the arrangement of words, nor knowledge of the numbers and harmony of speech.

Cato had composed an infinite number of orations.⁵ More than an hundred and fifty of them were extant in Cicero's time: but they were not read. He affirms, however, that his eloquence wants only those lively figures, and glowing colours, which were not known in his time.⁶

The Gracchi distinguished themselves also by an eloquence manly and vigorous, but void of ornaments. Cicero has preserved⁷ some lines of a discourse spoke by young Gracchus after his brother's death, which are very lively and pathetic, and which he has imitated himself in the peroration of his defence of Murena. "Quò me miser conferam? quò verum? In capitulume? at fratris sanguine redundat. An domum? matremne ut miseram lamentantemque videam, et abjectam?" "Where shall I go, whither shall I turn myself, miserable as I am? Shall it be to the capitol? but that still reeks with my brother's blood. Shall I go home? what, to behold my mother's sorrow, to hear her mourn, and see her lying inconsolable on the ground?" If the rest of his discourse resembled these few lines, it did not give place in any thing to those of Cicero. In pronouncing them, every thing spoke in him, his eyes, voice, gesture; so that his enemies themselves could not refrain from tears.⁸ Aulus Gellius⁹ has preserved two fragments of the discourse of C. Gracchus, which are not of the same taste with that cited by Cicero. They are elegant, but cold, though the subject is weighty and affecting. It was the same Gracchus who had always a slave behind him with a flute, to give him notice when to raise or lower his voice.

Quintilian frequently opposes the style of the age we speak of to that of his own times, and gives us an excellent precept on that head. "Youth," says he, "have two great faults to shun. The first would be, if, upon the recommendation of any excessive admirer of the ancients, they should study and imitate the orations of Cato, the Gracchi, and the like authors; for that would render their style stiff, dry, and rugged. The opposite fault is, their being charmed with the glittering prettiness, the finery of the soft effeminate style now in fashion, and spoiling their taste by a fondness for a gaudy luscious kind of eloquence, the more dangerous for them, as the more grateful to their age and character. But when their judgment is formed, and they are safe on that side, I would advise them," continues he "to read the ancients, whose strong and manly eloquence, when separated from the rudeness and inelegance of the gross age in which they lived, will sustain, and even exalt, the beauties and ornaments of ours. I would also exhort them to

¹ Postea quàm imperio omnium gentium constituto, diuturnitas pacis otium confirmavit, nemo fere laudis cupidus adolescens non sibi ad dicendum studio, omni evitandum putavit. *Lib. i. de Orat. n. 14.*

² Ac primò quidem totius rationis ignari, qui neque exercitationis ullam viam, neque aliquod præceptum artis esse arbitrantur, tantum, quantum ingenio et cogitatione poterant, consequuntur. Post autem, auditis oratoribus Græcis, comitibusque eorum literis, adhibitisque doctoribus, incredibili quodam nostri homines dicendi studio flagrant. *Lib. i. de Orat. n. 14.*

³ Ancient History.

⁴ *Lib. ii. de Orat. n. 155.*

⁵ *Cic. in Brut. n. 65.*

⁶ Intelligens nihil illius lineamentis nisi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem et colorem defuisse, *Brut. n. 293.*

⁷ *Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 215.*

⁸ Quæ sic ab illo æta esse constabat, oculis, voce, gestu, inimici ut lacrymis tenere non possent. *Brut. o. 292.*

⁹ *Lib. x. c. 3.*

study the moderns attentively, who are excellent in parts, and may be of great use to them."¹

I thought this passage of Quintilian proper in this place for explaining the style of the times in question: besides which, it includes very judicious advice, that the youth of the present age may also apply to their advantage.

I shall not enter into the character of the eloquence of Scipio and Lælius; and assure myself, that, though it savoured of the age they lived in, it was far from the roughness of Cato's and the Gracchi. I shall only relate here a fact highly for the honour of Lælius, and which shows how far he carried his candour and integrity. He had taken upon him the care of a very important cause, and pled it with abundance of eloquence.² The judges however did not think his arguments sufficed to determine their sentence, and referred it to another hearing. Lælius laboured it anew, and pled it a second time, but with the same success as before. Upon which, without farther delay, he obliged his clients to put their cause into the hands of Galba, a famous orator of those times, who was more vehement and pathetic than him. It was not without great difficulty, that he was prevailed upon to undertake it; however he carried it unanimously by his first pleading. "It was then, as in all other things, the better and more humane custom," says Cicero, "to be easy in doing justice to the merit of others, though at one's own expense." "Erat omnino tum mos, ut in reliquis rebus melior, sic in hoc ipso humanior; ut faciles essent in suum cuique tribuendo."

SECTION II.—SECOND AGE OF THE ROMAN ORATORS.

I SHALL place four orators in this second age: Antony and Crassus, more advanced in years; and Cotta and Sulpitius, younger men. They are hardly known by any thing but what Cicero tells us of them in his books of rhetoric. He observes, it was under the two first that the Roman eloquence, having attained a kind of maturity, began to be capable of entering the lists with that of the Greeks.³

Antony,⁴ in his voyage to Cilicia, whither he went as proconsul, stopped for some time at Athens and in the island of Rhodes upon different pretexts, but in reality for the opportunity of conversing with the most able rhetoricians, and in order to improve himself in eloquence by their instructions. He however always affected from that time to appear ignorant of what the Greeks taught respecting the art of speaking, with the view of rendering his eloquence thereby the less suspected.⁵ And he accordingly was generally supposed by his hearers to come to the bar, and to plead his causes, almost without preparations.⁶ But, in reality, he was so well prepared, that the judges were often not enough so in their distrust of him. Nothing for the success of his cause escaped him. He knew how to dispose every proof in the place where it made most impression. He was less attentive to the delicacy and elegance of his terms, than

to their force and energy. He seemed to regard only things in themselves, and right reason: in a word, he had all the great qualities of an orator, and supported them wonderfully by the force and dignity of his utterance.

In the second book of the Orator⁷ he traces the plan himself of an oration which he pronounced in defence of Norbanus, who was justly prosecuted as the author of a sedition: a cause, as it is easy to conceive, of a very tender and difficult nature. He treated it with such art, force, and eloquence, as wrested the criminal from the severity of the judges: and he confesses himself, that he carried his cause less by the strength of reason, than the vehemence of the passions he knew how to introduce with judgment. *Ita magis affectis animis Judicium, quam doctis, tua, Sulpiti, est à nobis tum accusatio victa.* Sulpitius, the advocate on the other side, had notwithstanding left the judges perfectly convinced of the justice of his cause, and highly incensed against Norbanus: *Cum tibi ego, non judicium, sed incendium tradidissem.* Nothing is more capable of forming young pleaders than the plan of this harangue: but they ought not to imitate the use Antony made at that time of his talents for saving a criminal from the punishment he deserved.

Crassus was the only orator that could be ranked with Antony, and some give him the preference to the other.⁸ He was but three years younger than him. His peculiar character was an air of gravity and dignity, which he knew how to temper with an insinuating politeness, and even refined pleasantry and raillery, that never forgot the decency of the orator.⁹ His language was pure and correct with elegance, but easy and void of affectation. He explained himself with wonderful clearness, and exalted the beauty of his discourse by the strength of his proofs, and agreeable allusions and similitudes.

When Crassus was to do with persons of merit and reputation, he took care to proceed with tenderness and reserve, and employed no raillery in respect to them that could shock or offend; *in quo genere nulli aculei contumeliarum inerant*:—a moderation very extraordinary in those who value themselves upon pleasantry, and who find it very hard to keep in a smart saying when it comes uppermost, and which they think it for their honour to vent.¹⁰ But he behaved differently to such as gave room for it by their bad conduct. One Brutus, of whom I am going to speak, was of this number. He had taken up the business of an accuser for the sake of the rewards granted by the laws to such as convicted criminals: a calling which was looked upon at Rome as highly unworthy of a man of condition and probity, though a young man was approved there for making himself known by accusing some person of importance. This Brutus was universally scandalous as a prodigal who had squandered his estate in excesses and debauchery. Pleading one day against Crassus, he caused two speeches of that orator to be read, in which he had manifestly contradicted himself. Crassus was highly nettled, and knew well how to be even with him. For that purpose he caused three dialogues of Brutus's father to be read also, in each of which, according to a custom common enough, mention was made in the beginning of the country-house, where the conversation was supposed to be held. After having by this method introduced the names and reality, of three estates which his father had left him, he asked him with bitter reproaches what was become of them. An accidental circumstance gave Crassus occasion to treat him in the same cause with a quite different force and vivacity, and to unite the most severe invectives with raillery.¹¹ While they were pleading

¹ Duo genera maximè cavenda pueris puto. Unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimis admirator in Græcorum Catonisque, et aliorum similium lectione durescere velit: fient enim horridi et jejuni. — Alterum quo huic diversum est, ne recentis hujus lascivie foscilis capti, volupate quadam prava deliniantur, ut prædilecti illud genus, et puerilibus ingenis hoc gratius, quo propius est, adament. Firmis autem judiciis, jamque extra periculum positis, suscerim et antiquos legere, ex quibus si assumptur solida ac virilis ingenii vis, detergo rudis seculi aqualore, tum noster hic cultus clarius eutescet; et novos, quibus et ipsis multa virtus adest. *Quintil. l. ii. c. 6.*

² Brut. n. 85—88.

³ Quod idcirco posui, ut dicendi Latine prima maturitas in qua ætate extitisset, posset animadverti. *Cic. in Brut. n. 161.*

Ego sic existimo—in his primùm cum Græcorum gloria Latine dicendi copiam æquatam. *Id. n. 133.*

⁴ Lib. i. de Orat. n. 8. Lib. ii. de Orat. n. 3.

⁵ Ibid. n. 153.

⁶ Erat memoria summa, nulla meditationis suspicio. Imparatus semper aggredi ad dicendum videbatur: sed ita erat paratus, ut Judices, illo dicente, nonnunquam viderentur non satis parati ad cavendum fuisse. *Brut. n. 139.*

⁷ Lib. ii. de Orat. n. 197—203.

⁸ Brut. n. 143.

⁹ Erat summa gravitas: erat cum gravitate junctus facilius et urbanitatis oratoris non scurrilis lepos. Latine loquendi accurate et sine molestia diligens elegantia, &c.

¹⁰ Quod est hominibus facietis et dignioribus difficillimum, habere hominum rationem et temporum, et ea, quæ occurrant, cum suis sine dici passum, tenere. ² de Orat. n. 221.

¹¹ Quis est qui non fateatur, hoc lepore atque his facetiis non minùs refutatum esse Brutum, quam illis tragædiis,

in the forum, where every body knows all great causes were tried, the funeral procession of a Roman lady passed by, at the head of which, according to the ceremonies practised on such occasions at Rome, the images of her ancestors were carried: she was of the family of the *Junii*, of which that of Brutus was a branch. Upon this unexpected sight, Crassus, as if transported with a sudden enthusiasm, fixing his eyes on Brutus, with the most animated voice and gesture: "Why do you sit, Brutus?" said he, "What news would you have this good old lady carry to your father, and to those great men, whose images you see borne before her? What shall she say of you to your ancestors, and particularly to Lucius Brutus, who delivered this people from the tyranny of kings? What shall she tell them you do? What business, what glory, what virtue shall she say you study? Is it to increase your patrimony? That would not suit your birth; besides, your debauches have entirely eaten up that. Is it the civil law? Your father's example might induce you to it; but of that you do not so much as know the most common principles. Is war your study? No, you never saw a camp. Or eloquence? Of that too you know nothing; and as for the volubility of your tongue and the strength of your lungs, you devote them wholly in this place to the vile and execrable traffic of gain by calumnies. And do you dare to see the sun? To look the judges in the face, to appear at the bar, in the forum, the city, and in the sight of the people? Are you not struck with shame and horror at this procession, that deceased lady and those venerable images, whose glory you dishonour so much by your infamous practices?" A passage like this suffices to show us what we are to judge of the character and merit of Crassus's eloquence.

To this rare talent he added great knowledge of the civil law; in which however Scævola far exceeded him. He was the most learned civilian, and one of the most celebrated orators of his time. They were both nearly of the same age,¹ had passed through the same dignities, and applied themselves to the same functions and studies. This resemblance, and kind of equality, far from exciting the least thought of jealousy, as it often happens, and from making the least change whatsoever in their friendship, only served to improve and augment it.

I shall say only a few words of the two young orators, Cotta and Sulpitius, who at this time made a shining figure at the bar. The character of their eloquence was quite different.

Cotta's invention was penetrating and acute: his elocution pure and flowing.² As the weakness of his lungs obliged him to avoid all violent exertions of

voice, he took care to adapt his style and manner of composing to the infirmity of his organs. Every thing in it was just, neat, and strong. But what was more admirable in him, as he could make no very great use of the vehement and impetuous style, and consequently could not influence the judges by the vigour of his discourse; he had however the address in treating his matter, to produce the same effect upon them by his calm and composed manner, as Sulpitius by his ardent and animated eloquence.

The style of Sulpitius, on the contrary, was lofty, vehement,³ and to use the expression, tragical. His voice was strong, sweet, and clear; the gesture and motion of his body extremely graceful and agreeable; but that grace of action suited the bar, not the stage. His discourse was rapid and abundant, but without any vicious redundancy or superfluity. Sulpitius made Crassus his model; Cotta was better pleased with Antony. But the latter had neither Antony's force, nor the former Crassus's pleasantry.

There was a remarkable difference between Cotta and Sulpitius. The latter was cut off in his youth, whereas Cotta lived to an advanced age, was consul, and pled with Hortensius, who was, however, much younger than he.

The example of Cotta and Sulpitius shows, that two orators may both be excellent without resembling each other; and that the important point is to discern aright, to what nature or genius inclines us, and to take her for our guide. These had the good fortune to find two great masters and most friendly guides in Antony and Crassus, who spared no pains, and made it their pleasure, to form them for eloquence.

SECTION III.—THIRD AGE OF THE ROMAN ORATORS.

THIS is the golden age of Roman eloquence, which was of short duration, but shone out with great lustre, and almost equalled Rome with Athens. It produced a great number of excellent orators: Hortensius, Cæsar, who would have been an orator of the first class, if he had been kept to the bar, Brutus, Messala, and many others, who all acquired great reputation among the Romans, though their orations are not come down to us. But Cicero obscures the glory of all the rest, and may be considered as the most perfect model of Roman eloquence that ever appeared in the world. I must desire the reader's permission for referring him to the treatise upon study, where I have expatiated largely upon Cicero, and the character of his eloquence, of which, for that reason, there remains little for me to say.

He was indebted to nature for a happy genius, which his father took care to cultivate in a particular manner, under the direction of Crassus, who laid down the plan of his studies.⁴ He had the most able masters of those times at Rome, and went afterwards into Greece and Asia Minor, to learn the precepts of oratory at their source.

His brother Quintus believed that nature alone, with the aid of frequent exercise, sufficed to form the orator.⁵ Cicero was of a very different opinion, and was convinced, that the talent of speaking could only be acquired by a vast extent of erudition. Accordingly, persuaded that without the most tenacious application, and an ardour that rose almost to passion, nothing great could be attained, he devoted himself wholly to laborious study. The fruits of it soon appeared, and from his first showing himself at the bar, he was distinguished by universal applause.

quas egit idem, cum casu in eadem causa cum finere efferretur anus Junia? Proh dii immortales! Quæ fuit illa, quanta vis, quam inexpectatam, quam repentiam cum, coniectis oculis, gestu omni imminente, summa gravitate, et celeritate verborum: Brute, quid sedes? Quid illam anum patri nunciare vis tuo? Quid illis omnibus, quorum imagines duci videris? Quid Lucio Bruto, qui hunc populum dominatu regio liberavit? Quid te facere? Cui rei, cui gloriæ, cui virtuti studere? Patrimonione augendo? At id non est nobilitatis. Sed fac esse. Nihil superest: libidines totum dissipaverunt. An juri civili? Est paternum. Sed, &c.—An rei militari, qui nunquam castra videris? An eloquentiæ, quæ nulla est in te, et quicquid est vocis ac lingue, omne in istum turpissimum calumniarum quæstum contulisti? Tu lucem aspiciere audes? Tu hos intueri? Tu in foro, tu in urbe, tu in civium esse conspectu? Tu illam mortuam, tu imagines ipsas non perhorrescis: quibus con modo imitandis, sed ne collocandis quidem tibi nullum locum reliquisti? *Lib. ii. de Orat. n. 223—226.*

¹ Illud gaudeo, quod et æqualitas vestra, et pares honorum gradus, et artium studiorumque quasi finitima vicinitas, tantum abest ab obtructione invidia, quæ solet: lacerare plebrosque, uti ea non modo non exulcerare vestram gratiam, sed etiam conciliare videatur. *Brut. n. 155.*

² Inveniebatur igitur acutè Cotta dicebat purè ac solutè: et ut ad infirmitatem laterum persciter contentione omni remiserat, sic ad virium imbecillitatem dicendi accommodabat genus. Nihil erat in ejus oratione nisi sincerum, nihil nisi sincerum, atque sanum: illudque maximum, quod cum contritione orationis dissente animos Judicum vix posset, nec omnino eo genere dicere, tractando tamen implebat ut idem forent à se commoti, quod à Sulpitio cunctati. *Brut. n. 162.*

³ Fuit enim Sulpitius vel maxime omnium, quos quidem ego andiverim, grandis et, ut ita dicam, tragicus orator. Vox eburn magna, tum suavis et splendida: gestus et motus corporis ita venustus, ut tamen ad forum non ad scenam institutus videretur. Incitatus et volubilis, nec ea redundans tamen, nec circumfluens oratio. Crassum hic volebat imitari, Cotta mæculum Antonium. Sed ab hoc vis aberat Antonii, Crassi ali illo lepos. *Ibid. n. 203.*

⁴ *Lib. ii. de Orat. n. 2.*

⁵ Siles nonnuncum hac de re à me in disputationibus nostris dissentire, quod ego crudissimorum hominum artibus eloquentiam contineri statuum; et tu autem illam ab elegantia doctrine segregandam putes, et in quodam ingenii atque exertationis genere ponendam. *Lib. i. de Orat. n. 5.*

He had a fertile, warm, and shining wit; a rich and lively imagination; a polished, florid, abundant, and luxuriant style; which last quality is no fault in a young orator. Every body knows that Cicero, when master of the art, in laying down rules is for having youth display fertility and abundance in their compositions: *Volo se effirari in adolescente fecunditas*.¹ Quintilian² often and strongly recommends to masters, not to expect or require finished and perfect discourses from their disciples. He prefers a bold freedom in their exercises, which grows wanton while it makes efforts, and exceeds the bounds of the exact and the just. It is easy to correct abundance, but there is no curing sterility. Cicero himself cites³ an example of this luxuriant and too florid style from his own defence of Roscius Amerinus, who was accused of parricide. In a great commonplace upon parricide, after having described the punishment established by the Roman laws for such as were convicted of it, which was to sow them up in a leathern bag, with a dog, a cock, a serpent, and an ape, and to throw them into the sea, he adds the following reflection, to show the enormity of the crime by the singularity of the punishment, the choice of which seems to have had in view the excluding of an ungrateful wretch from the use of all nature, who had been so unnatural as to deprive his father of life. "Quid est tam commune quam spiritus vivis, terra mortuis, mare fluctuantibus, litus eiectis? Ita vivunt, dum possunt, ut ducere animam de cœlo non quant: ita moriuntur, ut eorum ossa terra non tangat: ita jactantur fluctibus, ut nunquam abluantur: ita postremū ejiciuntur, ut ne ad saxa quidem mortui conquescant," &c.⁴ "What is there so common as the air we breathe to the living, the earth to the dead, the water to those who go by sea, and the shore to those who are driven by the waves. By the invention of this punishment, these unhappy wretches, during the short time they retain life in it, live without power to respire the air, and die in such a manner, that their bones cannot touch the earth: they are tossed to and fro in the waves, without being washed by them; and are driven against the rocks and shores, so as never to rest or lie still even in death." The whole passage upon the punishment of parricides, and especially that part of it just quoted, was received with extraordinary applause.⁵ But Cicero, some time after, began to perceive, that his commonplace savoured too much of the young man (he was then twenty-seven years old,) and that if he had been applauded, it was less from any real beauty in the passage, than the hopes and promise he then gave of his future merit. And indeed this passage has nothing in it but a glitter without solidity, which dazzles for a moment, but will not bear the least serious examination. The thoughts are far-fetched and unnatural, with a studied affectation of antithesis and contrast.

Cicero very much reformed his taste, and after going to Athens, and into Asia Minor, where, notwithstanding his celebrity for pleading, he became the disciple of the learned rhetoricians who taught there, he returned to Rome almost entirely changed from what he was when he left it.⁶ Molo the Rhodian in particular was of great use to him, in teaching him to retrench the superfluity and redundancy, that proceeded from the warmth and vivacity of his years, and in accustoming him to a less diffused style, to keep within just bounds, and to give his discourse more weight and maturity.⁷

¹ Lib ii. de Orat. n. 88.

² Io pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi nec sperari potest: melior autem est indoles læta generosique conatus, et vel-plura concipiens interim spiritus. Facile remedium est ubertatis: sterilitia nullo labore vincuntur. *Quintil.* l. ii. c. 4.

³ In Orat. n. 107, 108.

⁴ Pm. Rusc. Amer. n. 75.

⁵ Quamvis illa elanoribus adolescentuli divinus de supplicio parricidarum! que nequaquam satis deferbuisse post aliquanto sentire cepimus. Sunt enim omnia sicut adolescentis, non tam re et maturitate quam spe et expectatione laudari.

⁶ In Brut. n. 316.

⁷ Molo dedit operam, si modò id consequi potuisset, ut nimis redundantibus et superflue juvenili quondam dicendi impunitate reprimeret, et quasi extra repas diluentes egeret. Ita recepi me, biennio post, non modò exercitator, sed propè mutatus.

The emulation excited in him by the great success of his friend, but rival, Hortensius, was of infinite service to him. I have spoken of it elsewhere⁸ with sufficient extent. He seems from that period to have formed the design of carrying from Greece, or at least of disputing with her, the glory of eloquence. He exerted himself in every branch of it courageously, without neglecting one. The simple, the florid, and the sublime styles became equally familiar to him; and he has given us the most finished models in these three species of eloquence. He mentions several places in his treatise *De Oratore*, where he had employed these different kinds of style; and ingeniously confesses, that, if he has not attained perfection in them, he has at least attempted and shadowed it.⁹ Nobody knew the heart of man better than he, or succeeded better in moving the springs of it, whether he insinuates into his hearer's favour by the soft and tender passions, or uses those which require bold figures, vehemence, and the strongest and most affecting eloquence.¹⁰ To be convinced of this, the reader has only to consult his perorations. When pleadings were divided, this last part was always left to him, in which he never failed to succeed in a peculiar manner; not, says he, that he had more wit than others, but because he was more moved and affected himself, without which his discourse would not have been capable of moving and affecting the judges.¹¹

It was this admirable union and application of all the different qualities of the orator, that occasioned the rapid success of Cicero's pleadings.¹² He owns himself, that Rome had never seen nor heard any thing of the like nature before; and that this new species of eloquence charmed the hearers, and carried off all suffrages. That of the ancients, as I have observed before, had abundance of solidity, but was entirely void of grace and ornament. Rome, which to their time had neither literature nor delicacy of ear, suffered, and even went so far as to admire them.¹³ Hortensius had begun to throw graces into discourse. But besides his negligence in that respect, at length, from his being contented with, and secure, as he thought, of his reputation, the ornaments he used consisted rather in words and turns of phrase than thoughts, and had more elegance than real beauty.

Cicero industriously gave eloquence all the graces of which it was susceptible, but without lessening the solidity and gravity of discourse. He departed a little in this from the method of Demosthenes, who, solely attentive to things in themselves, and not in the least to his own reputation, goes on directly to the end in view, and neglects every thing merely ornamental. Our orator thought¹⁴ himself obliged to comply in some measure with the taste of his times, and the delicacy of the Romans, which required a more pleasing and florid style. He never lost sight of the public utility, but was studious at the same time of pleasing

⁸ Belles Lettres.

⁹ Nulla est ullo in genere laus oratoris, cujus in nostris orationibus non sit aliqua, si non perfecta, at conatus tamen atque adumbratio. Non assequimur, at, quid deceat, videmus. *Orat.* n. 103.

¹⁰ Hujus eloquentie est tractare animos, hujus omni modò permovere. Hæc modò perfringit, modò irreptit in sensus: inserit novas opiniones, evellit insitas. *Orat.* n. 97.

¹¹ Si plures dicebamur, perorationem mihi tamen omnes relinquebant: in quo ut videret excellere, non ingenio sed dolore assequabar—nec unquam is qui audiret incendebatur, nisi ardens ad eum perveniret oratio. *Orat.* n. 130. 132.

¹² Jejunas hujus multiplicis et æquabiliter in omnia genera fuses orationis aures civitatis accipimus, easque nos primi, quicumque eramus, et quatenuscumque dicebamus, ad hujus generis dicendi, audiendi, incredibilia studia convertimus. *Orat.* n. 106.

¹³ Propter exquisitum et minimè vulgare orationis genus, animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate converteram. *Brut.* n. 321.

¹⁴ Erant, nondum tritis hominum auribus et erudita civitate, tolerabiles. *Brut.* n. 124.

¹⁵ Ne illis quidem nimium repugno, qui dandum putant non nihil esse temporibus atque auribus, nitidius aliquid atque affectatius postulantiibus—Atque id fecisse M. Tullium video, ut cum omnia utilitati, tum partem quandam delectationi daret: cum et ipsam se rem agere diceret (agebat autem maxime) litigatoris. Nam hoc ipso præderat, quod placebat. *Quintil.* l. xii. c. 10.

the judges; and in this he said, he served his country more effectually: for his discourse in being agreeable, was necessarily the more persuasive. This beauty, this charm of style, diffused throughout the orations of Cicero, made him seem to obtain that by gentle means, which he actually seized by force; while the judges, who conceived they did no more than follow him of their own accord, were borne away by *bright illusion* and imperious vehemence.¹ He also enriched Roman eloquence with another advantage, which highly exalted its value: I mean the disposition of words, which conduces infinitely to the beauty of discourse. For the most agreeable and most solid thoughts, if the terms in which they are expressed want arrangement and number, offend the ear, of which the sense is exceedingly delicate.² The Greeks had been almost four hundred years in possession of this kind of beauty in the admirable works of their writers, who had carried the sweetness and harmony of disposition to its highest perfection.³ In another part of this volume I have described the manner in which Cicero gained the Roman language this improvement. As much must be said of all the other parts of eloquence, of which he either gave the Romans the first knowledge, or at least carried them to their highest perfection; and in this Cæsar had reason to say, that Cicero had rendered his country great service.⁴ For by his means Rome, which gave place to Greece only in this kind of glory, deprived her of it, or perhaps, rose to the point of dividing it with her. Cicero in consequence, may truly be said to be in respect to Rome, what Demosthenes had before been to Athens; each on his side having carried eloquence to the highest perfection it ever attained.

SECTION IV.—FOURTH AGE OF THE ROMAN ORATORS.

IT is the usual lot of human things, when they have attained their highest perfection, to decline soon, and to degenerate ever after. Eloquence, as well as history and poetry, experienced this sad fatality at Rome. Some few years after the death of Augustus, that region, so fertile of fine works and noble productions, bore no more of those excellent fruits, which had done it so much honour; and as if it had been universally blasted, that bloom of Roman urbanity, that is to say, the extreme delicacy of taste, which prevailed in all works of genius and learning, withered and disappeared almost on a sudden.

A man highly estimable in other respects for his fine genius, rare talents, and learned works, occasioned this change in eloquence: it is easy to perceive that I mean Seneca. A too great esteem for himself, a kind of jealousy for the great men who had appeared before him, a violent desire of distinguishing himself, and to use the expression, of forming a sect, and being the leader for others to follow, made him quit the usual track, and throw himself into paths that were new and unknown to the ancients.

The best things are abused, and even virtues themselves become vices when carried too far. The graces with which Cicero had embellished and enriched Roman eloquence, were dispensed soberly and with great judgment: but Seneca lavished them without discretion or measure. In the writings of the first, the ornaments were grave, manly, majestic, and proper for exalting the dignity of a queen: in those of the second, one might almost term them the finery of a

courtizan, which, far from adding new lustre to the natural beauty of eloquence, by the profusion of pearls and gems, disguised, and made it disappear. For the soil of Seneca is admirable. No ancient author has either so many, so fine, or so solid thoughts as he. But he spoils them by the turn he gives them, by the antitheses and quibbles with which they are usually larded, by an excessive affectation of ending almost every period with an epigrammatic point, or a kind of glittering thought, a conceit very like it. This made Quintilian say,⁵ it were to be wished that Seneca in composing had used his own genius, but another's judgment. *Velles eum sua ingenio dixisse, alieno judicio.* What I have observed of him elsewhere⁷ with great extent, renders unnecessary my saying more of him in this place.

PLINY THE YOUNGER.

THE author, of whom I am going to speak, is one of those persons of antiquity that best deserve to be known. I shall first trace a plan of his life from his own letters, in which we shall find all the qualities of the man of honour and probity, with the most amiable goodness of heart and generosity it is possible to imagine. I shall then proceed to give some idea of his style by extracts from his panegyric upon Trajan, which is the only piece of his eloquence come down to us.

Abridgment of the Life of Pliny the Younger.

PLINY the younger was born at Coma, a city of Italy, A. D. 61. His mother was Pliny the naturalist's sister, who adopted him for his son. Having lost his father very early,⁸ Virginius Rufus, one of the greatest persons of his age, was his guardian, who always considered him as his own son, and took particular care of him. Virginius, whose virtues had rendered him suspected, and even odious to the emperors, had, however, the good fortune to escape their jealousy and hatred. He lived to the age of fourscore and three, always happy and admired. The emperor Trajan caused his obsequies to be solemnized with great magnificence; and Tacitus the historian, who was then consul, pronounced his funeral oration. Pliny was no less happy in masters, than he had been in a guardian. We have seen elsewhere, that he studied rhetoric under Quintilian, and that, of all his disciples, he was the person who did him most honour, and also expressed most gratitude for him. The whole sequel of his life will show the taste he had acquired for polite learning of every kind in the school of that celebrated rhetorician. At the age of fourteen he composed a Greek tragedy.⁹ He exercised himself afterwards in every species of poetry, which he made his amusement. He believed it necessary to hear also Nicetas of Smyrna,¹⁰ a celebrated Greek rhetorician, who was then at Rome. I include Rusticus Arulenus in the number of his masters, who had been tribune of the people in 69, and who professed Stoic philosophy.¹¹ His merit and virtue were crimes under an emperor,¹² who was the declared enemy of both, and occasioned the loss of his life. He had taken particular care to form Pliny for virtue, who always retained the highest gratitude for his memory.

Pliny was sent into Syria, where he served for some years at the head of a legion.¹³ All the leisure his duty afforded him there, he devoted to the lectures and conversations of Euphrates, a famous philosopher, who believed then that he saw in Pliny all that he afterwards proved. He gives us a fine picture of that philosopher. His air, says he, is serious, without sourness or ill-nature.¹⁴ His presence inspires respect, but neither fear nor awe. His extreme politeness is equalled only by the purity of his manners. He makes war upon vices, not persons; and reforms such as err, but without insulting them.

¹ Cui tanta unquam juvenitudo affuit? Ut ipsa illa quæ extorquet, impetrare eum credas; et eum transversum vi sua Judicium ferat, tamen ille non rapi videatur, sed sequi. *Quintil.* l. x. c. 1.

² Quamvis graves suavesque sententiæ, tamen si inconditis verbis efferuntur, offendunt aures, quare est judicium superbissimum. *Orat.* n. 150.

³ Et apud Græcos quidem jam anni prope quadringenti, eum hoc (numerus) probatur: nos nuper agnovimus. *Orat.* n. 171.

⁴ Cæsar Tullium, non solum principem atque inventorem copiæ dixit, quæ erat magna laus; sed etiam bene meritum de populi Romani nomine et dignitate. Quo enim uno vincebatur à victa Græciâ, id aut eripitum illi est, aut certe nobis cum illis communicatum. *Brit.* n. 251.

⁵ Omnis status repressus, exustusque flos sili veteris ubertatis exaruit. *Brit.* n. 16.

⁶ Lib. i. c. 1. ⁷ Belles Lettres. ⁸ Epist. i. l. 2.

⁹ Epist. i. l. 7. ¹⁰ Ep. vi. l. 6. ¹¹ Ep. xvi. l. 1.

¹² Dom. i. iv. ¹³ Ep. x. l. 1.

¹⁴ Nullus horror in vultu, nulla tristitia, multum severitatis. Revertens occursum, non reformides. Viri sanctissima, comitas par. Insectatur vitia, non homines: nec castigat errantes, sed emendat.

On his return to Rome, he attached himself more closely than ever to Pliny the naturalist, who had adopted him, and in whom he had the good fortune to find a father, master, model, and excellent guide. He collected his slightest discourses, and studied all his actions. His uncle, then fifty-six years old, was obliged to repair to the coast of Naples, in order to take upon him the command of the Roman fleet at Misenum. Pliny the younger attended him thither, where he lost him by the unhappy accident I have related elsewhere.

Destitute of that support, he sought no other than his own merit, and applied himself wholly to public affairs. He pled his first cause at nineteen years of age.¹ Young as he was, he spoke before the centumviri in an affair, wherein he was under the necessity of contending with all the persons of the highest credit in Rome, without excepting those whom the prince honoured with his favour.² It was this action that first made him known, and opened the way for the reputation he afterwards acquired.³ He retained from that period an approbation as universal as extraordinary in a city, where neither competitors nor envy were idle. He had more than once the satisfaction of seeing the entrance of the bar entirely shut up by the multitude of hearers, who waited when he was to plead.⁴ He was obliged to go to his place through the tribunal where the judges sat; and sometimes spoke seven hours, on which occasions he himself was the only person tired in the assembly. He never pled but for the public interests, his friends, or those whose ill fortune had left them none.⁵ Most of the other advocates sold their assistance, and to glory, of old the sole reward of so noble an employment, had substituted a sordid traffic of gain. Trajan, to reform that disorder, published a decree,⁶ which, at the same time it gave Pliny great pleasure, did him no less honour. "How pleased I am," said he, "not only never to have entered into any agreement about the causes in which I have been concerned, but to have always refused all kind of presents, and even new-year's gifts, upon account of them! It is true, indeed, that every thing repugnant to honour is to be avoided, not as prohibited, but as infamous.⁷ There is, however, great satisfaction in seeing that prohibited, which one never allowed one's self to do."⁸ He made it a pleasure, and even a duty, to assist with his advice, and to bring forward young persons of family and promise to the bar.⁹ He would not undertake some causes, but upon condition of having a young advocate joined with him in them. It was the highest joy to him, to see them begin to distinguish themselves in pleading, by treading in his steps, and following his counsels.⁹ From how good a heart, from what a fund of love for the public, do such sentiments flow!

It was by these steps that Pliny soon rose to the highest dignities of the state. He always retained the virtues in them by which they were acquired. In the time of Domitian he was prætor. That savage prince, who looked upon innocence of manners as a censure of his own conduct, banished all the philosophers from Rome and Italy. Artemidorus, one of Pliny's friends, was of this number, and had withdrawn to a house that he had without the gates of the city.¹⁰ "I went thither to see him," says Pliny, "at a time when my visit was most remarkable and most dangerous. I was prætor.

He could not discharge the debts he had contracted for many noble uses without a great sum of money. Some of the richest and most powerful of his friends would not see the difficulty he was under. As to me, I borrowed the sum, and made him a present of it. I had however great reason to tremble for myself. Seven of my friends had just before either been banished or put to death. Of the latter were Senecio, Rusticus, and Helvidius: the exiles were Mauricus, Gratilla, Arria, and Fannia. The thunder which fell so often, and still smoked around me, seemed evidently to presage the like fate for myself.¹¹ But I am far from believing that I deserve on this account all the glory Artemidorus gives me: I only avoided infamy." Where shall we find now such friends and such sentiments? I admire Pliny's good fortune, worthy man as he was, in escaping the cruelty of Domitian. I could wish that he owed this obligation to his master and friend Quintilian, who had undoubtedly great credit with the emperor, especially after he had charged him with the education of his sister's grandsons. History says nothing upon this head: it only informs us, that an accusation fully prepared against Pliny was found among Domitian's papers.

The bloody death of that emperor, who was succeeded by Nerva, A. D. 96, restored tranquillity to persons of worth, and made the bad tremble in their turn.¹² A famous informer, named Regulus, not satisfied with having fomented the prosecution of Rusticus Arulenus, had besides triumphed over his death, by insulting his memory with writings full of injurious reproaches and insolent ridicule. Never was man so abject, cowardly, and creeping, as this wretch appeared after Domitian's death; which is always the case with such venal prostitutes to iniquity, who have no sense of honour. He was afraid of Pliny's resentment, the declared friend of Rusticus in all times. Besides, he had attacked him personally in Domitian's life; and in a public pleading at the bar, had laid a murderous snare for him by an insidious question in respect to a person of worth, whom the emperor had banished, which exposed Pliny to certain danger, had he openly declared the truth, or would have dishonoured him for ever, had he betrayed it. This base wretch left nothing undone to avert Pliny's just revenge, employed the recommendation of his best friends, and came to him at last in person to implore him with the most abject and abandoned submissions to forget the past. Pliny did not think fit to explain himself, being willing, before he determined in the affair, to wait the arrival of Mauricus, the brother of Rusticus, who was not yet returned from banishment. It is not known how the business ended.

Another of the same kind did him much honour.¹³ As soon as Domitian was killed, Pliny, upon mature deliberation, judged the present a very happy occasion for prosecuting the vile, avenging oppressed innocence, and acquiring great glory. He had contracted a particular friendship with Helvidius Priscus, the most virtuous and most revered person of his time, as also with Arria and Fannia, of whom the first was the wife of Pætus Thrasea, and Fannia's mother, and the latter the wife of Priscus. The senator Publicus Cælius, a man of great power and credit, designed for consul the ensuing year, had urged the death of Helvidius, who was also a senator of consular dignity, even in the senate. Pliny undertook to avenge his illustrious friend. Arria and Fannia, who were returned from banishment, joined him in so generous a design. He had never done any thing without the advice of Corellius, whom he considered as the wisest and most able person of the age.¹⁴ But upon this occasion, knowing him to be a man of too timorous and circumspect a prudence, and at the same time, that in resolutions wisely taken,¹⁵ it is not proper to consult persons, whose counsels are a kind of order to the consulter, he did not impart his design to him,

¹ Ep. viii. l. 5.

² Ep. xviii. l. 1.

³ Illa actio mihi aures hominum, illa januam famæ patefecit.

⁴ Ep. xvi. l. 4.

⁵ Ep. xiv. l. 5.

⁶ It was ordained by this decree, that all persons who had causes should make oath that they had neither given nor promised, nor caused to be given or promised, any thing to the advocate concerned for them. After the suit was determined, it admitted giving to the amount of ten thousand sesterces (about 60*l.* sterling). Ep. xxi. l. 5.

⁷ Oportet quidem quæ sunt inhonestæ, non quasi illicita, sed quasi pudenda, vitare. Jucundum tamen, si prohiberi publicè videas, quod nunquam tibi ipse præstaris.

⁸ Ep. xviii. l. 6.

⁹ Odiem letum, notendumque mihi candidissimo calculo! Nomen enim aut publicè latinæ, quam clarissimos juvenes nomen et famam ex studio petere; aut mihi optatius, quam me ad recta tentantibus quasi exemplar esse propositum?

¹⁰ Ep. xi. l. 3.

¹¹ Tot circa me factis fulminibus quasi ambrustus, mihi quoque impendere idem exitum certis quibusdam notis auguror.

¹² Ep. v. l. 1.

¹³ Ep. xiii. l. 9.

¹⁴ Ep. xvii. l. 4.

¹⁵ Expertus usu, de eo quod desinaveris non esse consulendus, quibus consultis obsequi debeas.

and contented himself with communicating it upon the very day it was to be put in execution, but without asking his opinion. The senate being assembled, Pliny repaired thither, and demanded permission to speak. He began with great applause, but as soon as he had opened the plan of the accusation, and had sufficiently designated the criminal, without naming him however hitherto, the senate rose up against him on all sides. He heard all their outcries without trouble or emotion, while one of his friends of consular dignity intimated to him softly, but in very lively terms, that he had exposed himself with too much courage and to little prudence, and pressed him earnestly to desist from his accusation; adding, at the same time, that he would render himself formidable to succeeding emperors. "So much the better," replied Pliny, "if they are bad ones." They at length proceeded to give their opinions, and the first who spoke, which were the most considerable of the senate, apologized for Certus, as if Pliny had actually named him, though he had not yet done so. Almost all the rest declared in his favour. When it came to Pliny's turn to speak, he treated the subject in all its extent, and replied to every thing that had been advanced. It is not conceivable with what attention and applause, even those who a little before had opposed him, received all he said, so sudden was the change produced either by the importance of the cause, the force of the reasons, or the courage of the accuser. The emperor did not judge it proper that the proceedings should go on. Pliny however carried what he proposed. Certus's colleague obtained the consulship, as had been before intended: but as for himself, another was nominated in his stead. What an honour was this for Pliny! A single man, by the idea conceived of his zeal for the public good, brings over all the suffrages to his own side, supports the dignity of his order, and restores courage to so august an assembly as the Roman senate, at a time when the terror of the preceding reign still rendered it timorous and almost speechless.

I shall repeat two other occasions also, in which, not as a senator, but an advocate, he displayed both the force of his eloquence, and his just indignation against the oppressors of the people in the provinces. They are both of the same time, but the year is not precisely known.

In the first, "We see an event famous from the rank of the person, salutary by the severity of the example, and memorable for ever from its importance."¹ I shall use Pliny's own words, but shall abridge his account considerably.

"Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, accused by the Africans, without proposing any defence, confines himself to demanding the ordinary judges. Tacitus and myself (says Pliny) being charged by order of the senate with the cause of that people, believed it our duty to remonstrate, that the crimes in question were too enormous to admit of a civil trial. For Priscus was accused of no less than selling condemnation, and even the lives of innocent persons.—Vitellius Honoratus and Flavius Martianus were cited as his accomplices, and appeared. The first was accused of having purchased the banishment of a Roman knight, and the deaths of seven of his friends, for three hundred thousand sesterces.² The second had given seven hundred thousand,³ to have various torments inflicted upon another Roman knight. This latter had been first condemned to be whipped, then sent to the mines, and at last strangled in prison. But a fortunate death saved Honoratus from the justice of the senate. Martianus therefore was committed without Priscus. Upon some debates which arose upon this affair, it was referred to the first assembly of the senate. This assembly was most august. The prince⁴ presided in it, being then consul. It was about the beginning of January, when the senate is generally most numerous. Besides the importance of the cause, the noise it had made, and the natural curiosity of all men to be eye-witnesses of great and extraordinary events,

had drawn together from all parts a great multitude of auditors. You may imagine the trouble and apprehension we were under, who were to speak in such an assembly, and in the presence of the emperor. I have spoke more than once in the senate, and may venture to say, that I never was so favourably heard anywhere: notwithstanding which every thing daunted me, as if entirely new to me. The difficulty of the cause embarrassed me almost as much as the rest. I considered in the person of Priscus, a man, who, a little before, was of consular dignity, was honoured with an important priesthood, of both which titles he was then divested. I was sincerely concerned at being obliged to accuse an unfortunate person already condemned. If the enormity of his crime urged strongly against him, pity, which usually succeeds a first condemnation, pled no less in his favour. At length I took courage, began my discourse and received as many applauses as I had fears before. I spoke almost five hours: for I was granted an hour and a half more than was at first allowed me.⁵ All that seemed difficult and adverse when I had it to say, became easy and favourable when I said it. The emperor's goodness and care, I dare not call it anxiety, for me, went so far, that he ordered me several times to be admonished by a freedman, who stood behind me, to spare myself, and not to forget the weakness of my constitution. Claudius Marcellinus defended Martianus. The senate adjourned to the next day; for there was not sufficient time for going through a new pleading before night. On the morrow Salvius Liberalis spoke for Priscus. He is a subtle orator, disposes his subject with method, has abundance of vehemence, and is truly eloquent.⁶ All these talents he displayed this day. Tacitus replied with much eloquence, in which the great and the sublime of his character distinguishes itself not a little.⁷ Catus Fronto rejoined very finely for Priscus; and as he spoke last, and there was but little time remaining, he endeavoured more to move the judges, than to justify the accused. Night came on, and the affair was referred to the next day. The question then was to examine the proofs, and proceed to vote. It was certainly something very noble, and highly worthy of ancient Rome, to see the senate assembled, and employed for three days successively, without separating till night. Cornutus Tertullus, consul elect, a person of extraordinary merit, and most zealous for justice, was the first that gave his opinion. It was to condemn Priscus to pay the seven hundred thousand sesterces he had received into the public treasury, and to banish him from Rome and Italy. He went farther against Martianus, and was for having him banished even from Africa; and concluded with proposing to the senate, to declare that Tacitus and I had faithfully and worthily answered their expectation in acquitting ourselves of our commission.⁸ The consuls, and all the persons of consular dignity, who spoke afterwards, were of the same opinion. Some division ensued: but at last every body came over to Cornutus." Pliny makes an end of his letter with a stroke of gayety. "You are now," says he to his friend, "fully informed of what passes here. Let me know in your turn what you do in your country. Send me an exact account of your trees, your vines, your corn, and your cattle; and assure yourself, that if I have not a very long letter from you, you shall have but very short ones from me for the future. Adieu."

It appears that Pliny was in a manner the refuge and asylum of the oppressed provinces.⁹ The deputies from Bœtica¹⁰ implored the senate to appoint Pliny to be their advocate in the suit they had commenced against Cæcilius Classicus, late governor of that pro-

¹ Nam decem clepsydris, quas spatiosissimus acceperam, sunt additæ quatuor.

² Vir subtilis, dispositus, acer, disertus.

³ Respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissimè, et, quod eximium orationi ejus inest, *etiam* cæ.

⁴ Ego et Tacitus. The Latin is more simple and less ceremonious. I and Tacitus. Perhaps the senate's vote named Pliny first.

⁵ Ep. iv. et ix. l. 3.

⁶ Andalusia is a great part of what the ancients called Bœtica.

¹ Ep. xi. l. 2.

² About 1900*l.* sterling.

³ About 4350*l.* sterling.

⁴ Trajan.

vince. Whatever other employments he might have, he could not refuse that people his assistance, for whom he had before pled upon a like occasion. For, says Pliny, you cancel your first good offices, if you do not repeat them.¹ Oblige an hundred times, and refuse once, men (for such is their nature) forget every thing but the refusal. Accordingly he undertook their cause. Either a voluntary or a natural death saved Classicus from the consequences of this prosecution. Bœtica however did not omit to demand that it should go on; for so the laws required; and accused at the same time the ministers and accomplices of his crimes, demanding justice against them. The first thing that Pliny believed it necessary to establish, was that Classicus was guilty, which was not difficult to prove. He had left among his papers an exact memorandum in his own handwriting of the gains he had made by his several extortions. Probus and Hispanus, two of his accomplices, gave more trouble. Before he entered upon the proof of their crimes, Pliny judged it necessary to show, that the execution of a governor's orders in what was manifestly unjust, was criminal; without which it had been losing time to prove them Classicus's instruments. For they did not deny the facts laid to their charge, but excused themselves by pleading that they were reduced to them by obedience to their superior, which according to them sufficed for their vindication. They pretended, that such obedience could not be made criminal in them, as they were natives of the province, and consequently accustomed to tremble at the least command of the governor. Their advocate, who was a person of great ability, confessed afterwards, that he never was so much perplexed and disconcerted, as when he saw the only arms in which he had placed his whole confidence, wrested out of his hands. The event was as follows. The senate decreed, that the estate of Classicus, before he took possession of his government, should be separated from what he had afterwards acquired. The first was adjudged to his daughter, and the rest to the people of Bœtica. Hispanus and Probus were banished for five years; so black did that which at first seemed scarce criminal, appear after Pliny had spoke. The other accomplices were prosecuted with the same effect. What constancy and courage had Pliny, and how much must he have abhorred injustice and oppression? What a happiness was it for the remote provinces, as Andalusia was, where the governors, like so many petty tyrants, making their will their law, plundered and oppressed the people with impunity, to have a zealous and intrepid defender, whom neither credit nor menaces were capable of swaying in the least! For these public robbers find protection, and are seldom made examples, which can alone put a stop to such pernicious abuses.

Pliny's zeal was soon rewarded in a conspicuous manner.² He was actually made præfect of the treasury, that is to say high-treasurer, with Cornutus Tertullus, A. D. 99, which office he held two years, when they were both nominated consuls to be substituted to the usual ones for the following year. Trajan spoke in the senate to have this honour conferred upon them, presided in the assembly of the people at their nomination, and proclaimed them consuls himself. He gave them great praises, and represented them as men, who equalled the ancient consuls of Rome in their love of justice, and the public good. "It was then I perfectly knew," says Pliny, speaking of his colleague, "what kind of man, and of what value, he was. I heard him as a master, and respected him as a father, less on account of his advanced age, than his profound wisdom."³

Pliny, when consul, A. D. 100, pronounced in his

own and his colleague's name, an oration to thank Trajan for having conferred that dignity upon them, and to make his panegyric according to the order he had received from the senate, and in the name of the whole empire. I shall have occasion in the sequel to speak of this panegyric.

About the end of the year 103, Pliny was sent to govern Pontus and Bithynia in quality of proconsul. His sole employment there was to establish good order in his government, to execute justice, to redress grievances, and soften subjection. He had no thoughts of attracting respect by the pomp of equipage, difficulty of access, haughtiness in hearing, and insolence in giving answers. A noble simplicity, an always frank and easy reception, an affability that sweetened necessary refusals, with a moderation that never departed from itself, conciliated the affection of every body.

Trajan, otherwise the most humane and just of princes, had set on foot a violent persecution against the Christians. Pliny, from the necessity of his office, and in consequence of his blindness, had his share in it. But the natural sweetness of his disposition made him averse, at least in some measure, to inflict punishments upon persons guilty of no crime. In consequence, finding himself perplexed in the execution of the emperor's orders, he wrote him a letter upon that head, and received an answer, which, of all the monuments of paganism, are perhaps those that do most honour to the Christian religion. I shall insert both at length in this place.

*Pliny's Letter to the Emperor Trajan.*⁴

"It is a part of my religion, Caesar, to explain all my scruples to you. For who can either determine or instruct me better? I never was present at the proceedings against any Christians: so that I neither know upon what the information against them turns, nor how far their punishment should extend. I am much at a loss about the difference of age. Must young and old without distinction suffer the same inflictions? Are not those who repent to be pardoned; or is it to no purpose to renounce Christianity, after having once embraced it? Is it the name only that I am to punish in them, or are there any crimes annexed to that name? However it may be, I have made this my rule in respect to the Christians brought before me. Those who have owned themselves such I have interrogated a second and third time, and threatened them with punishment. When they persisted, I ordered it accordingly. For of whatever nature their confession was, I believed it indispensably necessary to punish in them their disobedience and invincible obstinacy. There were others possessed with the same frenzy, whom I have reserved in order to send them to Rome, because they are Roman citizens. Accusations of this kind becoming afterwards more frequent even from being set on foot, as is usual, various kinds of them offer. A memorial has been put into my hands, wherein several persons are accused of being Christians, who deny that they either are or ever were so. They have in my presence, and in the terms I prescribed, invoked the gods, and offered incense and wine to your image, which I caused expressly to be brought out with the statues of our divinities. They have even uttered violent imprecations against Christ. And this, I am told, is what none, who are truly Christians, can ever be forced to do. I believed it therefore necessary to acquit them. Others, who have been brought before me by an informer, have at first confessed themselves Christians, and immediately after denied it, declaring that they had indeed been so, but that they had ceased to be so, some above three, and others a greater number of years, and some for more than twenty. All these people have adored your image, and the statues of the gods; and all of them loaded Christ with curses. They have affirmed to me, that their whole error and fault consisted in these points: That on a day fixed, they assembled before sunrise, and sung alternately hymns to Christ as to a god; that they engaged themselves by oath, not to any crime, but not

¹ Est ita natura comparatum, ut antiquiora beneficia subvertas, nisi illa posterioribus cumules. Nam, quamlibet sæpe obligati, si quid unum neges, hoc solum meminere, quod negatum est.

² In Panegyri. Traj.

³ Tunc ego qui vir et quantus esset, ultissimè inopxi: quem sequeretur ut magistrum, ut parentem vereretur: quod non tam etatis maturitate, quam vita, merebatur. Ep. xlii. l. 5.

⁴ Ep. xlvii. l. 10.

to rob or commit adultery; to be faithful to their promise, and not to secrete or deny deposits: That after this it was their custom to separate, and then to reassemble, in order to eat promiscuously some simple and innocent food:¹ That they had ceased to do so since my edict, by which, according to your orders, I had prohibited all assemblies whatsoever. These depositions convinced me more than ever, that it was necessary to extort the truth by force of torments out of two virgin slaves, whom they said were priestesses of their worship: but I discovered only a bad kind of superstition, carried to excess; and for that reason have suspended every thing till I have your farther orders. The affair seems worthy of your reflection, from the multitude of those involved in the danger. For great numbers of all ages, sexes, and conditions, are liable to this accusation. This contagious evil has not only infected the cities, but has reached the villages and country. I believe however that it may be remedied, and that a stop may be put to it: and it is certain that the temples, which were almost entirely abandoned, are now frequented; and that the long neglected sacrifices are renewed. Victims are sold every where, which before had few purchasers. From this it may be judged what numbers may be reclaimed, if pardon be granted to repentance."

The Emperor Trajan's Answer to Pliny. 2

"You have, most dear Pliny, taken the method you ought in proceeding against the Christians brought before you: for it is impossible to establish a certain and general form in affairs of such a nature. It is not necessary to make strict inquiry after those people: but if they are accused and convicted, they must be punished. However, if the accused denies that he is a Christian, and proves he is not by his behaviour, I mean by invoking the gods, it is proper to pardon him on his repentance, whatever causes of suspicion may before have been laid to his charge. *For the rest, anonymous information ought not to be received in any kind of crime: for that were of pernicious example, and does not suit the times in which we live.*"³

I leave it to the reader to make the reflections, these two letters naturally suggest, upon the magnificent praise they include of the purity of manners of the primitive Christians, the amazing progress Christianity had already made in so few years, even to occasion the temples to be abandoned; the incredible number of the faithful of all ages, sexes, and condition; the authentic testimony rendered by a Pagan of the belief of the divinity of Jesus Christ generally established amongst those faithful; the remarkable contradiction of Trajan's opinion, for if the Christians were criminal, it was just to make strict inquiry after them, and if not, it was unjust to punish them though accused; and lastly, upon the maxim taken from the law of nature, with which the emperor concludes his letter, in declaring, that he should deem it a dishonour to his age, if, in any crime whatsoever, (the expression is general) regard were had to informations without the names of their authors.

On Pliny's return to Rome, he resumed business and his employments. His first wife being dead without children, he married a second named Calphurnia. As she was very young, and had good natural talents, he found no difficulty in inspiring her with a taste for polite learning. It became her sole passion; but she reconciled it so well with her affection for her husband, that it could not be said whether she loved Pliny for polite learning, or polite learning for Pliny.⁴

¹ Affirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ sum, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die autem locum convenire: carmenque Christo, quasi deo, dicere secum invicem; seque sacramenta non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellari abnegarent: quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium.

² Ep. xviij.

³ Sine auctore verò propositi libelli nullo crimine locum habere debuit. Nam et pessimi exempli, nec nostri seculi est.

⁴ Ep. xix. l. 4.

When he was to plead some important cause she always had several persons waiting to bring her the first news of his success, and the emotion that expectation occasioned ceased only with their return. If he read any oration or other piece to an assembly of his friends, she never failed to contrive herself some place, whence behind a curtain she might overhear the applauses given him. Her husband's works were continually in her hand, and with no other art but love for her master, she composed airs upon the lyre to his verses. His letters to her show how far he carried his tenderness for a wife so worthy of his affection and esteem.⁵ "You tell me that my absence gives you pain, and that your sole consolation is reading my works, and often laying them by you in my place. I am transported with joy that you desire me so ardently, and at your manner of consoling yourself. As for me, I read your letters over, and am perpetually opening them again as if they were new ones. But they only serve to aggravate the regret I feel in wanting you. For what felicity must one not find in the conversation of her, whose letters have such charms! Fail not, however, to write often to me, though it gives me a kind of pleasure that torments me." In another letter⁶ he says: "I conjure you most earnestly, to prevent my anxiety by one and even two letters every day. I shall at least feel hope while I read them, though I fall into my first alarms afterwards." In a third,⁷ "To tell you to what a degree your absence affects me would seem incredible. I pass the greater part of my nights in thinking of you. In the day and at the hours I used to see you, my feet in a manner carry me of themselves to your apartment; and not finding you there, I return with as much sadness and confusion, as if I had been refused entrance."

After having received some hurt at her first time of being with child, she recovered, and lived a considerable time, but left him no issue.⁸

Neither the time nor circumstances of Pliny's death are known.

I have not pretended hitherto to give an exact and continued account of Pliny's actions, but only an idea of his character by some events more remarkable than others, and consequently the most proper for making it known. I shall with the same view add some other facts, without confining myself to the order of time, and shall reduce them to four or five heads.

I. Pliny's application to study.

It had been strange if Pliny, brought up in the sight and under the care of his uncle Pliny the naturalist, had wanted a taste for the sciences, and indeed had not devoted himself entirely to them. We may believe that in his first studies he followed the plan he laid down for a young man who had consulted him upon that subject. As this letter may be useful to youth, I shall insert part of it here.⁹

"You ask me in what manner I would advise you to study. One of the best methods, according to the opinion of many, is to translate Greek into Latin, or Latin into Greek. By that you will acquire justness and beauty of diction, happiness and grace of figures, and facility in expressing your sense; besides, in that imitation of the most excellent authors, you will insensibly contract a habit of thinking and expressing yourself like them. A thousand things which escape a man that reads, do not escape a translator. Translation enlarges the mind, and forms the taste. You may also, after having read something only for the sake of making it your subject, treat it yourself, with the resolution not to be excelled by your original. You may then compare your work with your author's, and carefully examine what he has done better than you, and you better than him. What a joy will it be to you, to perceive yours sometimes the best; and how much will it redouble your emulation, should you find yourself always the inferior! I know your present study is the eloquence of the bar: but for the attainment of that, I would not advise you to

⁵ Ep. vii. l. 6.

⁶ Ep. x. l. 8.

⁷ Ep. iv. l. 6.

⁸ Ep. ix. l. 7.

⁹ Ep. vii. l. 7.

confine yourself entirely to that contentious style, that breathes nothing but war and debate. As fields delight in change of seeds, our minds also require to be exercised in different studies. I would therefore have you sometimes make a fine piece of history your employment, sometimes the composition of a letter, and sometimes verses——It is in this manner the greatest orators, and even the greatest men, have exercised or unbended themselves; or rather have exercised and unbended both together. It is amazing how much these little works awaken and exhilarate the genius. I have not said what it is necessary to read, though the having mentioned what it is proper to write, sufficiently speaks that. Remember only to make a good choice of the best authors in every kind; for it has been well said, that it is necessary to read much, but not many things."¹

We have seen that Pliny at the age of fourteen wrote a Greek tragedy, and afterwards exercised himself in the several species of poetry. He was much delighted with reading Livy. He admired the ancients, without being of the number of those, who despise the moderns.² I cannot believe, says he, that nature is become so barren and exhausted, as to produce nothing valuable in our days.

He tells a friend³ in what manner he employs himself during the public diversions. "I have passed all these last days in composing and writing with the greatest tranquillity imaginable. You may ask how that is possible in the midst of Rome? It was the time of the shows in the Circus which gave me no manner of pleasure. I see nothing new or varied in them, and consequently nothing worth seeing more than once. This redoubles my astonishment, that so many thousand—and even grave persons—should have a puerile passion for seeing horses run, and men driving chariots, so often. When I consider this insatiable desire to see these trifling common sights over and over again, I feel a secret satisfaction in taking no pleasure in such things, and am glad to employ a leisure in polite studies, which others throw away upon such frivolous amusement."⁴

We see study was his whole joy and consolation.⁵ "Literature," says he, "is my diversion and comfort; and I know nothing so agreeable as it is to me, and nothing so mortifying as not to be softened by it. In my grief for my wife's indisposition, the sickness of my family, and even the deaths of some of them, I find no remedy but study.⁶ It indeed makes me more sensible of adversity, but renders me also more capable of bearing it."

II. Pliny's esteem and attachment for persons of virtue and learning.

All the great men of his age, all who were most distinguished by eminent virtues, were Pliny's friends: Virginius Rufus, who refused the empire; Corellius, who was considered as a perfect model of wisdom and probity; Helvidius, the admiration of his times; Rusticus Arulenus and Senecio, whom Domitian put to death; and Cornutus Tertullus, who was several times his colleague. He thought it also highly for his honour to have contracted a particular amity with the persons, who made the greatest figure then in polite learning, Tacitus, Suetonius, Martial, and Silius Italicus. "I have read your books," says he to Tacitus,⁷ "and have observed with all the exactness in my power, what I believe it necessary to alter and retrench: for I love no less to speak truth, than you

to hear it; besides, no people are more docile to reproof, than those who deserve most praise.⁸ I expect that you will send back my book in your turn with your corrections. Agreeable, charming exchange! How much am I delighted to think, that if posterity sets any value upon us, it will publish to the end of time with what freedom, simplicity, and friendship we lived together.⁹ It will be something rare and remarkable, that two men almost of the same age, of the same rank, and of some reputation in the republic of letters, (for I am reduced to speak modestly of you, when I join you with myself) should have assisted each other's studies so faithfully. As for me, from my most early youth, the reputation and glory you had acquired, made me desirous of imitating you, and of treading, and of appearing to tread, in your steps, not near you, but nearer than another. It was not because Rome had not at that time abundance of geniuses of the first rank: but among them all the similitude of our inclinations pointed out you, as the most proper, as the most worthy of being imitated. This is what highly augments my joy, as often as I hear it said, that, when conversation turns upon polite learning, we are named together."

We may conceive how studious Pliny was to oblige the historian Suetonius, from what he writes of him to a friend. This letter,¹⁰ though short, is one of the most elegant of his come down to us. "Suetonius, who lodges with me, is for buying a little spot of land, which one of your friends is disposed to sell. Favour me so far, I beg you, as not to let him give more for it than it is worth; which will make him like his purchase. A bad bargain is always disagreeable; but most so, in seeming to reproach us with imprudence. This bit of land, if not too dear, has many temptations for my friend: its small distance from Rome, the goodness of the ways, the mediocrity of its build-ings, with its appurtenances more fit to amuse than employ. For these men of learning, devoted like him to study, want only as much land as is necessary for unbending their minds and delighting their eyes in good air. A single alley to walk in, a back way into the fields, and as many vines and plants as they can be acquainted with without burdening their memories, abundantly suffice them. I tell you all this, that you may know the better how much he will be obliged to me, and I to you, if he can buy this little place, with these recommendations, without any reason to repent it."¹¹

Martial, so well known from his epigrams, was also one of Pliny's friends, and the death of that poet gave him great concern.¹² "I am informed," said he, "that Martial is dead, and am very sorry for it. He was an ingenious, subtle, sharp man, and had abundance both of salt and gall, with no less candour, in

¹ Nam et ego verum dicere assuevi, et tu libenter audire. Neque enim ulli patientius reprehenduntur, quam qui maxime laudari merentur.

² O jucundas, o pulcras vires! Quam me delectat, quod, si qua posteris cura nostri, usquequaque narrabitur, qua concordia, fide, simplicitate vixerimus! Erit rarum et insignis, quod homines ætate, dignitate propemodum æquales, nonnulli in literis nominis, (eogor enim de te quoque parcius dicere, quia de me simul dico) alterum alterius studia fovisse.

³ Ep. xxiv. l. 1.

⁴ Tranquillus, contubernalis meus, vult emere agellum, quem venditare amicus tuus dicitur. Rogo cures, quanti æquum est, emat: ita enim delectabit emisse. Nam mala emptio semper ingrata est, eo maxime quod exprobare stultitiam domino videtur. In hoc autem agello (si modo arri-serit pretium), Tranquilli mei stomachum multa sollicitat: vicinitas urbis, opportunitas vite, mediocritas villæ, modus roris, qui avocet magis quam distringat. Scholasticis parvo studiosis, ut hic est, sufficit abunde tantum soli, ut relevare caput, rescindere oculos, reptare per limitem, unanque semitam terere, omnesque viticulas suas nosse, et numerare arbusculas possint. Hæc tibi exposui, quo magis scires, quantum tibi esset mihi, quantum ego tibi debituus, si prædolum istud, quod commendatur his dotibus, tam salubriter emerit, ut penitentiam locum non relinquat. Vale. M. Rollin adds, "that the French tongue cannot render the delicacy and elegance of the diminutives and frequentatives scattered in abundance throughout this little letter." Agellum Venditare. Reptare per limitem. Viticulas. Arbusculas. Prædolum.

⁵ Ep. xxi. l. 3.

¹ Aiant multum legendum esse, non multa.

² Sum ex iis qui mirer antiquos; non tamen, ut quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio. Neque enim quasi lassæ et effusa natura, ut nihil jam laudabile pariat. Ep. xxi. l. 6.

³ Ep. vi. l. 9.

⁴ Quos ego (quosdam graves homines) cum recorder in re inani, frigida, assidua, tam insatiabiliter desidere, capio aliquam voluptatem, quod hæc voluptate non capiatur. Ac per hos dies libentissimè otium meum in literis colloco, quos alii otiosissimi occupationibus perdunt.

⁵ Ep. xiv. l. 8.

⁶ Ad unicum doloris levamentum studia consugio, quæ præstant ut adversa magis intelligam, sed patientius feram.

⁷ Ep. xx. l. 7.

his writings.¹ When he left Rome, I gave him something to help him on his journey; which little assistance I owed him, as well on account of our friendship, as the verses he had made for me. It was the ancient custom to confer rewards either of honour or profit, upon such as had written in praise of cities or certain individuals. But that custom, with many others no less noble and decent, is one of the last in modern practice. Ever since we have ceased to do what deserved praise, we have despised it as a thing of no value."² Pliny repeats the passage of those verses, in which the poet, addressing himself to his muse, bids her go to Pliny at his house upon the Esquiline hill, and approach him with respect.

Sed ne tempore non tuo disertam
Pulvis ebria januam, videto,
Totus dat tetricæ dies Minervæ,
Dum centum studet auribus vironum
Hoc quod secula posterique possint
Arpinis quoque comparare chartis.
Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas:
Hæc hora est tua, cum furit Lyæus,
Quum regnat rosa, quum madent capilli.
Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones.

Mr. Sacy has translated these verses into French, thus:

Prends garde, petite ivrognesse,
De n'aller pas, à contre-temps,
Troubler les emplois importants
Du soir au matin l'occupe sa sagesse.
Respecte les moments qu'il donne à des discours
Qui font le charme de nos jours,
Et que tout l'avenir, admirant notre Plinio
Sera comparer aux Oracles d'Arpine.
Prends l'heure que les douces propos,
Enfants des verres et des pots,
Ouvrent tout l'esprit à la joie;
Qu'il se détend, qu'il se déploie
Qu'on traite les sages de sots;
Et qu'alors, en humeur de rire,
Les plus Catons te puissent lire.

[The same verses in English.]

Wanton muse, awhile forbear,
Of improper times beware;
Knock not at his learned gate;
All day long affairs of weight—
A thousand hearers all day long
To his charming accents throng;
Strains so sweetly wise, so rare,
Future ages shall compare
To those of Arpinus's son,³
Though from Greece the palm he won.
Stir not there till evening hours,
Till Bacchus reigns, and softer powers;
When crowned with roses, sweet with oils,
Mirth laughs at care, and learned toils:
Then take thy time devoid of fear,
When Cato's self thy lays would hear.

"Do you not think," says Pliny in concluding his letter, "that the man who wrote of me in these terms, well deserved some tokens of my affection at his departure, and of my grief at his death?"

He also very much lamented that of Silius Italicus, on whose poetry he passes a judgment entirely just.⁴ "He wrote verses," says he, "with more art than genius."⁵ An incurable abscess having given him a disgust for life, he ended his days by a voluntary abstinence from food.

III. Pliny's Liberality.

Pliny, in comparison with some of the rich persons of Rome, had but a very moderate fortune, but a soul truly great, and the most noble sentiments. Of this his almost innumerable liberalities are an undoubted proof. I shall relate only a part of them. He had laid down principles to himself upon this head which

well deserve attention: "In my opinion," says he, "a man truly liberal should give to his country, his relations by blood or marriage, and his friends, but his friends in necessity."⁶ This is the order in giving that equity prescribes, and which he followed exactly.

We have already seen that he made a very generous present to Quintilian his master, towards the portion of his daughter on her marriage, and assisted Martial when he retired from Rome. Of these two friends, the latter was in necessity, and the other was not rich.⁷

He had given his nurse a small estate in land, which at the time he gave it her, was worth an hundred thousand sesterces, or about six hundred pounds. What great lords of modern date act in this manner? Pliny, however, calls this a little present: *Munusculum*. And after bestowing this piece of land, we find him make his nurse's income from it his care. He writes to the person who had the care of it, to recommend the improvement of it to him. "For," adds he, "she who received this little farm, has not more interest in its produce, than I who gave it her."

Seeing Calvina, whom he had partly portioned out of his own fortune, upon the point of renouncing the inheritance of her father Calvinus's estate, through fear that it was not sufficient to discharge his debts to Pliny, he wrote to her not to affront her father's memory in that manner, and to determine her, sent her a general acquittance.⁸

Upon another occasion he gave Romanus three hundred thousand sesterces (almost nineteen hundred pounds) to purchase him the estate necessary to qualify him for being admitted into the order of Roman knights.⁹

Corellia, the sister of Corellius Rufus, for whom Pliny had always a great respect during his life, bought lands of him at the price of seven hundred thousand sesterces. Upon better information she found those lands worth nine hundred thousand, and pressed him earnestly to take the overplus, but could not prevail upon him to do so.¹⁰ Fine contest this between justice and generosity, in which the buyer's delicacy and the seller's noble disinterestedness are equally admirable! Where shall we find such behaviour now?

Some merchants had purchased his vintage at a very reasonable price, from the hopes of gaining considerably by it. They were disappointed; and he returned money to them all. The reason he gives for it is still more admirable than the thing itself. "I think it no less noble to do justice in one's own house, than from the tribunal; in small than great affairs; and in one's own, as well as in those of other people."¹¹

What he did for his country still exceeds every thing I have said hitherto.¹² The inhabitants of Coma, not having any master among them for the education of their children, were obliged to send them to other cities. Pliny, who had the heart both of a son and a father for his country, made the inhabitants sensible of the advantages that would attend the education of their youth at Coma itself. "Where," says he to their parents, "can they have a more agreeable residence than their country? where form their manners with more safety, than in the sight of their fathers and mothers? and where will their expenses be less than at home? Is it not best for your children to receive their education in the same place where they had their birth, and to accustom themselves from their infancy to love to reside in their native country?"¹³ He offered to contribute one-third towards a foundation for the subsistence of masters, and thought it neces-

⁶ Volo eum, qui sit verè liberalis, tribuere patriæ, propinquis, affinibus, amicis, sed amicis pauperibus. Ep. xxx. l. 9.

⁷ Ep. lii. l. 6.

⁸ Ep. iv. l. 2.

⁹ Ep. xix. l. 1.

¹⁰ Ep. xiv. l. 7. U

¹¹ Nihil egregium imprimis videtur, ut furis ita domi, ut in magnis ita in parvis, ut in alienis ita in suis, agitare justitiam. Ep. ii. l. 8.

¹² Ep. xiii. l. 4.

¹³ Ubi aut jucundius morarentur, quam in patria; aut pudicius continerentur, quam sub oculis parentum; aut minore sumptu, quam domi?—Edoceantur hic, qui hic nascuntur, statimque ab infantia natale solum amare, frequentare consuescant.

¹ Erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer, et qui plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis, nec candoris minus.

² Fuit moris antiqui, eos qui vel singulorum laudes vel urbium scriperant, aut honoribus aut pecunia ornare: nostris vero temporibus, ut alio speciosa et egregia, ita hoc imprimis exolevit. Nam postquam desissimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus.

³ Cicero. ⁴ Ep. vii. l. 3.

⁵ Scribebat carmina majore cura quam ingenio.

sary to leave the rest of the expense upon the parents, in order to render them the more attentive in choosing good teachers from the necessity of the contribution, and the interest they would have in seeing their expense well bestowed. He did not confine himself to this donation.¹ For as he says elsewhere, liberality once on foot knows not how or where to stop, and has still the more charms the more we use it.² He founded a library there, with annual pensions for a certain number of young persons of family, whose fortunes did not afford them the necessary supplies for study. He had accompanied the institution of this library with a discourse, which he pronounced in the presence only of the principal citizens. He afterwards deliberated whether he should publish it. "It is hard," says he, "to speak of one's own actions without giving reason to judge that we do not speak of them merely because we did them, but did them for the sake of speaking of them. As for me, I do not forget that a great soul is far more affected with the secret reports of conscience, than the most advantageous ones of common fame. Our actions ought not to follow glory, but glory them; and if through the caprice of fortune they do not find it, we ought not to believe, that what has deserved it, loses any thing of its value."³

It is not easy to comprehend how a private person was capable of so many liberalities. This he explains himself in a letter to a lady, to whom he had made a considerable remittance. "Do not fear," says he, "that such a present will distress me: pray make yourself easy upon that head. My fortune indeed is not large. My rank requires expense, and my income, from the nature of my estate, is no less casual than moderate. But what I want on that side, I find in frugality; the most assured source of my liberality." *Quod cessat ex reductis, frugalitatis suppletur: ex qua, velut e fonte, liberalitas nostra decurrit.* What a lesson, and at the same time what a reproach is this to those young noblemen, who with immense estates, do no good to any body, and often die much in debt.⁴ They are lavish to prodigality upon luxury and pleasures, but close and cruel to insensibility to their friends and domestics. "Ever remember," says Pliny, speaking to a young man of distinction, "that nothing is more to be avoided, than that monstrous mixture of avarice and prodigality, which prevails so much in our times; and that, if one of these vices suffice to blast a person's reputation, both of them must disgrace him much more."⁵

IV. Pliny's Innocent Pleasures.

Pliny's disposition was not rigid and austere. On the contrary he was extremely facetious, and took pleasure in conversing gaily with his friends. *Aliquando rideo, joco, ludo: utque omnia innoxia remissionis genera complectar, homo sum.*⁶

He was very glad to see his friends at his table, and often gave and accepted entertainments, but such of which temperance, conversation, and reading, made the principal part. "I shall come to supper with you," says he to a friend, "upon condition, however, that we have nothing but what is plain and frugal, except only conversation in abundance, after the manner of Socrates; and not much either even of that."⁷

He reproaches another with⁸ not having kept his promise with him. "On my word you shall hear of it.

You put me to the expense of providing a supper for you, and do not come to it. Justice is to be had at Rome. You shall pay me to the last farthing, which is more perhaps than you imagine. I had got each of us a lettuce, three snails, two eggs, a cake, with muscadell wine and ice. Besides which we had Spanish olives, gourds, shalots, and a thousand other meats to the full as delicious. But you were better pleased at I know not who's, with oysters, sow's belly stuffed, and scarce fish. I shall certainly punish you for it."

He describes one of his parties of hunting⁹ with all the wit and pleasantry imaginable. "I know you will laugh, and consent that you do laugh as much as you please. That very Pliny, whom you know, has caught three wild boars; and very large ones too. What, himself? say you. Himself. Do not believe, however, that they cost my indolence much. I sat down near the nets: I had neither spear nor dart by me, but I had my book and a pen: I meditated, wrote, and in case of my going home with my hands empty, had provided myself with the consolation of having my leaves full."¹⁰

Hence we see study was his darling passion. That taste followed him universally, at table, in hunting, and wherever he went. He employed in it all the intervals of time, which were not passed in the service of the public: for he had laid it down to himself as a law, always to give business the preference to pleasure, and the solid to the agreeable.¹¹ This made him desire leisure and retirement so ardently. "Shall I never then," cried he, when oppressed by a multiplicity of affairs, "be able to break the shackles with which I am hampered, since I cannot unbind them? No, I dare not flatter myself with that. Every day some new care augments my old ones. One business is no sooner at an end than another rises up. The chains of my occupation are perpetually multiplying and growing more heavy."¹²

In writing to a friend,¹³ who employed his leisure like a wise man in a delightful retirement, he could not avoid envying him. "It is thus," says he, "that a person no less distinguished in the functions of the magistrate, than the command of armies, and who has devoted himself to the service of the commonwealth as long as honour required it, ought to pass his age. We owe our first and second stage of life to our country, but the last to ourselves. The laws seem to advise us, in granting us our quietus at sixty. When shall I be at liberty to enjoy rest? At what age shall I be permitted to imitate so glorious a retirement: and when will it be possible for mine not to be called sloth, but honourable leisure?"¹⁴

He never thought he lived or breathed, but when he could steal from the town to one of his country houses, for he had several. His agreeable description of them sufficiently shows the pleasure he took in them. He speaks of his orchards, his kitchen, and pleasure gardens, his buildings, and especially of the places that were in a manner the work of his own hands, with that joy and satisfaction which every man feels who builds or plants in the country. He calls these places his delights, his loves, and his real loves: *amores mei, re vera amores: ipse possui.*¹⁵ And in another place: *præterea indulus amori meo; amo enim quæ maxima ex parte ipse inchoavi, aut inchoata percolui.*¹⁶ "Am I in the wrong," says he to one of his friends, "for being so fond of this retreat; for making it my joy, and for staying so long at it?" And in another letter: "Here are neither the offensive, nor the impertinent. All here is calm, all peace: and as the goodness of

¹ Ep. viii. l. 1.

² Necesse enim semel incitata liberalitas stare, cujus pulcritudinem usus ipse commendat. *Epist.* xii. l. 3.

³ Meminimus, quanto majore animo honestatis fructus in conscientiam, quam in fama, reputatur. Sequi enim gloria, non appeti debet: nec, si easi aliquo non sequatur, ideoque quod gloriam non meruit, minus pulcrum est. Si vero qui benefacta sua verbis adornant, non ideo prædicare quæ fecerint, sed ut prædicantur fecisse creduntur.

⁴ Ep. iv. l. 2.

⁵ Memento nihil magis esse vitandum, quam istam luxuriam et sordium novam societatem: quæ cum sint turpissima discretæ ac separata, turpidius junguntur. *Ep.* vi. l. 2.

⁶ Ep. iii. l. 5.

⁷ Veniam ad cenam: sed jam nunc paciscor, sit expedita, sit parca, Socraticis tantum sermonibus abundet: in his quoque teneat modum. *Ep.* xii. l. 3.

⁸ Ep. xv. l. 1.

⁹ Vol. II.—66

⁹ Ep. vi. l. 1.

¹⁰ Ut si manus vacuas, plenas tamen ceras reportarem.

¹¹ Hunc ordinem secutus sum, ut necessitates voluptatibus, seria jucundis antefeream. *Ep.* xxi. l. 8.

¹² Nunquam-ne hos artissimos laqueos, si solvere negatur, abrupiam? Nunquam, puto. Nam veteribus negotiis nova accrescut, nec tamen priora peraguntur: tot nexibus, tot quasi calenis majus in dies occupationum agmen extenditur. *Ep.* viii. l. 2.

¹³ Ep. xiii. l. 4.

¹⁴ Nam et prima vitæ tempora et media patriæ, extrema nobis impertiri debemus, ut ipse leges movent, quæ majoris annis sexaginta otio reddunt.

¹⁵ Ep. xvii. l. 2.

¹⁶ Ep. vi. l. 5.

the climate makes the sky more serene, and the air more pure, my body is in better health, and my mind more free and vigorous. The one I exercise in hunting, and the other in study."

Pliny's Ardour for Reputation and Glory.

It is not to be doubted but that glory was the soul of Pliny's virtues. His application, leisure, diversions, studies, all tended that way. It was a maxim with him, that the only ambition which suited an honest man, was either to do things worthy of being written, or to write things worthy of being read.¹ He did not deny, that the love of glory was his darling passion. "Every body judges differently of human happiness.² For my part, I think no man so happy as he who enjoys a great and solid reputation; and who, assured of the voices of posterity, tastes beforehand all the glory it intends him. Nothing affects me so much," says he, "as the desire of surviving long in the remembrance of mankind; a disposition truly worthy of a man, and especially of one, who having nothing to reproach himself with, does not fear the judgment of posterity."³ The celebrated Thrasea used to say, that an orator ought to charge himself with three kinds of causes: those of his friends, those who want protection, and those of which the consequences may be of an exemplary nature—"I shall add to these three kinds," says Pliny again, "perhaps as a man not without ambition, great and famous causes. For it is just to plead sometimes for reputation and glory, that is to say, to plead one's own cause."⁴

He passionately desired that Tacitus would write his history;⁵ but, less vain than Cicero, he did not ask him to embellish it with lies: *mendaciusculis aspergere*. "My actions," says he to that historian, "will in your hands become more great, remarkable, and shining. I do not, however, desire you to exaggerate them: for I know, that history ought never to depart from truth, and that truth does sufficient honour to good actions."⁶ I do not know whether I had reason for saying, that Pliny was less vain than Cicero, and whether Cicero ought not to be deemed the more modest, because the more sincere. He knew what he wanted, and asked an officious supplement of that. But Pliny does not believe he has occasion either for favour or aid. He is more satisfied with his own merit. It is sufficiently great, solid, and noble, to support itself alone for the view of posterity. It has no occasion for any thing, besides an elevation of style, to convey the simple truth down to future ages without any foreign addition.

Pliny often assembled a number of his select friends, in order to read his compositions either in verse or prose to them. He declares in several letters, that he did this with the view of making use of their advice; which might be: but the desire of being praised and admired had a great share in it, for he was very sensible in that point. "I represent to myself already the crowd of hearers,"⁷ (he speaks to a friend whom he advises to read his works in the same manner,) "the transports of admiration, the applauses, and even that silence, which, while I speak in public, or read my compositions, is scarce less charming than the loudest applauses, when it proceeds solely from at-

tention, and an impatient desire of hearing what remains."⁸

He was highly offended at the mute and supercilious behaviour of some hearers, when it concerned his friends.⁹ "An excellent work was read in an assembly to which I was invited. Two or three persons, who considered themselves better judges than all the rest of us, heard it as if they had been deaf and dumb. They never opened their lips, made the least motion, or so much as rose up, unless it was when they were weary of sitting. What contradiction, or rather what folly was this, to pass a whole day in mortifying a man, to whose house they came only to express friendship and esteem for him!"¹⁰

He did noble actions; but was well pleased that they should be known, and himself praised for them. "I do not deny," says he, "that I am not so wise, as to be indifferent to that kind of reward, which virtue finds in the testimony and approbation of many."¹¹

Pliny is censured for speaking often of himself, but he cannot be reproached with speaking only of himself. No man ever took more pleasure in extolling the merit of others; which he carried so far as to occasion his being accused of praising to excess, a fault against which he was very far either from defending himself, or being willing to correct.¹² "You tell me, that I am reproached by some people with praising my friends to excess upon all occasions. I confess my crime, and glory in it. For can there be any thing more generous, than to err through such an indulgence of one's self? And pray who are those people, who believe they know my friends better than I do? Granted they do, wherefore do they envy me so grateful an error? For suppose my friends are not what I say, I am always happy in believing they are. Let me therefore advise these censurers to apply their malignant delicacy to those who believe there is wit and judgment in criticising their friends: as for me, they shall never persuade me, that I love mine too well."

Have I not expatiated too far upon Pliny's private character, and will not the extracts I have made from his letters, appear to the reader too long and abundant? I am afraid they will, and confess my weakness. These characters of integrity, probity, generosity, love of public good, which, to the misfortune of our age, are become so rare, transport me out of myself, ravish my admiration, and make me incapable of abridging my descriptions of them. And indeed, I repeat it again, is there a more gentle, desirable, social, and amiable character, in every respect, than that of which I have been endeavouring so long to give some idea? How agreeable is the intercourse of life with such friends; and how happy is it for the public, when such beneficent persons as Pliny, void of capricious humour, passion, and prejudice, fill the first offices of a state, and make it their study to soften and remove the distresses of those with whom they have to do?

I was wrong in saying that Pliny was void of passion. Exempt as he was from such, as in the judgment of the world dishonour men, he had one, less gross and more delicate indeed, but not less warm and vicious in the sight of the Supreme Judge, whatever endeavours the general corruption of the human heart may make to enoble it, by giving it almost the name of virtue:—I mean, that excessive love of glory, which was the soul of all his actions and undertakings. Pliny and all the rest of the illustrious writers of the Pagan world, were solely engrossed by the desire and care of living in the remembrance of posterity, and of transmitting their names to future ages by writing, which they were in hopes would endure as long as the world, and obtain them a kind of immortality, with which they were blind enough to content themselves.

¹ Equidem beatos puto, quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda. Ep. xvi. l. 6.

² Alius alium, ego beatissimum existimo, qui bonæ mansuetudine famæ præsumptione perfuritur, certusque posteritatis cum futura gloria vivit.

³ Mi nihil æquè ac diuturnitatis amor et cupidus sollicitat: res homine dignissima, præsertim qui nullius sibi conscius culpæ, posteritatis memoriam non reformidet.

⁴ Ad hæc ego genera causarum, ambitiosè fortasse, addam tamen claras et illustres. Equum enim est ngere nonnullam gloriæ et famæ, id est suam causam.

⁵ Ep. xxxii. l. 7.

⁶ Hæc, utcumque se habent, notiora, clariora, majora tu facies: quamquam non exigo ut excedas ætæ rei modum. Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honestè factis veritas sufficit.

⁷ Imaginor qui concursus, quæ admiratio te, qui clamor, quod etiam silentium maneat: quæ quo, cum dico vel recito, non minus quam clamore delector, sit modò silentium acre, et intentum, et cupidum ulteriora audiendi.

⁸ Ep. x. l. 2.

⁹ Ep. xvii. l. 4.

¹⁰ Quæ sinisteritas, ac potius amentia, in hoc totum diem impendere, ut offendas, ut inimicum relinquas, ad quem tantum amicitissimum venioris.

¹¹ Neque enim sum tam sapiens, ut nihil mea intersit, an illis quæ honestè fecisse me credo testificatio quædam et quasi præmium accedat. Ep. l. i. 5.

¹² Ep. xxviii. l. 7.

Could any thing be more uncertain, precarious, and frivolous, than this hope? Could not time, which has abolished the greatest part of the works of these vain men, have also abolished the little that remains of them? To what are they indebted for the fragments of them that have escaped the general shipwreck? The little of theirs come down to us, does it prevent all that belongs to them, even their very names, from having perished totally throughout all Africa, Asia, and great part of Europe? Had it not been for the studies kept up by the Christian church, would not barbarism have annihilated their works and names throughout the universe? How vain, how trifling then is the felicity, upon which they relied, and to which they wholly devoted themselves! Have not those, who were the admiration of their own times, fallen into the abyss of death and oblivion, as well as the most ignorant and stupid? We, whom religion has better instructed, should be very blind and void of reason, if, destined by the grace of our Saviour to a blessed immortality, we suffered ourselves to be dazzled by imaginary greatness, and the phantom of an eternity in idea.

The extracts I have made from his letters, are more than sufficient to make the reader acquainted with his genius and manners: it remains for me to give an idea of his style by some extracts from his panegyric upon Trajan, which is an extremely elaborate piece of eloquence, and has always been considered as his masterpiece.

Panegyric upon Trajan.

I have already observed, that Pliny, after his being appointed consul by Trajan, in conjunction with Cornutus Tertellus his intimate friend, received the senate's orders to make that prince's panegyric in the name of the whole empire. He addresses his discourse always to the emperor, as if present. If he were really so, for it is doubted, it must have cost his modesty a great deal: but whatever repugnance he might have to hearing himself praised to his face, which is always very disagreeable, he did not think it proper to oppose the decree of so venerable an assembly. It is easy to judge that Pliny, on that occasion, exerted all his faculties; to which no doubt the warmth of his gratitude added new force. Some extracts, which I am going to make from that piece, will at the same time show the eloquence of its author, and the admirable qualities of the prince it praises.

General praise of Trajan.

"Sæpe ego mecum, patres conscripti, tacitus agitari, qualem quantumque esse oporteret cujus ditione nutuque maria, terræ, pax, bella, regerentur: cum interea fingenti formantique mihi principem, quem æquata diis immortalibus potestas deceret, nunquam voto saltem concipere succurrat similem huic quem viderimus. Enituit aliquis in bello, sed obsolevit in pace. Alium toga, sed non et arma honestarunt. Reverentiam ille terrore, alius amorem humanitate captavit. Ille quæsitam domi gloriam, in publico; hic in publico partam, domi perdidit. Postremo, adhuc nemo extitit, cujus virtutes nullo vitiorum confinio laderentur. At principi nostro quanta concordia quantusque concentus omnium laudum omnique gloriæ contigit; ut nihil severitati ejus hilaritati, nihil gravitati simplicitati, nihil majestati humanitate detrabatur! Jam firmitas, jam proceritas corporis, jam honor capitis, et dignitas oris, ad hoc ætatis indelæxa maturitas, nec sine quodam munere deum festinatis senectutis insignibus ad augendam majestatem ornata cassaries, nonne longè lateque principem ostentant?"

"I have often endeavoured, fathers, to form to myself an idea of the great qualities which a person worthy of ruling the universe absolutely by sea and land, in peace and war, ought to have; and I confess, that when I have imagined, according to my best discretion, a prince capable of sustaining with honour a power comparable to that of the gods, my utmost wishes have never rose so high, as even to conceive one like him we now see. Some have acquired glory in war, but lost it in peace. The gown has given

others fame, but the sword disgrace.¹ Some have made themselves respected by terror, and others beloved by humanity. Some have known how to conciliate esteem in their own houses, but not to preserve it in public; and some to merit reputation in public, which they have ill sustained at home. In a word, we have seen none hitherto, whose virtues have not suffered some alloy from the neighbouring vices. But in our prince, what an assemblage of all excellent qualities, what an union of every kind of glory, do we not behold; his severity losing nothing by his cheerfulness, his gravity by the simplicity of his manners, nor the majesty of his power and person by the humanity of his temper and actions! The strength and gracefulness of his body, the elegance of his features, the dignity of his aspect, the healthy vigour of his maturer years, his hoary hair, which the gods seem to have made white before the time only to render him the more venerable; do they not all combine to point out, to speak, the sovereign of the world?"

Trajan's conduct in the Army.

"Quid cum solatium fessis militibus, ægris opem ferres? Non tibi moris tua inire tentoria, nisi commilitonum ante lustrasses; nec requiem corpori, nisi post omnes, dare. Hac mihi admiratione dignus imperator non videretur, si inter Fabricios, et Scipiones, et Camillos talis esset. Tunc enim illum imitacionis ardor, semperque melior aliquis accenderet. Postquam vero studium armorum à manibus ad oculos, ad voluptatem à labore translatus est, quam magnum est unum ex omnibus patrio more, patria virtutè lætari, et sine æmulo ac sine exemplo cunctare, secum contendere: ac, sicut imperat solus, solum ita esse qui debeat imperare!"

"In your care of the tired and wounded soldiers, in which none ever were more attentive, was it your custom to retire to your own tent, till after having visited all the rest, or to take repose, till you had first provided for that of the whole army? To find such a general amongst the Fabricii, the Scipios, the Camilli, would seem no great matter of admiration. In those days there was always some great example, some superior, to quicken such ardour, and to kindle in the soul a noble emulation. But now, when we love arms only in the shows of the circus, and have transferred them from the hand to the eye, from fatigue and toil to pastime and amusement, how glorious is it to be the only one in retaining the ancient manners and virtues of his country, and to have no other model to propose, no other rival to contend with, but himself; and as he reigns alone, to be the only person worthy of reigning!"

"Veniet tempus quo posteri visere, visendum tradere minoribus suis gestic, quis sudores tuos hauserit campus, quæ refectiones tuas arbores, quæ somnum saxa prætexerint, quod denique tectum magnus hospes impleveris, ut tunc ipsi tibi ingentium ducum sacra vestigia iisdem in locis monstrabantur."

"The time will come, when posterity will eagerly visit themselves, and show to their children, the plains where you sustained such glorious labours, the trees under which you refreshed yourself with food, the rocks where you slept, and the houses that were honoured with so great a guest: in a word, they will trace your sacred footsteps everywhere, as you have done those in the same places of the great captains you delight so much to contemplate."

"Itaque perinde summis atque infimis carus, sic imperatorem commilitonemque miscueras, ut studium omnium laboremque et tanquam particeps sociusque elevares. Felices illos, quorum fides et industria, non per nuncios et interpretes, sed ab ipso te, nec auribus tuis sed oculis probantur. Consecuti sunt, ut absens quoque de absentibus nemini magis, quam tibi, crederes."

"Dear as you were alike to great and small, you mingled the soldier and general in such a manner, that at the same time your office exacted their whole

¹ At Rome the princes exercised the functions both of magistrates and generals.

obedience and labours as their leader, you softened their toils by sharing in them as their companion. How happy are they to serve you, who are not informed of their zeal and capacity from the reports of others, but are yourself the witness of them in your own person. Hence to their good fortune, even when absent, you rely on none more than yourself in what relates to them."

Trajan's return and entrance into Rome, after his being declared Emperor.

"Ac primum qui dies ille, quo expectatas desideratusque urbem tuam ingressus es!—Non ætas quemquam, non valetudo, non sexus retardavit quominus oculis insolito spectaculo expleret. Te parvuli noscere, ostentare juvenes, mirari senes, ægri quoque neglecto medentium imperio ad conspectum tui, tanquam ad salutem sanitatemque, proripere. Inde alii se satis vixisse te viso, te recepto: alii nunc magis vivendum prædicabant. Feminas etiam tunc fecunditatis suæ maxima voluptas subit, cum cernerent cui principii cives, cui imperatori milites perperissent. Videres referta tecta ac laborantia, ac ne eum quidem vacantem locum, qui non nisi suspensum et instabile vestigium caperet. Oppletas undique vias, angustumque transtem relictum tibi: alacrem hinc atque inde populum: ubique par gaudium, parenique clamorem."

"What shall I say of that day, when your city, after having so long desired and expected you, beheld you enter it?—Neither age, sex, nor health could keep any body from so unusual a sight. The children were eager to know you, the youth to point you out, the old to admire you, and even the sick, without regard to the orders of their physicians, crept out, as if for the recovery of their health, to feed their eyes on you. Some said, that they had lived long enough, since they had seen you; and others, that they only now began to live. The women rejoiced that they had children, when they saw for what prince they had brought forth citizens, for what general, soldiers. The roofs were all crowded and ready to break down under the numbers upon them; the very places where there was scarce room to stand and not upright, were full. The throng was so vast in the streets, that it scarce left you way to pass through it: while the joy and acclamations of the people filled all places, and resounded universally to the heavens."

The Example of the Prince how Powerful.

"Non censuram adhuc, non prefecturam morum recepisti; quia tibi beneficis potius quam remediis ingenia nostra experiri placet. Et alioqui nescio an plus moribus conferat princeps, qui bonos esse patitur, quam qui cogit. Flexibiles quancunque in partem ducimur à principe, atque ut ita dicam, sequaces sumus—Vita principis censura est, eaque perpetua: ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc convertimur: nec tam imperio nobis opus est, quam exemplo. Quippe infidelis recti magister est metus. Melius homines exemplis docentur, quæ inprimis hoc in se boni habent, quod approbant quæ præcipiunt, fieri posse."

"You have not yet thought fit to take the censorship upon you, nor to charge yourself with inspecting the manners of the people; because you choose rather to try our disposition by kindness and indulgence, than bitter remedies. And indeed, I do not know whether the prince, who honours the virtues of his people, does not contribute more to them, than he who exacts them with rigour.—The life of a prince is a continual censorship: it is to that we adapt ourselves, to that we turn as to our model; and want less his commands than his example. For fear is but a dubious, a treacherous teacher of duty. Examples are of much greater efficacy with men: for they not only direct to virtue, but prove that it is not impossible to practise what they admonish."

Virtue, not Statues, do Honour to Princes.

"Ibit in secula fuisse principem, cui florenti et incolumi nunquam nisi modici, honores, sæpius nulli decernerentur.—Ac mihi intuiti in sapientiam tuam,

minus mirum videtur, quod mortales istos caducosque titulos aut deprecis, aut temperes. Scis enim ubi vera principis, ubi sempiterna sit gloria; ubi sint honores, in quos nihil flammis, nihil senectuti, nihil successoribus liceat. Arcus enim, et statuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur et obscurat oblivio, negligit carpitque posteritas: contra, contemptor ambitionis et infinitæ potestatis domitor ac frenator animus ipsa vetustate florescit, nec ab ullis niagis laudatur, quam quibus minimè necesse est. Prætera, ut quisquis factus est princeps, exemplò fama ejus, incertum bona an mala, cæterum æterna est. Non ergo perpetua principii fama, quæ invitum manet, sed bona concupiscenda est. Ea porro non imaginibus et statuis, sed virtute ac meritis propagatur."

"It will be told in all ages, that there was a prince to whom in the height of glory and good fortune only moderate honours and more frequently none were decreed.—When I consider your profound wisdom, my wonder ceases, on seeing you either decline or moderate these fleeting vulgar titles. You know wherein the true, the immortal glory of a prince consists; you know wherein these honours have their being, which fear neither flames, time, nor the envy of successors. For neither triumphal arches, statues, altars, nor even temples escape oblivion, and the neglect or injuries of posterity. But he, whose exalted soul disdains ambition, and sets due bounds to universal power, shall flourish to the latest period of the world, revered and praised by none so much, as those who are most at liberty to dispense with that homage. The fame of a prince, from the moment he becomes so, whether good or bad, is necessarily eternal. He ought not therefore to desire an immortal name, which he must have whether he will or not, but a good one; and that, not statues and images, but merit and virtue perpetuate."

The Prince's Happiness inseparable from that of the People.

"Fuit tempus, ac nimium diu fuit, quo alia adversa, alia secunda principi et nobis. Nunc communia tibi nobiscum tam læta, quam tristia; nec magis sine te nos esse felices, quam tu sine nobis potes. An, si posses, in fines votorum, adiecisses, ut ita precibus tuis dii amoverent, si judicium nostrum mereri perseverasses?"

"There was a time, and but of too long duration, when our misfortunes and prosperity and the prince's were the reverse of each other. But now our good and evil are one and the same with yours; and we can no more be happy without you, than you without us. Had it been otherwise, would you have added at the end of your public vows, 'That you desired the gods would hear your prayers no longer, than you continued to deserve our love?'"

It is remarkable that a condition was inserted by the order of Trajan himself in the vows made for him by the public: *Si bene rempublicam et ex utilitate omnium rexeris*: that is, "if you govern the commonwealth with justice, and make the good of all mankind the rule of your power." "O vows," cries Pliny, "worthy of being made, worthy of being eternally heard! The commonwealth has, by your guidance, entered into a contract with the gods, that they should be watchful for your preservation, as long as you are so for that of your country: and if you act any thing to the contrary, that they should withdraw their regard and protection from you." "Digna vota, quæ semper suscipiantur, semperque solvantur. Egrot cum diis, ipso te auctore, Respublica, ut te sospitem incolumemque præstarent, si tu cæteros præstitisses: si contra, illi quoque à custodia tui corporis oculos dimoverent."

Admirable Union between the Wife and Sister of Trajan.

"Nihil est tam primum ad similitudines quàm æmulatio, in fœminis præsertim. Ea porro maxinè nascitur ex conjunctione, alitur æqualitate, exardescit invidia, cujus finis est odium. Quo quidem admirabilius existinandum est, quòd mulieribus duabus in una domo parique fortuna nullum certamen, nulla conten-

to est. Suscipiunt invicem, invicem cedunt: cūque te utraque cōmissimē diligit, nihil sua putant interesse utram tu magis aues. Idem utrique propositum, idem tenor vitæ, nihilque ex quo sentias duas esse."

"Nothing is more apt to produce enmity than emulation, especially among women. It generally is most frequent where it should least be found, I mean in families: equality nourishes it, envy inflames it, the end of which is implacable hatred. And this makes our wonder the greater, when we behold two ladies, equal in fortune, in the same palace, between whom there never happens the least difference. They seem to contend in paying respect and giving place to each other; and though they both love you with the utmost tenderness, they do not think which of them you love best of any consequence. Their views, the tenor of their lives, are so much the same, that there is nothing in either from which one can distinguish them to be two persons."

Trajan was sensible to the Joys of Friendship.

"Jam etiam et in privatorum animis exoleverat priscum mortalium bonum amicitia, cujus in locum migraverant assentationes, Blanditæ, et pejor odio amoris simulatio. Etenim in principum domo nomen tantum amicitia, inane scilicet irrisumque, manebat. Nam quæ poterat esse inter eos amicitia, quorum sibi alii domini, alii servi videbantur? Tu hanc pulsam et errantem reduxisti. Habes amicos, quia amicus ipse es. Neque enim, ut alia subjectis, ita amor imperator: neque est ullus affectus tam erectus, et liber, et dominationis impatiens, nec qui magis vices exigit."

"Friendship, that inestimable good, in which of old the happiness of mortals consisted, was banished even from the commerce of private life; and flattery, compliment, and outward profession, the phantom of friendship, more dangerous even than enmity, had assumed its place. If the name of friendship was still known in the court of princes, it was only as the object of contempt and ridicule. For what friendship could subsist between those, who considered each other in the light of masters and slaves? But you have recalled the exile from wandering abroad: you have friends, because you are yourself a friend. For the power of a prince, though he commands without bounds in other things, does not extend to love. Of all the affections of the soul, that is the most free, unbiassed, and averse to constraint; none of them exacting returns with greater rigour."

Absolute Power of the Freedmen under the bad Emperors.

"Plerique principes, cum essent civium domini, libertorum erant servi. Horum consiliis, horum nutu regebantur: per hos audiebant, per hos loquebantur: per hos prætura etiam, et sacerdotia, et consulatus, imò et ab his, petebantur. Tu libertis tuis summum quidem honorem, sed tanquam libertis, habes; abundeque his sufficere credis, si probi et frugi existimentur. Scis enim, præcipuum esse indicium non magni principis, magnos libertos."

"Most of our emperors, while lords of the citizens, were slaves to their freedmen. They governed solely by their counsel and dictates; and had neither will, ears, nor tongues but theirs. By them, or rather from them, all offices, prætor, pontifex, consul, were to be asked. As for you, you have indeed a very high regard for your freedmen, but you regard them as freedmen, and believe them sufficiently honoured in the circumstances of worthy men of moderate fortune. For you know that there is not a more infallible proof of the prince's meanness, than the greatness of his freedmen."

Nothing Exalts the Prince like descending to the Man.

"Cui nihil ad augendum fastigium superest, hic uno modo crescere potest, si se ipse submittat, securus magnitudinis suæ. Neque enim ab illo periculo fortuna principum longius abest, quam ab humilitate."

"To him who has attained the highest fortune, there remains but one manner of exalting himself, and

that is, secure in his greatness, to neglect and descend from it properly. Of all the dangers princes can incur, the least they have to fear, is making themselves cheap by humility."

In what the Greatness of princes Consists.

"Ut felicitatis est quantum velis posse, sic magnitudinis velle quantum possis."

"As it is the highest felicity to be capable of doing all the good you will, so it is the most exalted greatness to desire to do all the good you can."

Of Pliny's Style.

Pliny's panegyric has always passed for his masterpiece, and even in his own time, when many of his pieces of eloquence that had acquired him great reputation at the bar, were extant. In praising as consul and by order of the senate, so accomplished a prince as Trajan, to whose favour he was besides highly indebted, it is not to be wondered that he made an extraordinary effort of genius, as well to express his private gratitude, as the universal joy of the empire. His genius shines out everywhere in this discourse; but his heart is still more evident in it; and all know that true eloquence flows from the heart.¹

When he spoke this panegyric, it was not so long as it is at present.² It was not till after the first essay, that like an able painter, he added new strokes of art to the portrait of his hero; but all taken from the life, and which far from altering the likeness and truth, only rendered them stronger and more sensible. He gives us himself the reason that induced him to act in this manner.³ "My first view," says he, "was to make the emperor (if possible) more in love with his own virtues, by the charms of just and natural praises; and next, to point out to his successors, not as a master, but under the cover of example, the most certain paths to solid glory. For though it be laudable to form princes by precepts, it is difficult, not to say proud and assuming. But to transmit the praises of a most excellent prince to posterity, is setting up a light to guide succeeding emperors, and to the full as useful, with no arrogance." It was not easy for him to have proposed a more perfect model. Trajan may be said to have united all the qualities of a great prince in one only, which was in being perfectly convinced, that he was not emperor for himself, but for his people. But that is not the present question.

The style of his discourse is elegant, florid, and luminous, as that of a panegyric ought to be, in which it is allowable to display with pomp whatever is most shining in eloquence. The thoughts in it are fine, solid, very numerous, and often seem entirely new. The diction, though generally simple enough, has nothing low, or that does not suit the subject, and support its dignity. The descriptions are lively, natural, circumstantial, and full of happy images, which set the object before the eyes, and render it sensible. The whole piece abounds with maxims and sentiments truly worthy of the prince it praises. As fine and eloquent as this discourse is, it cannot however in my opinion be judged of the sublime kind. We do not see in it, as in Cicero's orations, even of the demonstrative kind, those warm and emphatic expressions, noble and sublime thoughts, bold and affecting turns and sallies, and figures full of vivacity and fire, which surprise, astonish, and transport the soul out of itself. His eloquence does not resemble those great rivers, that roll their waves with noise and majesty, but rather a clear and agreeable stream, which flows gently

¹ Pectus est quod disertos facit. *Quintil.*

² Ep. xviii. l. 3.

³ Officium consularis innoxit mihi ut Reip. nomine Principi gratias agerem. Quod ego in Senatu cum ad rationem et loci et temporis ex more scissum, bono civi convenientissimum credidi, eadem illa spatioſis et uberis volumine amplecti. Primum, ut Imperatori nostro virtutes suæ veris laudibus commendarentur: deinde ut futuri Principes, non quasi à magistro, sed tamen sub exemplo præmonerentur, qua potissimum via posset ad eandem gloriam niri. Nam præcipere qualis esse debeat Princeps, plerumque quidem, sed onerosum ac prope superbum est. Laudare verò optimum Principem, ac per hoc posteris, veluti è specula, lumen quod sequantur ostendere, idem utilitatis habet, arrogantia nihil.

under the shade of the trees that adorn its banks. Pliny leaves his reader perfectly calm, and in his natural situation of mind. He pleases, but by parts and passages. A kind of monotony prevails throughout his whole panegyric, which makes it not easy to bear the reading of it to the end; whereas Cicero's longest oration seems the finest, and gives the most pleasure. To this I must add, that Pliny's style savours a little of the taste for antitheses, broken thoughts, and studied turns of phrase, which prevailed in his time. He did not abandon himself to them, but was obliged in some measure to conform to the reigning taste. The same taste is obvious in his letters, but with less offence, because they are all detached pieces, in which such a style does not displease: I believe them however far from being comparable to those of Cicero. But all things rightly considered, Pliny's letters and panegyric deserve the esteem and approbation all ages have given them; to which I shall add, that his translator (into French) ought to share them with him.

Ancient Panegyrics.

There is a collection of Latin orations extant, entitled *Panegyrici veteres*, which contains panegyrics upon several of the Roman emperors. That of Pliny is at the head of them, with eleven of the same kind after it. This collection, besides including many facts not to be found elsewhere, may be of great use to such as have occasion to compose panegyrics. The ancients of a better age supply us with no models of this kind of discourses, except Cicero's oration for the Manilian law, and some parts of his other harangues, which are finished masterpieces of the demonstrative kind. The same beauty and delicacy are not to be expected in the panegyrics of which I am speaking. Remoteness from the Augustan age had occasioned a great decline of eloquence, which no longer retained that ancient purity of language, beauty of expression, sobriety of ornaments, and simple and natural air, that rose when necessary, into an admirable loftiness and sublimity of style. But there is considerable talent in these discourses, with very fine thoughts, happy turns, lively descriptions, and very just commendations.

To give the reader some idea of them, I shall content myself with transcribing two passages here in Latin only. They are extracted from the panegyrics spoken by Nazarius in honour of Constantine the Great, upon the birth-day of the two Cæsars his sons, A. D. 321. St. Jerome mentions this Nazarius as a celebrated orator, and says that he had a daughter no less esteemed than himself for eloquence.

First Passage.

Nazarius speaks here of the two Cæsars. "Nobilissimorum Cæsarum laudes exequi velle, studium quidem dulce, sed non et cura mediocris est; quorum in annis pubescentibus non erupturæ virtutis latens germen, non flos præcursor indolis bonæ lætior quam uberior apparet; sed jam facta grandifera, et contra rationem ætatis maximorumque fructuum matura perceptio. Quorum alter jam obtendis hostibus gravis terrorem paternum, quo semper barbaria omnis intremuit, derivare ad nomen suum capit: alter jam Consulatum, jam venerationem sui, jam patrem sentiens, si quid intactum aut parens aut frater reservet, declarat mox victorem futurum, qui animo jam vincit ætatem. Rapitur quippe ad similitudinem suorum excellens quæque natura, nec sensim ac lentè indicium promittit boni, cum involucri infantie vividum rumpit ingenium."

Second Passage.

Nazarius praises a virtue in Constantine very rarely found in princes, but highly estimable: that is, continence. He adds also several other praises to it.

"Jam illa vix audeo de tanto Principe commemorare, quod nullam matronarum, cui forma emendator fuerit, boni sui piguit; cum sub abstinentissimo Imperatore species luculenta, non incitatrix licentiæ esset sed pudoris ornatrix. Quæ sine dubio magna, seu potius divina laudatio, scpe et in ipsis etiam philosophis, non tam re exhibitæ, quam disputatione jactatæ. Sed repittamus hoc principi nostro, qui ita temperan-

tiam ingenerare omnibus cupit, ut eam non ad virtutem suarum decus adscribendam, sed ad naturæ ipsi us honestatem referendam, arbitretur. Quid, facile aditus? quid, aures patientissimas? quid, benigna responsa? quid, vultum ipsam augusti decoris gravitate, hilaritate permixta, venerandum quiddam et amabilem residentem, quis digne exequi possit?"

Can any thing be stronger than this thought? "No lady, however beautiful, has had reason to repent her being so; because under so wise a prince as Constantine, beauty is not an attraction to vice, but the ornament of virtue." And could it be better expressed? *Cùm sub abstinentissimo Imperatore species luculenta, non incitatrix licentiæ esset, sed pudoris ornatrix.*

CHAPTER IV.

OF RHETORICIANS.

THOSE who make it their profession to teach eloquence, and have written precepts upon it, are called Rhetoricians.

Eloquence is the art of speaking well. One might believe that for the attainment of it, it would suffice to hearken to, and follow the voice of nature. She seems to dictate to us what it is necessary to say, and often even the manner of saying it. Do we not every day see a multitude of persons, who without art or study, and by the pure force of genius, can give order, perspicuity, eloquence, and above all, fine sense to their discourse? What more is wanting. It is true, that without the aid of nature precepts are of no use: but it is as true, that they very much support and strengthen her, in serving her as a rule and guide. Precepts are no more than observations, which have been made upon what was either fine or defective, in discourse. For, as Cicero very well observes, eloquence was not the offspring of art, but art of eloquence.¹ These reflections, reduced to order, formed what is called rhetoric. Now who doubts, but they may be of great service for attaining and improving the talent of speaking.

Quintilian, in the third book of his *Institutiones Oratoriæ*, enumerates a considerable number of the ancient rhetoricians, as well Greek as Latin. I shall expatiate only upon those, whose names and histories are best known, shall slightly pass over others, and even say nothing of many. Mr. Gibert, who has been professor of rhetoric in the college of Mazarine almost fifty years with great reputation, and has several times filled, and always with the same success, the honourable place of principal in the university of Paris, has composed a work upon the subject I now treat, abounding with erudition, of which, as an old friend, he has given me permission to make all the use I should think fit.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE GREEK RHETORICIANS.

EMPEDOCLES. CORAX. TISIAS.

EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum, a celebrated philosopher, is supposed to be the first that had any knowledge of rhetoric; and *Corax* and *Tisias*, both Sicilians, are said to be the first who reduced it to rules.² They had many disciples, better known under the name of sophists, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

PLATO

THOUGH Plato seems to have undertaken to discredit rhetoric, he justly deserves to be ranked in the number of the most excellent rhetoricians, having only censured and ridiculed those who dishonoured this art by the abuse of it, and the bad taste of eloquence they endeavoured to introduce. The solid

¹ Illud in primis testandum est, nihil præcepta atque artes valere nisi adjuvante natura. *Quintil. l. i. in Proem.*

² Non esse eloquentiam ex artificio, sed artificium ex eloquentia natura. *J. De Orat. n. 136.*

Initium dicendi docuit natura; initium artis observatio. *Quintil. l. iii. c. 2.*

³ *Quintil. l. iii. c. 1. Cic. in Brut. n. 46.*

and judicious reflections, which we find in several of his dialogues, especially in the *Phædrus* and *Gorgias*, may be considered as a good rhetoric, and contains the most important principles of it.

ARISTOTLE.

ARISTOTLE is acknowledged with reason to be the chief and prince of rhetoricians. His *Rhetoric*, divided into three books, has always been considered by the learned as a masterpiece, and the most consummate treatise that ever appeared upon this subject. We are indebted for this work to its author's jealousy, or rather emulation. Isocrates, at that time very old, taught eloquence at Athens with extraordinary success, and was followed by a great number of illustrious disciples: I might for that reason have given him a place amongst the rhetoricians, but I defer speaking of him to another title. So shining a reputation alarmed Aristotle. By a happy parody on a verse of a Greek tragedy, he said to himself, "It is a shame for me to keep silence, and let Isocrates speak."

Διπλὴν σιωπῶν, Ἰσοκράτην διδῶν λέγειν.

Till then he had solely taught philosophy; which he continued to do only in the mornings, and opened his school in the afternoon, to teach pupils the precepts of rhetoric.

It appears that Aristotle composed several works upon rhetoric.² Cicero speaks in more than one place of a collection,³ in which this philosopher had inserted all the precepts of that art which had appeared from Tisias, whom he considers as the inventor of it, to his own times; and had treated them with such elegance, perspicuity, and order, that people no longer had recourse to their authors for them, but only to Aristotle.

Immediately after Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, consisting of three books, there is another, entitled *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, as addressed to Alexander, and composed expressly for him. But all the learned agree that it is not Aristotle's. He had composed some books upon this subject in the name of Theodectes. What Valerius Maximus relates on this head, would do no honour to Aristotle, if it were true. He tells us, that, to please Theodectes, one of his disciples, for whom he had a particular regard, he had made him a present of these books, and given him leave to publish them in his own name; but that afterwards repenting his having inconsiderately transferred his glory to another, he declared himself the author of them. Accordingly he cites them as his in his *Rhetoric*.⁴ It continued a doubt to the time of Quintilian,⁵ whether this work was written by Aristotle or Theodectes. However it may be, his *Rhetoric*, which is come down to us, and which nobody disputes being his, is the most generally esteemed of all his works, for its wonderful order, the solidity of the reflections incorporated with the precepts, and the profound knowledge of the human heart, which appears particularly in his treatise upon the manners and passions. Masters whose province it is to teach youth eloquence, cannot study so excellent a book too much. The same may be said of his *Poetics*.

ANAXIMENES.

ANAXIMENES of Lampsacus is generally taken for

¹ Itaque ipse Aristoteles, cum florere Isocratem nobilitate discipulorum videret—mutavit repente totam formam prope discipline suæ, versusque quemdam de Philoetete paulo ævus dixit. Ille enim tacere ait sibi esse turpe cum barbaris; hic autem, cum Isocratem patere diceret. *De Orat.* l. iiii. n. 141.

Isocrates præstantissimi discipuli fuerunt in omni studio genere; eoque jam seniore—pomeridianis scholis Aristoteles præcipere artem oratoriam cepit. *Quintil.* l. iiii. c. i.

² De Invent. l. ii. n. 6. *De Orat.* l. ii. n. 160.

³ Nominatim ejusque præcepta magnâ conquisita curâ perspicuè conscripsit, atque enodata diligenter exposuit; ac tantum inventioribus ipsis suavitute et brevitate docendi præstitit, ut nemo illorum præcepta ex ipsorum libris cognoscere; sed omnes, qui, quod illi præcipiant, velint intelligere, ad hunc quasi ad quemdam nullo commodiorem explicatorem convertantur. *De Invent.*

⁴ *Lib.* iii. c. 9. p. 523.

⁵ *Quintil.* l. ii. c. 15

the author of the rhetoric addressed to Alexander. It has its merit, but is very much inferior to that of Aristotle. He wrote upon many other subjects.

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSUS.

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSUS is of the first rank amongst the historians and rhetoricians. I consider him in this place only under the latter denomination.

Soon after Augustus had terminated the civil wars, about the 187th Olympiad, and twenty-eight years before Jesus Christ, Dionysius of Halicarnassus came to settle at Rome, where he resided twenty-eight years. It is believed, from some passages in his writings, that he taught rhetoric there either publicly or in private. All that he wrote upon this head is not come down to us. We have a treatise of this author upon "the disposition of words," another upon the *Art*; a third, which is not perfect, "of the characters of the ancient writers," and especially the orators. In the first part he speaks of *Lysias*, *Isocrates*, and *Isæus*; in the second he treated of *Demosthenes*, *Hyperides*, and *Æschines*; nothing remains of it, but what relates to Demosthenes, nor is that fragment entire. He adds also something on Dinarchus. Two letters follow: the one to Amineus, wherein he examines "whether Demosthenes formed himself upon Aristotle's rhetoric;" the other to one Pompeius, wherein "he gives an account of what he thinks vicious in Plato's diction." We have still his *comparisons* of Herodotus and Thucydides, Xenophon, Philistus, and Theopompus. And lastly, we have his reflections upon "what forms the peculiar character of Thucydides." The end of these last works is to make known the characters of the authors of whom he speaks, and to show wherein they are and are not imitable. What we have of this author's is not therefore a rhetoric in form, but fragments of rhetoric, or certain points of that art, which he thought fit to treat.

His inquiry into the most celebrated writers of antiquity, and the judgment he passes on them, may be of great use in forming the taste. It is true, we are shocked at first with the liberty he takes in arraigning certain articles of Plato and Thucydides, for whom in other respects he professes the highest esteem and regard. It would be very useful, and not disagreeable to the reader, to enter into the exact discussion of his judgments, and to examine, without prejudice, and with attention, whether they are or are not founded in reason and truth. Neither the plan of my work, nor the mediocrity of my talents, admit me to think of such an undertaking. Our author declares in several passages, that it is neither the desire to exalt himself, nor to depreciate others, that guide him in his criticisms, but the sincere intent of being useful to his readers: which is a happy disposition for forming right judgments.

A very short fragment which remains of his, shows us his motive for composing his treatise on rhetoric: this was the desire of contributing to the establishment of good taste in regard to eloquence. From the death of Alexander the Great, king of Macedon, it had suffered great alterations in Greece, and by an imperceptible, but always increasing, decline, it was at last sunk to such an ebb, that it could scarce be known for itself. We shall see in the sequel, that this alteration and decay began by Demetrius Phalereus. Instead of that manly and natural beauty, that noble and ancient simplicity, that air of dignity and grandeur, which had acquired it universal respect and unlimited empire over the minds and passions of mankind; its rival, false eloquence, from the delightful regions of Asia, tacitly laboured to supplant it, made use of paint and glaring colours for that purpose, and assumed such ornaments as were best suited to dazzle the eyes, and illude the mind. This last-comer, with no other merit than that of a splendid but vain attire, though a stranger, at length established herself in all the cities of Greece, to the exclusion of the other, a native of the country, who saw herself exposed to the oblivion, contempt, and even insults of those, who had formerly so long and so justly admired her. Our author, on this point, compares Greece to

a house, wherein a concubine of art and address, by her charms and insinuations, has gained an entire ascendancy over the husband, has introduced disorder and depravity, and governs without control; while the lawful wife, become in some measure a slave, has the affliction to see herself despised and neglected, and is every day reduced to suffer the most sensible affronts and indignities. He observes with joy, that sound eloquence has for some time resumed her ancient credit, and compelled her rival in her turn to give her place. All he says here regards Greece; and he ascribes so happy a change to the good taste which then prevailed at Rome, whence it had already diffused itself, and daily would continue to do so more and more, into all the cities of Greece, that emulated each other in imitating the example of the reigning city. It was to contribute to this revival of eloquence in his country, that Dionysius Halicarnassus composed all his books upon rhetoric: a laudable motive, and well worthy of a good and zealous citizen.

HERMOGENES.

HERMOGENES was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.¹ That prince having had the curiosity to hear his lectures, was charmed with them, and made him great presents. He began to profess rhetoric at the fifteenth year of his age; and was but eighteen when he composed his book upon it, which is esteemed a very good work by the learned. But by a very singular event, at the age of twenty-four, he became stupid, and continued so during the rest of his life. He died in the beginning of the third century.

APHTHONIUS.

APHTHONIUS lived about the end of the second age of the church, or the beginning of the third. Instead of writing upon rhetoric, as others had done, only for those who had made some progress in the knowledge and use of that art, in order to perfect them in it, Aphthonius wrote solely for children, his precepts extending no farther than the compositions he believed it necessary for them to make, to prepare them for what was greatest in eloquence.

LONGINUS.

DIONYSIUS LONGINUS was a native of Athens, but by descent of Syria. Though he excelled very much in philosophy, Plotinus says, that he was less a philosopher than a man of letters; and indeed it was by the latter particularly he acquired the greatest reputation. He had great erudition, and the most refined, exact, and solid discernment in judging works of wit, and pointing out their beauties and defects.

Of all his works, time has left us only his treatise of the *sublime*, which is one of the finest fragments of antiquity. We have Mr. Boileau's excellent translation of it, which has more the air of an original than a copy, has made all the world judges of its merit, and has justified the general esteem the learned always had for its author. Cæcilius, who lived in the time of Augustus, had before composed a treatise upon the Sublime: but he had contented himself with explaining what it was, without laying down any rules for attaining that sublimity, which does not so much persuade, as ravish and transport the mind of the reader. It is the latter point Longinus undertakes to treat in his work. Among the examples which he gives of this shining and magnificent manner of style, he speaks of Moses in these terms: "The legislator of the Jews, who was no common person, having extremely well conceived the grandeur and power of God, expresses them in all their dignity in the beginning of his laws, in these words: 'God said, Let there be light, and there was light.' Let the earth be, and the earth was."²

Longinus taught Zenobia the Greek language, who espoused the celebrated Odenatus, king of Palmyra, and afterwards emperor of the Romans. It is said,³ that he advised that princess to write the haughty letter she sent the emperor Aurelian, during the siege of Palmyra; and that it was for that reason Aurelian caused him to be put to death.⁴ He suffered that sentence with great fortitude, consoling those who expressed their grief for his destiny.

DEMETRIUS.

THERE is a treatise in Greek upon *Elocution*, which though a very small fragment of rhetoric, is however of sufficient value to do honour to its author, and is ascribed to a person whose name reflects no less honour upon the work: this is the famous Demetrius Phalereus, so called from the Athenian port Phalerens, where he was born. The critics do not however entirely agree that this work was his; some of them attribute it to Demetrius Alexandrinus, an author of much later date than the former; and others believe it to have been written by Dionysius Halicarnassus. Mr. Gibert proves, by a very judicious examination of the work itself, its style and principles, that it was not composed by Demetrius Phalereus.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE LATIN RHETORICIANS.

It was not without difficulty and opposition, that the Latin rhetoricians succeeded in establishing themselves at Rome. It is well known that this city, solely intent in the first ages upon establishing its power, and extending its conquests, did not apply itself at all to the study of the polite arts and sciences. Four or five hundred years elapsed, before they were in any esteem at Rome. Philosophy was absolutely unknown there, as well as all other eloquence but that which proceeds from nature and happiness of genius, without the aid of art or precepts.⁵ The Grecian philosophers and rhetoricians who went to Rome, carried thither with them that taste for the arts which they professed. We have seen, that Paulus Æmilius,⁶ in the tour he made into Greece after having conquered Perseus the last king of Macedonia, demanded of the Athenians, that they would choose him an excellent philosopher to finish the education of his children. This custom had taken place for some time before at Rome;⁷ but was soon interrupted by an edict, passed in the consulship of Strabo and Messala, by which it was decreed, that all philosophers and rhetoricians should quit Rome; exercises in their way, unknown till then, giving offence to the state.⁸

Five or six years after this edict⁹ ambassadors arrived at Rome from Athens upon a particular affair. All the young Romans, who had any taste for study, went to visit them, and were transported with admiration on hearing them discourse.¹⁰ Carneades especially, one of those ambassadors, in whose eloquence force united with grace and delicacy, acquired extraordinary reputation. The whole city rung with his praise. It was the universal talk, that a Greek of admirable talents had arrived; that his great knowledge made him more than man; and that his equally animated and delightful eloquence inspired such an ardour for study in youth, as induced them to renounce all other pleasures and avocations. The Romans saw with great satisfaction their children, passionately attached to these wonderful persons, addict themselves to the Greek erudition. Cato only, as soon as this love of learning began to gain ground in the city, was

imply some effort, and a succession of time; whereas the terms, "Que la lumière soit, et la lumière fut;" "Let there be light, and there was light," express better a rapid obedience to the Lord of Nature's command.

² Aurel. Vict. in Aurel.

⁴ Zos. l. i.

¹ Philostr. de vit. Sophist. l. ii. p. 575.

³ In the French the words are, *Que la lumière se fasse, et la lumière se fit; Que la terre se fit, elle fut faite.* Mr. Rollin says, there is more energy and sublimity in the Hebrew, which has literally, "Que la lumière soit, et la lumière fut;" "Let there be light, and there was light;" exactly as in the English version. The word "faire," continues he, seems to

arbitrarentur, tantum, quantum ingenio et cogitatione poterant, consequerantur. Cic. l. i. de Orat. u. 14.

⁵ An. Rom. 583. Ant. J. C. 167.

⁷ An. Rom. 591. Ant. J. C. 161.

⁸ Sueton. de clar. Rhet. c. i.

⁹ An. Rom. 597. Ant. J. C. 135.

¹⁰ Plut. in Cat. Cens. p. 344.

much concerned at it; apprehending, that the ambition and emulation of youth might be engrossed by it, and that in consequence they might prefer the glory of speaking, to that of acting well. But when he saw that the discourses of these philosophers, translated into Latin by one of the senators, were in great vogue throughout the whole city, and were read with universal applause, he employed all his credit in the senate to terminate the affair which had brought the ambassadors to Rome, and to hasten their departure. "Let them return to their schools," said he, "and teach there as long as they please, the children of the Greeks: but let the Roman youth hear nothing within these walls except the laws and the magistrates, as they did before their arrival." As if the study of philosophy and eloquence was incompatible with obedience to the laws and magistrates.

The departure and absence of these philosophers did not extinguish the ardour for study, which their discourses had inspired.¹ The taste for eloquence became the universal passion of the Roman youth; and far from abating the desire of military glory, as Cato had apprehended, it only served to exalt its value and merit. We may judge of this from what history tells us of Scipio Africanus, who lived at that time. He was of so refined and delicate a taste in regard to polite learning, that, as well as Lælius, he was suspected of having some share in writing Terence's comedies, the most perfect work we have of the kind. He had always with him persons of the first rank in learning, as Panætius and Polybius, who accompanied him even in the field.² The latter informs us, that Scipio, while very young, and consequently even at the time we speak of, had a very strong inclination for the sciences, and that a number of learned men of every kind came daily from Greece to Rome. Now was Scipio the worse captain, for having been a man of letters?

From that time the study of eloquence, during almost fifty years, was so highly esteemed at Rome, that it was regarded as one of the most effectual methods for attaining the highest dignities in the commonwealth. But it was taught only by the Greek rhetoricians: whence all the exercises, by which the youth were formed, were made in a foreign language, and in the meantime that of the country, namely the Latin tongue, was almost universally neglected. Who does not perceive how much this custom, if I may venture to say so, was contrary to right reason and good sense? For after all, it was in Latin that these young persons were one day to plead at the bar, to harangue the people, and give their opinions in the senate: it was therefore in Latin they ought to have been taught to speak and compose. I do not say, that it was necessary to exclude compositions in Greek. As they could find no perfect models of eloquence but in the Greek orators, it was absolutely proper for them to study that language thoroughly, and to compose in Greek, in order to form themselves upon such excellent models. Cicero used this custom, even when more advanced in years, for which he gives this reason: "I did this," says he, "because the Greek language, supplying more ornaments, accustomed me to compose in the same manner in Latin. Besides studying under such great masters of eloquence, who were all Greeks, it would not have been in their power to have instructed and corrected my compositions, if I had not made them in Greek."³ But he tells us, that he united them also with Latin exercises, though less frequently. I have said that Cicero was at that time somewhat advanced in life. For we shall soon see, that he composed his first studies only in Greek, the Latin rhetoricians not being yet established at Rome, or having but very lately begun to teach there. This it is time to explain,

with which I shall introduce my account of the Latin rhetoricians, of whom I am to speak in this article.

L. PLOTIUS GALLUS.

CUSTOM has a kind of despotic sway, and does not give place even to reason and experience without exceeding difficulty. Suetonius,⁴ upon the authority of Cicero, in a letter which is lost, informs us, that L. Plotius Gallus was the first who taught rhetoric at Rome in the Latin tongue.⁵ This he did with great success, and had a great concourse of hearers.

Cicero, at that time very young, studied rhetoric, but under Greek masters, who alone till then had taught it at Rome.⁶ He had acquired so great a reputation among his fellow-pupils, that out of particular distinction, and to do him honour, when they left the schools, they always placed him in the midst of them; and the fathers of those children, who every day heard them extol the poignancy of his wit, and the maturity of his judgment, went expressly to the schools to be witnesses of them in person, not being able to believe all the great things related of him.

It was at this time Plotius opened a rhetoric-school at Rome.⁷ All the Roman youth, that had the least taste for eloquence, were passionately fond of hearing him. Cicero, then but fourteen years old, would gladly have followed that example, and improved from the lessons of this new master, whose reputation was very great throughout the whole city; and was sensibly concerned on being debarred that liberty. "I was prevented," says he, "by the authority and advice of the most learned persons, who were of opinion, that the exercises of rhetoric in the Greek tongue were better adapted to forming the minds of youth." It is not to be doubted, that Cicero means Crassus, in this place:⁸ he explains himself more clearly in another, where he says, that while he was very young, he studied with his cousins, the sons of Aculeo, under masters chosen according to the taste and advice of Crassus.

The Latin rhetoricians were in great esteem at Rome, and their schools much frequented: but a terrible storm soon rose up against them.⁹ The censors, Domitius Ænobarbus and Licinius Crassus, passed an edict in regard to them, the tenor of which Suetonius has preserved.¹⁰ "We have been informed," say those censors, "that there are persons, who, under the name of Latin rhetoricians, set themselves up for teachers of a new art, and that youth assemble in their schools, where they pass whole days in idleness. Our ancestors have delivered down to us, what they desired their children should be taught, and to what schools they should go. These new establishments, so opposite to the customs and usages of our forefathers, are not pleasing to us, and appear contrary to discipline and good order. Wherefore we think it incumbent on us to notify this our opinion, as well to those who have opened such schools, as to such as frequent them, and to declare that such innovation is not agreeable to us."

The Crassus of whom I have hitherto spoken, is one of the persons whom Cicero introduces in his books *De Oratore*. That dialogue is supposed to have passed two years after the censorship of Crassus, An. Rom. 662. Ant. J. C. 90. He makes an apology in it for his edict against the Latin rhetoricians. "I silenced them," says he, "not to oppose, as some have reproached me, the progress of youth in eloquence, but on the contrary, to prevent their minds from being corrupted and stupified, and their contracting presumption and impudence. For indeed I observed, that among the Greek rhetoricians, how indifferent soever their merit, besides the exer-

⁴ De clar. Rhet. c. ii.

⁵ An. Rom. 658. Ant. J. C. 94.

⁶ Plat. in Cic. p. 861.

⁷ Equidem memoria teneo, pueris nobis primum Latino docere cepisse Lucium Plotium quendam: ad quem cum fieret concursus, quod studiosissimus quisque apud eum excreceret, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continbare autem docitissimum hominum auctoritate, qui castimabatur Græcis exercitationibus ali melius ingenia pessere. Cic. apud Sueton. de clar. Rhet. c. ii.

⁸ Lib. ii. de Orat. n. 2.

⁹ An. Rom. 660. Ant. J. C. 92.

¹⁰ Sueton. de clar. Rhet. c. i.

¹ Auditis oratoribus Græcis, cognitisque eorum literis, adhibitisque doctoribus, incredibili quodam nostri homines dicendi studio flagravverunt. Lib. i. de Orat. n. 14.

² Scipio tam elegans liberalium studiorum omnique doctrinæ et auctoritatis admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellentis ingenio viros domi militumque secum habuerit. Vell. Patre. l. i. c. 13.

³ De clar. Orat. n. 20.

cise of speaking, in which their profession properly consists, there always was a fund of solid and estimable knowledge. But I did not conceive that our youth could acquire any thing under these new masters, unless it were boldness and confidence, always blameable, even when united with other good qualities. As this, therefore, was all they could learn of them, and their schools, to speak properly, were only schools of impudence, I thought it my duty, as censor, to put a stop to such abuses, and prevent their pernicious consequences.¹

All I have hitherto said, proves how liable, in point of erudition and science, new methods and establishments are to obstacles and contradictions, even from persons of the greatest merit, and of the best intentions in other respects. But utility and truth at last prevail, and open themselves a way through all the difficulties that oppose them. When these storms and troubles are blown over; when prejudices, frequently blind and precipitate, have given place to serious and calm reflection; and things are examined with temper and in cool blood, we are surprised that practices so useful in themselves should have been capable of meeting with such opposition. This is the fate, though of a different kind, the philosophy of Descartes experienced among us, which was at first attacked so warmly, and is now almost universally approved. The same happened at Rome in regard to the Latin rhetoricians. They perceived at length how consistent it was with right reason and good sense, to form and exercise youth for eloquence in the language they were always to speak: and after these first shocks, the schools of the Latin rhetoricians were established in tranquillity, and did not a little contribute to the amazing progress of the study of eloquence in the succeeding years.

The Greek rhetoricians, however, were not neglected, and had a great share in the improvement of which I have been speaking. It is surprising to consider the ardour and passion, with which the Roman youths, and even some of more advanced years, went to hear these masters. Cicero had begun to appear at the bar in his twenty-sixth year.² His pleadings for S. Roscius Amerinus acquired him an extraordinary reputation. Molo, the celebrated Greek rhetorician, came to Rome about this time as a deputy from the Rhodians. Cicero, highly capable as he already was, became his disciple, and thought himself happy and honoured in receiving lessons from him. After having pled two years, his health, or perhaps reasons of policy, having obliged him to suspend his application to business,³ and to make a voyage into Greece and Asia, besides the several masters of eloquence whom he heard at Athens and elsewhere, he went expressly to Rhodes to put himself again under the discipline of Molo; in order that so excellent a master might take pains in reforming, and in a manner, in new moulding his style: *Apollonio Moloni se Rhodi rursus formandum ac velut recondendum dedit.*⁴ Molo⁵ was an exceedingly good pleader, and composed very finely: but his principal happiness lay in discerning and exploding

the defects in the style of those, who applied themselves to him, and he had a wonderful happiness in correcting them, by the wise advice and solid instructions he gave them. He endeavoured, for I dare not say he effected it, (says Cicero) to correct and restrain a vicious redundancy in my style, which too licentiously overflowed its just bounds, and taught me not to abandon myself to the impetuosity of my years, and the fire of an imagination, that wanted maturity and experience. Cicero confesses, that from that time, a great alteration took place in his manner, as well in regard to the tone of his voice, which he exerted no longer with so much vehemence, as his style, which became more exact and correct. These young Romans must have had a very warm desire to improve themselves in eloquence; to take so much pains in going to hear the rhetoricians, and not to blush, though already in great reputation, to become their disciples again, and to confess their still having occasion for their aid. But, on the other side, the merit of such rhetoricians must have been very solid and well established, to have acquired so great a confidence in it, and to have supported the idea, which such persons as Cicero conceived of it.

Plotius, the first of the Latin rhetoricians, who gave occasion for what I have said hitherto, had without doubt colleagues and successors, who acquitted themselves of the same function with honour. Suetonius mentions several: but as they are little known, I proceed directly to Cicero, who indeed did not immediately teach eloquence as a master, but has left us excellent precepts upon it.

CICERO.

CICERO, by his treatise upon rhetoric, has justly merited the honour of being placed at the head of the Latin rhetoricians; as he has by his orations that of the first rank amongst the orators. His tracts upon rhetoric are: *Three books de Oratore*; one book entitled, simply, *the Orator*; a *Dialogue*, entitled *Brutus upon the Illustrious Orators*; two books upon *Invention*; the *Partes Oratoria*, the *Complete Orator*, and the *Topics*. In this enumeration of Cicero's works upon eloquence, I do not follow the order of time in which they were composed.

I. The three first are absolute masterpieces, in which what was called the *Roman urbanity*, *Urbanitas Romana*, prevails in a supreme degree, which answers to the Atticism of the Greeks, that is to say, whatever was finest, most delicate, most animated, and in a word, most consummate as to thought, expression, and genius. The three books of the *Orator* are, properly speaking, Cicero's rhetoric: not a dry rhetoric, stuck with precepts, and destitute of grace and beauty, but one that, with the solidity of principles and reflections, unites all the art, delicacy, and ornament, of which a subject of that nature is susceptible. He composed this work at the request of his brother Q. Cicero, who desired to have something more perfect of his than the books upon invention, which were the first-fruits of his youth, and by no means worthy the reputation he afterwards attained.⁶ To avoid the air and dryness of the schools, he treats this subject in dialogues, wherein he introduces as speakers the greatest and most famous persons Rome had for wit, erudition, and eloquence. The time wherein these dialogues are supposed to be held, is the 662d year from the foundation of Rome, and ninety years before Jesus Christ, in the consulship of L. Marcus Philippus, and Sextus Julius Cæsar.

This manner of writing, I mean dialogue, is extremely difficult: because, without mentioning the variety of characters, which must everywhere be equally sustained without the least deviation from them, two things that seem almost incompatible must unite in them, the simple and natural air of familiar discourse, with the elegant style of the conversation of persons of wit. Plato, of all the ancient authors, is generally conceived to have succeeded best in dia-

¹ Etiam Latini, si diis placet, hoc biennio magistri dicendi existerunt; quos ego censor edicto meo sustuleram: non quo (ut nescio quos dicere aiebat) acui ingenia adolecentium nollem; sed contra, ingenia obtundi nolui, corroborari impudentiam. Nam apud Græcos, cuiusmodi modo essent, videbam tamen esse, præter hanc exercitationem linguæ, doctrinam aliquam et humanitatem dignam scientia. Hos vero novos magistros nihil intelligebam posse docere, nisi ut audent: quod etiam cum bonis rebus conjunctum, per se ipsum est magnopere fugiendum. Hoc cum animum traderetur, et cum impudentie ludus esset, putavi esse censoris, ne longius id serperet providere. Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 93, 94.

² De clar. Orat. n. 312.

³ Quietill.

⁴ Ibid. n. 315, 316.

⁵ Quibus non contentus, Rhodum veni, meque ad eundem, quem Romæ audiveram, Moloem applicavi: cum actorem in veris causis, scriptoremque, præstantem, tum in notandis animadvertendisque, vitiis, et instituendo docendisque prudentissimum. Is dedit operam (si modò id consequi potui) ut nimis redundantes nos et superfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impudicitia et levitate, reprimere, et quasi extra ripas diffidentes coercere. Ita recepi me, biennio post, non modo exercitator, sed prope mutatus. Nam et contentio nimia vocis resederat, et quasi deferberat oratio. *Declar. Orat. n. 316.*

⁶ Videnim, quoniam quadam pueris aut adolescentulis nobis ex commentariis nostris inchoata atque rudia exierunt, vix hoc ætate digna et hoc usu—aliquid isdem de rebus politius a nobis perfectiusque proferri. *De Orat. l. i. n. 5.*

logue. But we may indisputably give Cicero an equal rank with him, to say no more, especially in the treatises of which we now speak. I do not know whether my esteem and love for an orator, with whom I might say I have been brought up from my earliest infancy, prejudice and blind me in his favour; but, in my sense, there is in these conversations a taste, a salt, a spirit, a grace, a native elegance, that can never be sufficiently admired.

The third of the books I speak of treats, among other subjects, of the choice and order of words, a dry and disagreeable topic in itself, but of great use to the Roman eloquence, and which more than any thing shows the profound genius and extent of mind of this orator. When he came first to the bar, he found the Roman eloquence absolutely destitute of an advantage, which infinitely exalted that of the Greeks, to which he had devoted his whole application, and of which he knew all the beauties, as well as if it had been his native tongue, so familiar had he made it to him by close and profound study. This advantage was the sound, number, cadence, and harmony, of which the Greek is more susceptible than any other language, and which give it an incontestable superiority in this view to them all. Cicero, who was extremely zealous for the honour of his country, undertook to impart to it this advantage, of which till then the Greeks had been in sole possession. He perceived that words, like soft wax, have a flexibility wonderfully capable of receiving every kind of form, and of being adapted to whatever manner we please.¹ The proof of which is, that for all the different species of verse, which are very numerous; for all the diversity of styles, the simple, the florid, and the sublime; for all the effects which speech is capable of producing, to please, to convince, to move; words of a different nature are not employed; but taken from one common heap, to use the expression, and alike disposed for every use, they lend themselves at the poet's and orator's discretion, to be applied in whatever manner they think fit. Cicero well convinced of this principle, of which the reading and study of the Greek authors had given him a sensible proof, or rather which he had extracted from nature itself, undertook to add this charm to the Latin language, of which, before his time, it was entirely destitute. This he effected with such success and promptitude, that in a few years it assumed a quite new form, and, what has no parallel, attained almost instantly a supreme perfection in this way. For every body knows, that generally the progress of arts and sciences is slow, and that they do not attain their final maturity but by degrees. This was not the case in the matter of which we are speaking, namely, the number and harmony of speech. Cicero seized almost immediately the fine and the perfect, and introduced into his language, by the happy arrangement of his words, a sweetness, grace, and majesty, which almost equalled the Greek; and with which the ear, of all who have the least sensibility for sound and harmony, is still agreeably soothed. It is not surprising, therefore, that this great orator, to secure to his language the advantage he had acquired it, and to perpetuate the use and possession of it, should think it incumbent on him to treat this subject in all its extent. Accordingly he enters upon it with a vast enumeration of things, which cannot afford us any pleasure now, to whom this is a foreign language, but which was extremely useful and important at the time he wrote it; and it is easy to perceive, that he has treated it with particular attention, and has employed the whole extent of his learning and capacity, to display it in all

its light. Accordingly, Quintilian observes, that of all his works of rhetoric, this piece is the most elaborate.²

The same service has been done the French language; and, if I mistake not, Balzac was the first who discerned himself, and made others discern, how susceptible it is of the graces of number, harmony, and cadence. Since his time, this part of composition has been very much improved; Mr. Flechier particularly, and all our good writers, leave us nothing to desire in this point. It is highly important to make youth attentive to it, and to accustom their ears to a lively and instantaneous discernment of what is sweet and agreeable, or harsh and dissonant in the disposition of words. The treatise lately published by the Abbé Olivet, upon the prosody of the French tongue, may be of great use to this purpose.

I have already said, that the three books *De Oratore* may be considered as the rhetoric of Cicero. And indeed he has included in it almost all the precepts of that art, not in the common didactic order of the schools, but in a more free manner, and one that seems less studied; to which he has annexed reflections that infinitely exalt their value, and show their just use.

II. The book entitled *the Orator*, does not give place to the former either in beauty or solidity. Cicero states in it the idea of a perfect orator, not of one that ever was, but of such a one as may be. He sets a particular value upon this work, and seems to think of it with great satisfaction and complacency; and does not hesitate to own, that he employed the whole extent of his wit, and all the force of his judgment in composing it; which is saying a great deal. He explains himself to this effect in writing to a friend, who had highly approved of the work, and consents that whatever judgment the public formed of it, whether good or bad, shall determine the author's reputation.³ He adds, (which I mention for the sake of our youth) that he should be glad if young Lepta, who was his friend's son, begins so early to read works of that kind with some pleasure: because though his years did not admit his making all the improvement they were capable of affording, it was of some consequence to him to be early affected with lessons of that sort.

III. The *Brutus* of Cicero is a dialogue concerning the most famous Greek and Roman orators, who had appeared to his time: for he mentions none who were then alive, except Cæsar and Marcellus. This work was composed some time before the former, and perhaps in the same year. In the long enumeration contained in this book, wherein Cicero particularly remarks upon the style of a great number of orators, there is an admirable variety of portraits and characters, which all relate to the same subject, without however resembling each other in the least. He intersperses reflections, and a kind of digression, from time to time, which add to the value of the piece, and may be of great use in forming the orator.

IV. His treatise upon the most perfect kind of *Oratory*, is very short. Cicero maintains in it, that the Attic style is by far the most perfect, but that it includes the three different kinds of eloquence, and that the orator makes use of them as his subject requires.

To convince those of this who are of a different opinion, he translated the celebrated orations of Æschines against Demosthenes, and of Demosthenes against Æschines. The work we now speak of was only a kind of preface to that translation, of which we cannot sufficiently regret the loss.

V. The *Topics* of Cicero contain the method of finding arguments by the means of certain terms, which (he characterize them, and are called *τόποι*, *Locus*,

¹ Nihil est tam tenerum, neque tam flexibile, neque quod tam facile sequatur quocumque ducas, quam oratio. Ex hæc versus, ex eadem dispartes numeri conficiuntur: ex hæc etiam soluta variis modis multorumque generum oratio. Non enim sunt alia sermonis, alia contentionis verba: neque ex alio genere ad usum quotidianum, alio ad scenam pompamque sumuntur: sed ea nos cum jacentia sustulimus è medio, sicut molliissimam ceram ad nostrum arbitrium formamus et fingimus. Itaque tum graves sumus, tum subtiles, tum medium quiddam tenemus: sic instituta nostram sententiam sequitur orationis genus, idque ad omnem rationem, et aurium voluptatem, et animorum motum mutatur et flectitur. *De Orat.* l. iii. n. 176, 177.

² Cui (M. Tullio) nescio an ulla pars hujus operis sit magis elaborata. *Lib. ix. c. 4.*

³ Oratorem meum tantoperè à te probari vehementer gaudeo. Mihi quidem super suadeo, me, quicquid habuerim judicii, in illum librum contulisse. Qui si est talis, qualem tibi videri scribis; ego quoque aliquid sum. Sin aliter, non recuso quia, quantum de illo libro, tantumdem de judicio mei fama detrahetur. Leptam nostrum cupio delectari jam tuius scriptis. Etsi abest maturitas ætatis, jam tamen perscrutare aures ejus hujusmodi vocibus non est inutile. *Epist. xix. l. 6. ad Famil.*

common places of Rhetoric, or of Logic. We are indebted for the invention or perfection of this art to Aristotle. Cicero composed this treatise at the request of Trebatius the lawyer, one of his friends, to explain that written by the philosopher upon this subject. There is one thing remarkable in this work, which shows the genius, memory, and facility of Cicero in composing; namely, his not having that philosopher's book, when he undertook to explain him. He was upon a voyage and at sea, as he tells us himself in this book.¹ He recalled to his remembrance Aristotle's work, explained it, and sent what he had done to his friend. He must have known it perfectly well, and have had it very strongly in his mind, to have worked upon it only from his memory.

VI. The *Partes Oratorie* are a very good rhetoric, disposed in divisions and subdivisions of subjects (whence it takes its title.) Its style is very simple, but clear, succinct, and elegant, and well adapted to the capacity of beginners; so that, with the addition of examples, it might be used with success, though Cicero did not think proper to annex any to it.

VII. The books of Rhetoric, or *De Inventione Oratoria*, are certainly Cicero's. Only the two first remain: the two others are lost.² I have already observed, that he composed them during his youth, and that he afterwards thought them unworthy his reputation.

THE RHETORIC INSCRIBED TO HERENNIIUS.

It is not easy to know who was the author of the four books of rhetoric inscribed to *Herennius*, which we find in the front of Cicero's works. In the common editions the title says it was not known; but some of the learned ascribe them to Cornificius. It is a rhetoric in form, of which the style, though simple and familiar, is pure and Ciceronian; which has given some people reason to believe it a work of Cicero's: but this opinion admits of great difficulties.

SENECA THE RHETORICIAN.

SENECA, of whom we speak in this place, was born at Corduba in Spain, about the 700th year of the city of Rome, fifty-three years before Jesus Christ. His surname was *Marcus*. He came to settle at Rome in the reign of Augustus, whither he brought with him his wife *Helvia*, and three sons. The first, called *Mela*, was the father of the poet *Lucan*; the philosopher's name was *Lucius*; and the third son's *Novatus*: but this last being adopted into another family, he took the name of his father by adoption, *Junius Gallio*. Mention is made of him in the *Acts of the Apostles*.³

Seneca, the father, collected from more than an hundred authors, as well Greeks as Romans, whatever was most remarkable, that they had either said or thought upon the different subjects they had treated in emulation of each other, by way of exercising their eloquence according to the custom of these times. Of the ten books of *Controversies* or *Disputations*, contained in this collection, scarce five remain, and these very defective. To the books of controversies, one of deliberations is prefixed, though it is known, that Seneca did not publish it till after the former.

These works of Seneca give Mr. Gibert occasion to explain with great order and evidence the esteem and use in which declaiming was held of old. I shall insert in this place that little tract almost entirely; which will be of great service for the understanding of what will be said in the sequel, upon the manner in which the rhetoricians formed young persons for eloquence.

Declamation is a word which occurs in *Horace*,⁴ and still more in *Juvenal*:⁵ though it was not known at Rome before Cicero and Calvus.⁶ The compositions

were so called, by which eloquence was exercised, and of which the subjects, true or feigned, were sometimes in the deliberative, sometimes in the judiciary, and seldom in the demonstrative kind. The discourses made upon these subjects were an image of what passed in the public councils and at the bar. Declaiming was the method taken by Cicero while young to become an orator, which at that time he practised in Greek.⁷ He continued to use it, when more advanced in years, but in Latin. He exercised himself in the same manner, even when the troubles of the state had obliged him to abandon the bar.⁸ At that time he repeated to Cassius and Dolabella, or others, the harangues of this kind, which he had composed by way only of exercise. This was the common method of all who aspired at eloquence, or were willing to acquire perfection in it; that is to say, the principal persons of the state. They applied themselves to it under the direction of Cicero, and improved themselves by his advice. "Hirtius and Dolabella," says Cicero, "come often to declaim at my house, and I as often go to sup with them."⁹ They came to him either to repeat or correct their discourses; after which he went home with them to supper, their tables being better than his own. Pompey the Great applied himself also very closely to declamation a little before the civil wars, to enable himself to answer Curio, who had sold his talent to Caesar's interests, and gave the opposite party great disquiet.¹⁰ Mark Antony did the same to reply to Cicero; and Octavius, even at the siege of Modena, did not omit this exercise. We must remember, that at Rome, whether in the senate or before the people, eloquence generally determined the most important affairs, and thereby became absolutely necessary to those who aspired at being powerful in them. I omit Cicero's son Marcus, who exercised himself also both in Greek and Latin, but not with the same success.¹¹ Demetrius Phalereus is said to have been the inventor of declamation: and Plotius Gallus, of whom we have spoken above, was the first who introduced the use of it into the Latin tongue.

It was, according to this idea of declamation, that all the lovers of eloquence, whether Greeks or Romans, assembled in the houses of persons eminent in the same way; such for instance as Seneca, where they pronounced discourses upon subjects before agreed upon. Our author had the greatest memory conceivable.¹² He cites several examples of a like nature. Cyneas, Pyrrhus's ambassador, having had audience of the senate upon his arrival, the next day saluted all the senators, and people who had been present at it in great numbers, by their names. A certain person having heard a poem repeated, to surprise the author of it, pretended it was his work, and to prove it, repeated the whole without hesitating, which the author could not do himself. Hortensius, in consequence of a challenge, stayed a whole day at a sale of goods by auction, and at night repeated, in the order they were sold, without the least mistake, the names of the several movables, and of the persons that bought them. Seneca's memory was scarce less admirable. He says, that in his youth he repeated two thousand words after having only heard them once over; and that too in the same order they had been spoken. By this wonderful talent, whatever was most curious in all the declamations he had ever heard, was so strongly impressed upon his mind, that long after, in a very advanced age, he was capable of recalling it to his remembrance, though consisting of so many detached passages, and reducing these to writing for the use of his sons, and posterity.

I shall have occasion, before I conclude this article, to explain in what manner declamation conduced to occasion the decay and corruption of the taste for true eloquence.

¹ Topic, n. 5. ² De Orat. l. i. n. 5. ³ Acts, xviii. 12.

⁴ Trojani belli scriptorem.

⁵ Dum tu declamas Rome, Præcæte rolegi.

⁶ Hor. Ep. i. lib. 2.

⁷ Ut pueris placeas, et declamatio fias.

⁸ Juren. Sat. x.

⁹ Apud nullum auctorem antiquum, ante ipsum Ciceronem et Calvum, inveniri potest. Senec. Controv. l. i.

¹⁰ Cicero ad Prætorum usque græcè declamavit, Latini verò senior quoque. Sueton. de clar. Rhet.

¹¹ Cic. l. vii. Epist. 33. ad Famil. Id de clar. Orat. n. 310.

¹² Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulum habeo, etiam magistros. Puto enim te audisse—illos apud me declamitare, me apud illos cenitare. Epist. xvi. l. 9.

¹³ Suet. de clar. Rhet. ¹⁴ Epist. xxi. l. 16. ad Famil.

¹⁵ Senec. in Træf. Controv.

DIALOGUE UPON THE ORATORS, OR UPON THE CAUSES OF THE CORRUPTION OF ELOQUENCE.

THE author of this work is unknown. Some ascribe it to Tacitus, others to Quinctilian, but without much foundation. What we may be assured of is, that it is a proof of his wit and capacity, whoever he was, and deserves a place among the best works after the Augustan age, from the purity and beauty of which it must however be allowed to be very remote. There are very fine passages in it. What he says by way of panegyric upon the profession of pleaders, seems to me of this kind. It is proper to remind the reader, that it is a heathen who speaks.

"The pleasure which arises from eloquence," says he, "is not rapid and momentary; but the growth of every day, and almost every hour. And indeed, what can be more grateful to an ingenuous mind, that has a taste for exalted satisfaction, than to see his house continually thronged by crowds of the most considerable persons in a city?—to be conscious that it is not to his riches, office, or authority, but to his person, that they come to pay this honour? The greatest wealth, the most splendid dignities, have they any thing so delightful and affecting, as the voluntary homage, which persons, equally to be respected for their birth and age, come to render to the merit and knowledge of an advocate, though often young, and sometimes destitute of the goods of fortune, in imploring the aid of his eloquence either for themselves or their friends, and confessing, in the midst of the affluence with which they are surrounded, that they are still in want of what is most valuable and excellent? What shall I say of the officious zeal of the citizens to attend him whenever he goes abroad, or returns to his house?—of the numerous audiences in which all eyes are fixed on him alone, whilst a profound silence reigns universally, with no other interruption but starts of admiration and applause?—in fine, of that absolute power which he has over men's minds, by inspiring them with such sentiments as he pleases? Nothing is more glorious and exalted than what I have now said. But there is still another pleasure more intense and affecting, known only to the orator himself. If he pronounces a discourse, that he has had time to study and polish at leisure, his joy as well as diction has something more solid, and more assured in it. If he has only some few moments' reflection allowed him to prepare himself for his cause, the very anxiety he feels upon that account, makes the success more grateful to him, and exalts the pleasure it gives him. But what still soothes him more agreeably, is the success of an unpremeditated discourse, ventured extemporaneously. For the productions of the mind are like those of the earth. The fruits, which cost no trouble, and grow spontaneously, are more grateful than those we are obliged to purchase with abundance of pains and cultivation."¹

We cannot, in my opinion, deny that there are in this description a great many ingenious and solid thoughts, strong and emphatical expressions, and lively and elegant turns. Perhaps there is too much wit and shining conceit in it: but that was the fault of the age.

I shall add here another very fine passage from the same author, in which he ascribes the principal causes of the corruption of eloquence to the bad education of children.

"Who does not know, that what has occasioned eloquence and the other arts to degenerate from their ancient perfection, is not the want of genius, but the indolence into which youth are fallen, the negligence of parents in the education of their children, the ignorance of the masters employed to instruct them, in fine, the oblivion and contempt of the taste of the ancients. These evils, which had their rise at Rome, have dispersed themselves from the city into the country of Italy, and infected all the provinces. Of old, in every house, it was the custom for a child born of an ingenuous mother, not to be sent to the cottage of a nurse bought among slaves, but to be nurtured and educated in the bosom of her who bore him, whose merit and praise it was to take care of her house and children. Some female relation in years, and of known virtue and probity, was chosen to have the care of all the children of the family, in whose presence nothing contrary to decency and good manners was suffered to be spoken or done with impunity. She found the means to unite not only their studies and application, but even their play and recreations, with a certain air of modesty and reserve, that tempered their ardour and vivacity. It is thus we find that Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi, Aurelia of Cæsar, and Attia of Augustus, governed their children, and made them capable of appearing in the world with splendour. The view of this strict and manly education was to prepare the minds of children, by preserving them in all their natural purity and integrity, and preventing their being infected with any bad principle, to embrace the study of arts and science with ardour; and whether they chose the profession of arms, or applied themselves to the laws or eloquence, that they might addict themselves solely to their profession, and the attainment of a perfection in that alone.² But in these days no sooner is a child born, but he is given to some Greek slave, with a servant or two more to attend her, of the meanest and most useless sort in the family. At this tender age, susceptible of all impressions, he hears nothing but the frivolous, and often loose and abandoned stories of the lowest domestics. None of them have the least regard for what they say or do before their young master. And indeed, what attention of that kind can be expected from them, while the parents themselves accustom their children not to modesty and good manners, but to every kind of freedom and licentiousness: whence ensues by degrees an air of declared impudence, void of regard either for themselves or others! There are, besides this, certain vices peculiar to this city, which seem

rantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen quæ sua sponte nascentur. Cap. 6.

¹ Quis ignorat et eloquentiam et ceteras artes decivisse ab ista veteri gloria, non inopia hominum, sed desidia juventutis, et negligentia parentum, et inscientia præceptorum, et oblivione moris antiqui? quæ mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fusa, jam in provinciis manant—

Jam primum suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cella emptæ nutrices, sed gremio at sinu matris educabatur; cuius præcipua laus erat, tuori domum, et inscrivere libris. Eligebatur autem aliqua major natu propinqua, cujus probatis spectatissimæ moribus omnis culpsium familiæ soboles committebatur: coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur. Ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque puerorum, sanctitate quadam ac verecundia temperabat. Sic Corneliæ Græchorum, si Aurelium Cæsaris, sic Attiæ Augustiæ matrem præfuisse educationibus, ac produxisse principes, liberos acceperunt. Quæ disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera et integra et nulla pravitatis decorta virescensque natura, toto statim prætoris arripere artis honestas: et, sive ad rem militarem, sive ad juris scientiam, sive ad eloquentiæ studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, ut universum hauriret. Cap. 22.

almost to have been conceived with them in their mothers' womb: such are the taste for theatrical shows, gladiators, and chariot-races. Are not these almost the only subjects of conversation among young people, and indeed all companies? Is it probable, that a mind intent upon, and in a manner besieged by these trifling amusements, should be very capable of applying to serious studies?"¹

These two passages suffice to give the reader some idea of this work, and to make him regret that it is not come down entire to us.

This dialogue may be divided into three parts. The first introduces an advocate and a poet contending upon the pre-eminence of their respective arts, and enlarging in praise of them, the one of eloquence, and the other of poetry. The second part is a speech of the same advocate, whom the author calls Aper, in favour of the orators of his times against the ancients. He lived in the reign of Vespasian, and was at the head of the bar. The third part of the work is an inquiry into the causes of the fall or corruption of eloquence. The speakers are Messala, Secundus, Maternus, and Aper. All that Secundus, and part of what Maternus, said, is lost, which makes a great chasm in the work, without mentioning several other defective passages.

QUINTILIAN:

(MARCUS FABIVS QVINTILIANVS.)

I SHALL reduce what I have to say upon Quintilian to three heads: First, I shall relate what is known of his history: Secondly, I shall speak of his work, and give the plan of it: And lastly, I shall explain the method of instructing youth and teaching rhetoric, as practised in his time.

I. What is known of Quintilian's History.

It appears that Quintilian was born in the second year of the emperor Claudius, which is the forty-second of Jesus Christ. This is according to Mr. Dodwell's conjecture, who is my guide in chronology as to what relates to the birth, life and employments of our rhetorician, and whose Annals upon Quintilian are arranged in a very clear and probable order.

The place of his birth is disputed. Many say that he was a native of Calagurris, a city of Spain, upon the Heber, now called *Calahorra*. Others believe, with sufficient foundation, that he was born at Rome. It is not certainly known whether he was the son or grandson of the orator Fabius, mentioned by Seneca the father, and placed by him in the number of those orators, whose reputation dies with them.²

Quintilian without doubt frequented the schools of the rhetoricians at Rome, in which youth were taught eloquence. He used another more effectual method for the attainment of it, which was to make himself the disciple of the orators of the greatest reputation. Domitius Afer held at that time the first rank among them. Quintilian did not content himself with hearing him plead at the bar; he often visited him; and that venerable old man, though the admiration of the age in which he lived, did not disdain to converse with a youth, in whom he observed great and very promising talents. This important service, those who are grown old with glory in this illustrious profession, have in their power to render their juniors, especially when they have quitted the bar for the

sake of retirement. Their houses may then become a kind of public school for the youth, who aspire at excelling in eloquence, and who may address themselves to them, to be informed by what means they may succeed.³ Quintilian knew how to improve Afer's good-will to his own advantage; and it appears, by the questions he proposed to him, that he had in view the forming of his taste and judgment by these conversations. He asked him one day which of the poets he thought came nearest Homer.⁴ "Virgil," says Afer, "is the second, but much nearer the first than the third."⁵ He had the grief to see this great man, who had so long done honour to the bar, survive his own reputation, from not having known how to apply the wise advice of Horace,⁶ and from having chosen rather to sink under the weight of his function than retire, as he is reproached; *malle eum deficere, quam desinere*. Domitius Afer died the 59th year of the Christian era, the same year in which Juvenal was born.

Two years after, Nero sent Galba governor into Hispania Tarraconensis, Ant. J. C. 61. It is believed that Quintilian followed him thither, and that after having taught rhetoric, and exercised the profession of an advocate during upwards of seven years, he returned to Rome with him.

It was about the end of this year that Galba was declared emperor, and Quintilian opened a school of rhetoric at Rome, Ant. J. C. 63. He was the first who taught it there by public authority, and with a salary from the state; for which he was indebted to Vespasian. For, according to Suetonius,⁷ that prince was the first that assigned the rhetoricians, both Greeks and Romans, pensions out of the public treasury, to the amount of twelve thousand five hundred livres.⁸ Before this establishment there were masters who taught it without being authorized by the public. Besides the pensions received by these rhetoricians from the state, the fathers⁹ paid a sum for the instruction of their children, which Juvenal thought very small in comparison with those they expended on trivial occasions. For, according to him, nothing cost a father less than his son, though he regretted every thing expended on his education: *Res nulla minoris Constat patri quam filius*. This sum amounted to two hundred and fifty livres: *Duo sestercia*. Quintilian was public professor of rhetoric twenty years with universal applause. He exercised at the same time, and with the same success, the function of an advocate, and acquired also great reputation at the bar. When the different parts of a cause were distributed to different pleaders, as was the custom of old, he was generally chosen to state or open the matter of it, which requires great method and perspicuity.¹⁰ He excelled also in the art of moving the passions; and he confesses¹¹ with that modest freedom natural to him, that he was often seen in pleading, not only to shed tears, but to change countenance, turn pale, and express all the signs of the most lively and sincere affliction.¹² He does not deny but it was to this talent that he owed

³ *Frequentabant ejus domum optimi juvenes more veterum, et veram dicendi viam velut ex oraculo petent. Hos ille formabat, quasi eloquentiæ parens. Quintil. l. xii. c. 11.*

⁴ *Quintil. l. xii. c. 11.*

⁵ *Utar verbis iisdem quæ ex Afro Domitio juvenis accipit: qui mihi interroganti, quem Homero credere maxime accedere; Secundus, inquit, est Virgilius, proprium tamen primo quam tertio. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.*

⁶ *Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, no peccet ad extremum ridendus, et illa ducat.*

Hor. Ep. i. l. 1.

⁷ *Præsumit fisco Latinis Græcisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit. Sueton. in Vesp. c. xviii.*

⁸ *About 6000 sterling.*

⁹ *Hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano*

Ut multum duo sufficient. Res nulla minoris

Constat patri quam filius. Juv. Sat. vii. l. 3.

¹⁰ *Quintil. l. iv. c. ii.*

¹¹ *Id. l. vi. c. 2.*

¹² *Hæc dissimulanda mihi non fuerunt, quibus ipse, quantumcumque sum aulæ fuis, (nam pervenisse me ad aliquod nomen ingenii credo) frequenter motus sum, ut me non lacrymæ solum deprehenderint, sed pallor, et vero similis dolor. Quintil.*

¹ *At nunc natus infans delegatur Græcæ alicui ancillæ, cui adjungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis plerumque vilissimus, nec cuiquam serio ministerio accommodatus. Horam fabulis et erroribus teneri statim et rudes animi imbuuntur. Nec quisquam in tota domo pensus habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat, aut faciat: quando etiam ipsi parentes nec probitati neque modestiæ parvulus assuescunt, sed lasciviæ et libertati: per que paulatim impudentia irripit, et sui alienique contemptus. Jam vero propria et pecuniaria hujus urbis vitia pæne in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor, et gladiatorum equorumque studia. Quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantum loci bonis artibus relinquit? quotumqueque inveneris qui domi quidquam aliud loquatur? quos alios adolescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? Cap. 29.*

² *Senec. Controv. l. v. in præf.*

his reputation at the bar. And indeed it is chiefly by this character, that an orator distinguishes himself, and conciliates all the suffrages in his favour. We shall soon see how well qualified he was to instruct youth, and in what manner he acquired the love and esteem of every body on that account. Among the many illustrious disciples that frequented his school, Pliny the younger did him most honour, by the beauty of his genius, the elegance and solidity of his style, the admirable sweetness of his disposition, his liberality to men of learning, and his peculiar warmth of gratitude for his master, of which he afterwards gave him a most illustrious proof.

After having devoted twenty years entirely to the instruction of youth in the school, and the defence of clients at the bar, he obtained the emperor Domitian's permission to quit both these equally useful and laborious employments. Instructed by the sad example of his master Domitius Afer,¹ he believed it proper to think of a retreat, before it became absolutely necessary, and that he could not put a more graceful period to his labours, than by renouncing them at a time, when he should be regretted: *Honestissimum finem putabamus, desinere dum desideremur*; whereas Domitius chose rather to sink under the weight of his profession, than to lay it down. It was upon this occasion that he gives wise advice to his brethren the pleaders. "The orator," says he, "would he take my opinion, would sound a retreat, before he fell into the snares of age, and gain the port, whilst his vessel was sound and in good condition."² Quintilian, however, at that time was only forty-six or forty-seven years old, a florid and robust time of life. Perhaps his long application had begun to impair his health. However that may be, his was not a leisure of indolence and sloth, but of activity and ardour, so that he became in some measure still more useful to the public than he had ever been by all his past labours. For indeed the latter were confined within the narrow bounds of a certain number of persons and years; whereas, the works, which were the fruit of his retirement, have instructed all ages: and we may say, that Quintilian's school has continued the school of mankind from his death, and still continues to abound with the admirable precepts he has left us upon eloquence.

He began by composing a treatise *Upon the Causes of the Corruption of Eloquence*, the loss of which can never be sufficiently regretted, Ant. J. C. 89. It undoubtedly is not the piece still extant under the title of *A Dialogue upon the Orators*. At the time when he began this work, he lost the youngest of his two sons, only five years of age; and some months after, a sudden death deprived him of his wife, who was only nineteen years old, and even somewhat less.³

Some time after, at the solicitation of his friends, he began his great work, the *Institutiones Oratoriæ*, consisting of twelve books, Ant. J. C. 90: of which I shall give an account in the sequel.

He had finished the three first books of it, when the emperor Domitian committed the two young princes, his great nephews, whom he designed for his successors, to his care, Ant. J. C. 91.⁴ They were the grandsons of his sister Domitilla, whose daughter, named also Domitilla, had married Flavius Clemens, the emperor's cousin-german, by whom she had these two princes. This was a new motive to him for redoubling his application to complete his work. His own words deserve repeating, the passage being remarkable. "Hitherto," says he, addressing himself to Victorinus, to whom he dedicates this piece, "I wrote only for you and myself; and, confining those instructions to our own houses, when the public did not think fit to approve them, I thought myself too happy that they might be useful to your son and mine; but since the emperor has vouchsafed to charge me with the education of his nephews, should I esteem as I ought the approbation of a god, and know the value

of the honour he has conferred upon me, if I did not measure the greatness of my undertaking by that idea. And, indeed, in whatever manner I considered it, whether in regard to manners or to knowledge and art, what ought I not to do, to deserve the esteem of so sacred a censor; a prince, in whose person supreme eloquence is united with supreme power? If then we are not surprised to see the most excellent poets, not only invoke the muses at the beginning of their works, but again implore their assistance, whenever in the course of it some new important object arises to be treated; with how much greater reason ought I to be pardoned, if what I did not at first I now do, and call all the gods to my aid, particularly him, under whose auspices I henceforth write, and who, more than all the rest, presides over study and science? May he then be propitious to me; and, proportioning his graces to the high idea he hath given of me, in a choice so glorious and so difficult to sustain, may he inspire my mind with the force and elevation it wants, and render me such as he hath believed me!"⁵

It must be confessed, that there is in this compliment abundance of wit, loftiness, and grandeur, especially in the thought with which it concludes: "And render me such as he hath believed me." But is it possible to carry flattery and impiety to a greater height, than to treat a prince as a god, who was a monster of vice and cruelty? Nor am I even sure whether the last thought be so just as it is shining: "And render me such as he hath believed me." He was not such then in reality: and how came this pretended god to believe he was? Again, if instead of extolling the regularity and purity of his manners, he had contented himself with enlarging upon his eloquence and the other talents of the mind upon which he valued himself, the flattery had been less odious. He praises him in another place⁶ in the same manner, where he prefers him above all other poets; at which time it is very likely, that the consular ornaments were conferred upon Quintilian.

The care of the young princes' education with which Quintilian was charged, did not hinder him from working upon his book, the *Institutiones Oratoriæ*. His regard for his only surviving son, whose happy genius and disposition merited his whole tenderness and attention, was a powerful motive with him for hastening that work, which he considered as the most valuable part of the inheritance he should leave him; in order, says he himself, that if any unforeseen accident should deprive that dear child of his father, he might, even after his death, serve him as a guide and preceptor.⁷ Continually filled, therefore, with the thought and apprehension of his mortality, he laboured night and day upon his work; and had already finished the fifth book of it, when an early death robbed him of that darling child, in whom his whole joy and consolation were centred. This was to him, after the loss he had already sustained of his youngest son, a calamity that overwhelmed him with anguish and affliction. His grief, or rather despair, vented itself in complaints and reproaches against the gods themselves, whom he loudly accused of injustice and cruelty; declaring, that it was plain, after so cruel and

¹ Adhuc velut studia inter nos conferebamus; et, si parum nostra institutio probaretur à ceteris, contenti fore domestico usu videbamus, ut tui meique filii disciplinam formare, satis putaremus. Cum verò mihi Domitianus Augustus sororis suæ nepotum delegaverit curam, non satis honorem judiciorum celestium intelligam, nisi ex hoc quoque oneri, magnitudinem metiar. Quis enim mihi aut mores excolendi scilicet modus, ut eos non immerito probaverit sanctissimus Censor? aut studia, ne fecissem, si in videri Principem, ut in omnibus, ita in eloquentia quoque eminentissimum? Quod si nemo miratur poetâs maximos sæpe fecisse, ut non solum initiis operum suorum Musas invocarent, sed proventi quoque longius, cum ad aliquem graviorem locum venissent, repeterent vota, et velut nova precatione uterentur: mihi quoque profecto poterit ignosci, si, quod initio, cum primum hanc materiam inchoavi, non fecerim, nunc omnes in auxilium deos, ipsunque imprimis, quo neque præsentibus aliud, neque studiis magis propitium nunc est, invocem; ut, quantum nobis expectationis adjecit, tantum ingenii aspiat, dexterque ac volens adsit, et me, qualem esse credidit, faciat.

⁶ Lib. x. c. 1.

⁷ Quintil. in Proem. l. vi.

¹ Quint. l. xii. c. 11.

² Antequam in has ætatis veniat insidias, receptui canet, et in portum integra navo perveniet. Quint. l. xii. c. 11.

³ Quintil. in Proem. l. vi.

⁴ Quintil. in Proem. l. iv. Sueton. in Domit. c. 15.

unjust a treatment, which neither himself nor his children had deserved, that there was no providence to superintend affairs below. Discourses of this kind show in a clear light, what even the most perfect probity of the Pagans was: for I do not know whether all antiquity can instance one man of a more humane, reasonable, wise, and virtuous character than Quintilian, according to the rule of paganism. His books abound with excellent maxims upon the education of children, upon the care which parents ought to take to preserve them from the dangers and corruption of the world, upon the attention masters ought to have that the precious deposit of innocence remain unblemished in them, upon the generous disinterestedness incumbent upon persons in power; and lastly, upon the zeal and love for justice and the public good.

His grief had been very just, if attended with moderation: for never child deserved more to be regretted than he. Besides the graces of nature and exterior attributes, a charming tone of voice, an amiable physiognomy, with a surprising facility in pronouncing the Greek and Roman languages, as if he had been born to excel equally in them both; he had the most happy disposition that could be desired for the sciences, united with a taste and inclination for study that astonished his teachers. But the qualities of his heart were still more extraordinary than those of his head. Quintilian, who had known abundance of youth, declares, with an oath, that he had never seen so much probity of inclination, goodness of soul, sweetness of temper, and elegance of mind, as in this dear child. In an illness of eight months' continuance he showed an evenness and constancy of mind, that his physicians could never sufficiently admire, opposing fears and pains with surprising fortitude, and, upon the point of expiring, consoling his father, and endeavouring to prevent his tears. What a misfortune was it that so many fine qualities were lost! But what a shame and reproach were it for Christian children to be less virtuous!

After having abandoned his studies for some time, Quintilian having recovered himself a little, resumed his work; for which he says, the public ought to have the more favourable opinion of him, as he laboured no longer for himself; his writings, as well as fortune, being to pass away to strangers. He at length finished his plan in twelve books, *Ant. J. C. 93*. It had cost him little more than two years: of which besides, he had employed a great part not in actually composing, but in preparing, and collecting all the matter of which it was to consist, by the perusal of authors who had treated the same subject.¹ And we have seen how many afflictions and melancholy affairs he had upon his hands during that time. It is astonishing and almost incredible, how so perfect a work could be composed in so short a space. His design was to follow the advice of Horace, who, in his *Art of Poetry*, recommends to authors not to be in too much haste to publish their writings.² Accordingly he kept his by him, in order to revise them at his leisure, to give time to the first emotions of self-love and the complacency people always have for their own productions to cool; and to examine them no longer with the fond prepossession of an author, but with the temper and impartiality of a reader. He could not long resist the eager desire of the public to have his works, and was in a manner reduced to abandon them to it, contenting himself with wishing them success, and recommending to his bookseller to take great care that they were exact and correct. It must have been at least a year before they could be in a condition to appear. We are obliged to the Abbé Gedeon for having enabled the public to judge of the merit of this author, by the translation he has published of his works.

Mr. Dodwell believes, it was about this time that Quintilian, who no longer employed in composing his great work, which he had lately finished, thought

of a second marriage,³ and accordingly espoused the grand-daughter of Tutilius, as Pliny the younger calls him, *Ant. J. C. 94*. He had a daughter by her about the end of this year.

Domitian, notwithstanding his pretended divinity, was killed in his palace by Stephanus, who had put himself at the head of the conspirators, *Ant. J. C. 96*. That emperor had caused Flavius Clemens, then consul, to be put to death, and had banished his niece Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Clemens. He had also banished St. Flavia Domitilla, the daughter of one of the same consul's sisters. All these persons suffered for the faith in Jesus Christ. The death of Clemens hastened the death of Domitian, either through the horror and fear it gave every body, or because it animated Stephanus against him, who was the freedman and steward of Domitilla, the wife of Clemens, of whose estate he was obliged to give an account, and was accused of malversation in that respect, *Ant. J. C. 93*. Nerva succeeded Domitian, and reigned only sixteen months and some days. Trajan, whom he had adopted, was his successor, and reigned twenty years.

Nothing is known of Quintilian from the death of Domitian, except the marriage of his daughter, admitting he had one. When she was of age to marry, he gave her to Nonius Celer. Pliny signalized himself on this occasion by a generosity and gratitude, which in my opinion do him more honour than his writings, excellent as they are. He had studied eloquence under Quintilian. The works he has left us sufficiently prove that he was a disciple worthy of so great a master: but the following fact no less denotes the goodness of his heart, and the remembrance he constantly retained of the services he had received from him. As soon as he knew that Quintilian intended to marry his daughter, he thought it incumbent on him to express his gratitude to his master by a small present. The difficulty was to make him accept it. He wrote him a letter upon that head, that can never be sufficiently admired for its art and delicacy, of which I shall insert a translation in this place.

Pliny's Letter to Quintilian.

"Though the moderation of your mind is very great, and you have educated your daughter as becomes Quintilian's daughter, and the grand-daughter of Tutilius: yet, as she is about to marry Nonius Celer, a person of distinction, whose employments in the state impose a kind of necessity upon him for appearing with splendour, it is proper, that she should adapt her dress and equipage to the rank of her husband. These exterior things indeed add nothing to our dignity; they however express and adorn it. I know how very rich you are in the goods of the mind, and that you are much less so in those of fortune than you ought to be. Let me claim therefore a part in your obligations, and, as another father, give our dear daughter fifty thousand sesteria, (12,500 livres⁴) to which I should add, if I was not assured, that the mediocrity of the present is the sole means to prevail upon your modesty to accept it. *Adieu.*"⁵

This letter of Pliny's has one circumstance in it very much for Quintilian's honour: that after having publicly employed twenty years with surprising reputation and success, as well in instructing youth as pleading at the bar; after having long resided in

³ This second marriage is not certain, but seems very probable.

⁴ About 600*l.* sterling.

⁵ *Quamvis et ipse sis continentissimus, et filiam tuam ita institueris, ut decebat filiam tuam, Tutilii nempe: cum tamen sit nuptura honestissimo viro Nonio Celeri, cui ratio civilium officiorum necessitatem quandam nioris imponit; debet, secundum conditiones mariti, veste, comitatu augeri: quibus non quidem augetur dignitas, ornatur tamen et instruitur. Te porro animo beatissimum, modicum facultatis scio. Itaque partem oneris tui mihi vendico, et, tanquam parens alter puelle nostrae, confero quinquaginta milia nummum: plus collaturus, nisi à verecundia tua sola mediocritate munusculi impetrari posse confiderem, ne recusares.—*Val. Ep. 32. l. 6.**

¹ *Epist. ad Tryph. bibliop.*

² *Unus deinde Horatii consilio, qui in arte poetica suadet, ne præcipitetur editio, nonnihil prematur in aum; dābam iis utium, ut refrigerato inventionis amore, diligentius repetitos tanquam lector perperderem.*

the court with young princes, the education of whom ought to have given him, and undoubtedly did give him, great credit with the emperor, he had made no great fortune, and had always remained in a laudable mediocrity. A fine example, but unhappily very seldom imitated! Juvenal however intimates, that Quintilian was very rich, and that he had a considerable number of forests, from which, no doubt, arose a very great revenue.

Unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet satyres?
Sat. vii. l. 3.

These riches must necessarily have been of later date than the time when Pliny made Quintilian the present we have mentioned, Ant. J. C. 118. It is believed, that if real, they were the effect of the liberality of Adrian, when he attained the empire, for he declared himself the protector of the learned, Quintilian was then seventy-six years old. It is not known whether he lived long after, and history tells us nothing of his death.

II. Plan and Character of Quintilian's Rhetoric.

The rhetoric of Quintilian, entitled, *Institutiones Oratoriae*, is the most complete antiquity has left us. His design in it is to form the perfect orator. He begins with him in his cradle and from his birth, and goes on with him through all the stages of life to the grave. This rhetoric consists of twelve books. In the first he treats of the manner in which children should be educated from their earliest infancy; whence he proceeds to grammar. The second lays down rules to be observed in the schools of rhetoric, and solves several questions in regard to the art itself, as whether it be a science, whether useful, &c. The five following books contain the rules of invention and disposition. The eighth, ninth, and tenth books include all that relates to elocution. The eleventh, after a fine chapter upon the manner of speaking with propriety as an orator, *de apte dicendo*, treats of memory and pronunciation. In the twelfth, which is perhaps the finest of them all, Quintilian lays down the personal qualities and obligations of an advocate, as such, and with regard to his clients; when he ought to quit his profession; and how employ his retirement.

One of the peculiar characters of Quintilian's rhetoric is, its being written with all the art, elegance, and energy of style it is possible to imagine. He knew, that precepts when treated in a naked, simple, and subtle manner, are only proper to dry up the sources of the mind, and, if I may use the expression, to make discourse lean and languid, by depriving it of all grace and beauty, and leaving it nothing but nerves and bones, more like a skeleton than a healthy and natural body.¹ He therefore endeavoured to introduce into his *Institutiones* all the ornament and elegance of which such a work was susceptible,² not, as he says himself, with the view of displaying his wit, (for he could have chosen a far more fruitful subject for that purpose) but that youth, from the attraction of pleasure, might apply themselves with more ardour to the reading and studying of his precepts, which without grace and ornament, could not fail, in offending the delicacy of their ears, to disgust also their minds. Accordingly we find in his writings a richness of thoughts, expressions, images, and especially comparisons, which a lively imagination, adorned with a profound knowledge of nature, con-

tinually supplies, without ever exhausting itself, or falling into disagreeable repetitions: comparisons, which throw such a fulness of light and beauty into precepts, often obscure and disgusting in themselves, as give them a quite different spirit and effect.

The principal end of Quintilian, in his rhetoric, was to oppose the bad taste of eloquence, that prevailed in his time, and revive a manner of thinking and judging more sound and severe, and more conformable to the rules of the elegance of nature.³ Seneca had contributed more than any other author to vitiate and corrupt the judgment of the Roman youth, and to substitute in the place of that manly and solid eloquence, which had prevailed till his time, the prettinesses, if I may be allowed to call them so, of a style surfeited with ornaments, glittering thoughts, quaint conceits, antithesis, and point. He perceived aright, that his 4 works would never please those who admired the ancients: for which reason he never ceased to speak ill of, and discredit them, even the authors who were most esteemed, as Cicero and Virgil. In consequence of this conduct an almost universal contempt for them ensued; so that when Quintilian began to teach, he found no author but Seneca in the hands of youth. He did not endeavour absolutely to exclude him; but could not suffer his being preferred to writers of incomparably greater merit.

For the rest, we ought not to be surprised that this bad taste made so rapid a progress in so short a time: which is indeed no more than what usually happens. There wants but a single person of a certain character to vitiate all the rest, and to corrupt the language of a whole nation. Such was Seneca.⁴ I omit speaking in this place of the other qualities, for which he was admired: a happy and universal genius; a vast extent of knowledge; a profound erudition in philosophy; and a morality abounding with the justest and most solid principles. To keep within the bounds of my subject, he had an easy and exuberant wit, a fine and rich imagination, a shining facility in his compositions, solid thoughts, expressions curious and full of energy, with happy and sprightly turns and conceits. But as to his style it was almost vicious in all its parts, and so much the more dangerous, as it was all over luxuriant with charming faults and beautiful defects.⁵

This florid style, this taste for point and quaintness, the more dangerous as the more easy and affecting, and therefore the more conformable to the character of youth, soon seized the whole city. It became necessary that every proof and every period should conclude with some glittering thought, or singular and surprising turn, to strike the ear, attract particular attention, and in some measure claim applause.⁶ Quintilian believed himself obliged to attack this bad taste with the utmost vigour; which he does almost throughout his whole work, by laying down, upon the model of the ancients, the principles of true and solid eloquence. It is not, as he often declares, and as his style sufficiently shows, because he was an enemy to the beauties and graces of discourse. He confesses that Cicero himself, to defend his clients, employed not only strong but shining arms; and that in the cause of Cornelius Balbus, in which he was often interrupted by the applauses and universal clapping of hands of his auditors, sublimity, pomp, and glitter of eloquence occasioned those loud acclama-

¹ Quod accidit mihi, dum corruptum et omnibus vitis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad severiora judicia contendo. *Quintil.* l. x. c. 1.

² Tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adolescentium fuit. Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere, sed potioribus præferri non sinebam, quos ille non desiderat incassum, cum diversi sibi consuevi generis, placere se in dicendo posse iis, quibus illi placerent, diffideret. *Ibid.*

³ *Quintil.* l. x. c. 1.

⁴ Sed in quodam corrupta pleræque, atque eo perniciosissima, quod abundans dulcibus vitis. Velles cum suo ingonio dixisse, alieno judicio.

⁵ Nunc illud volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis sensus in fine sermonis feriat aures. Turpe autem ac prope nefas ducunt, respirare ullo loco qui acclamationem non petierit. *Quintil.* l. viii. c. 5.

¹ Plerumque nudæ illæ artes, nimia subtilitatis affectatione frangunt atque emicidunt quicquid est in oratione generosius, et omnem succum ingenii bibunt, et ossa detegunt: quæ ut esse et astringi nervis suis debent, sic corpore operienda sunt. *Quintil.* in *Proem.* l. i.

² In ceteris admiscere tentavimus aliquid nitoris, non jactandi ingenii gratia (namque in id eligi materia poterat uberior) sed ut hoc ipso alliceremus magis juventutem ad cognitionem eorum quæ necessaria studiis arbitramur, si ducti jucunditate aliqua lectionis, libentius discerent ea, quorum ne jejunia atque arida traditio averteret animos, et aures (præsertim tam delicatas) raderet, verebimur. *Quintil.* l. iii. c. 1.

tions.¹ He adds to this motive a very true and judicious reflection, which seems to regard only the orator's reputation: this is, that the beauty of speech conduces very much to the success of a cause, because those who hear with pleasure are more attentive, and become more inclined to believe what they hear, won over as they are by the charms of discourse, and sometimes in a manner borne away by the general admiration. Quintilian therefore does not reject ornaments: but he insists that eloquence, which is an enemy to paint, and all borrowed graces, admits no dress but what is manly, noble, and majestic.² He consents, that it should shine and be lovely, but from health, if I may be allowed the expression, and that it should owe its beauty solely to its natural vigour and florid complexion. He carries this principle so far as to say, that were he to choose, he should prefer the rough, gross force of the ancients, to the studied and effeminate affectation of the moderns.³ But, says he, there is in this point a certain mean that may be observed, in like manner as there is a neatness and elegance at present in our tables and furniture, which is so far from being reprovable, that we ought, to the utmost of our power, to make it become a virtue in the general acceptance.

We find by the little I have related of Quintilian, how greatly useful the study of such a work may be to form the judgment of youth. It is no less so in respect to the manners. He has scattered admirable maxims of that nature throughout his rhetoric. I have quoted part of them in my treatise upon study.

But this fund of probity, so worthy in itself of our highest praises, is much dishonoured by our rhetorician's impious flatteries in regard to Domitian, and by his despair on the death of his children, that rose so high as to deny providence. This example, and many others of a like nature, instruct us how to think of these pagan virtues, which were solely founded in self-love, and of a religion that afforded no resource against the losses and evils to which human life is continually exposed.

III. Method of Instructing Youth in Quintilian's Time.

Before I conclude this article upon Quintilian, I shall extract from his writings part of what relates to the manner of teaching, as used at Rome, in his time.

It appears to have been a very usual custom at Rome, not to begin the instruction of children till they were seven years old, because it was believed, that before that age they had neither sufficient strength of body nor extent of mind for learning.⁴ Quintilian thinks otherwise, and prefers the opinion of Chrysippus, who had composed a treatise of considerable extent, and in great esteem, upon the education of children. Though that philosopher allowed three years to the nurses, he was from that age for having them industriously imbued with good principles of morality, and formed insensibly for virtue. Now, says Quintilian, if from that early state their manners may be cultivated, what hinders but their minds may also be improved? What is a child to do from the time he begins to speak? For undoubtedly he must do something. Is it proper to abandon him

entirely to the discourses of women and men-servants? At that age we know he is incapable either of pains or application. Therefore this must not be so much a study as a play, whereby these first years of infancy, till the seventh, which are generally lost, may be usefully applied in teaching him a thousand agreeable things within the reach of his capacity.

They began with the study of the Greek language:⁵ but that of the Latin soon followed; from which time they cultivated both languages with equal application. This is not practised with sufficient regularity among the French, [or indeed the English,] who seldom or never know their native tongue by principles.

When the children had learnt to read well, and to write correctly, they were taught both the Latin and Greek grammars. They had, for this end, private masters who instructed them at home, and others who taught in the public schools. Quintilian examines which of these two methods of teaching is the most useful; and, after having attentively considered the reasons on both sides, he declares for the public schools. The chapter wherein he treats this question, is one of the finest parts of his work.

Grammar was not considered in those times as a frivolous employment of little importance.⁶ The Romans set a higher value upon it, and applied themselves to it in a particular manner; convinced, that to propose making a progress in the sciences without the assistance of grammar, is like intending to erect a building without a foundation. They did not dwell upon minute things and subtleties, which serve only to cramp the genius, and make the mind dry and frigid; they studied its principles, and examined its reasons, with care; for there is nothing hurtful in grammar, but what is useless.

Grammar, that is to say, the art of writing and speaking correctly, turns upon four principles:⁷ reason, antiquity, authority, and use. Quintilian says an admirable thing upon this last head. This word *Use*,⁸ according to him, requires an explanation, and it is necessary to define precisely what we understand by it. For, if we take it for what we see done by the generality of people, the consequences would be dangerous, not only in regard to language, but what is more important, in respect to manners. For, says he, can it be expected among men to see the generality follow or use what is best, and according to rule? He repeats several customs very common in his time, which ought not to be considered as uses but as abuses, though generally practised by the whole city. We shall call *use* therefore, as it relates to language, that which is received by the consent of such as speak best; as, in regard to manners, that is *use*, which has the approbation of the good and worthy.

The care of teaching children to read and write correctly, and of learning them the principles of the Greek and Latin tongues, was the first but not the chief duty of grammarians.⁹ They added to this the reading and explication of the poets, which was of exceeding great extent, and required profound erudition. They did not content themselves with making children observe the propriety and natural signification of words; the different feet in the construction of verses; the turns and expressions peculiar to poetry, with the tropes and figures. They applied themselves principally in showing¹⁰ what it was necessary

¹ Nec fortibus modis sed etiam fulgentibus armis præliatus in causa est Cicero Corneli: qui non assecutus esset docendo Iudicem tantum, et utiliter demum ac Latine perspicuè que dicendo, ut populus Romanus admirationem suam; non acclamatione tantum, sed etiam plausu confiteretur. Sublimitas profectò, et magnificentia, et nitor, et auctoritas expressit illum fragorem.—Sed ne causæ quidem parum conferit hic orationis ornatus. Nam qui libenter audiunt, et magis attendunt, et facilius credunt, plerumque ipsa delectatione capiuntur, nonnunquam ipsa admiratione auferuntur. *Quintil. l. viii. c. 3.*

² Sed hic ornatus, (repetam enim) virillis, fortis, et sanctus est: nec effeminatam levitatem, nec furore eminentem colorem amet: sanguine et viribus niteat. *Quintil. ibid.*

³ Et, si necesse sit, veterem illum horrorem dicendi malim, quam istam novam licentiam. Sed patet media quædam via: sicut in cultu victique accessit aliquis citra reprehensionem nitor, quem, sicut possumus, adjiciamus virtutibus. *Ibid. c. 5.*

⁴ *Quintil. l. i. c. 1.*

⁵ *Quinc. l. i. c. 1.*

⁶ *L. i. c. 4.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Sed huic ipsi necessarium est iudicium, constituendumque imprimis id ipsum quid sit, quod consuetudinem vocamus. Quæ si ex eo quod plures faciunt nomen accipiat, pericolosissimum dabit præceptum, non orationi modo, sed (quod majus est) vite. Unde enim tutum boni ut pluribus quæ recta sunt placeant? Igitur ut velli, et comam in gradus frangere, et in balneis perpotare, quamlibet hæc invaserint civitatem, non erit consuetudo, quia nihil horum caret reprehensione.—sic, in loquendo, non, si quid vitiosè multis inderit, pro regula sermonis accipiendum erit.—Ergo consuetudinem sermonis, verbo consensus eruditorum; sicut vivendi, consensus bonorum. *Lib. i. cap. 4.*

⁹ *L. i. c. 5.*

¹⁰ Præcipuè vero illa infigat animis, quæ in æconomia virtus, quæ in decoro rerum; quid personæ equis convenierit; quid in sensibus laudandum, quid in verbis; ubi copia probabilis, ubi modus.

to remark in the economy or conduct of a piece, and the consistency of its parts and character; what was fine in the thoughts and diction; and wherefore the style was sometimes flowing and luxuriant, and sometimes succinct and concise. They made children also perfectly acquainted with whatever had any relation, in the poets, either to fable or history, without however charging their memories with any thing useless. At least, these are the rules prescribed by Quintilian. He reckons it a perfection in a grammarian, to be ignorant of certain things, which indeed do not deserve to be known.¹

The grammarians began also to form youth for composition, by making them write descriptions, fables, and more extensive narrations.² They sometimes made excursions, of which Quintilian complains, into the province of rhetoric, and made their disciples compose discourses, not only in the demonstrative kind, which seemed abandoned to them, but even in the deliberative.³ At the same time that youth learnt grammar, they were also taught music, geometry, the manner of dancing that improves the person and mien, and the art of pronunciation, or of speaking in public; all which were considered as essential to the future orator, and always preceded the study of rhetoric.⁴

The age for entering upon this study was not and could not be fixed, because it depended on the progress made in the previous studies. What we certainly know of it, is, that young persons devoted several years to it: *Adulti ferè pueri ad hos præceptores transferuntur, et apud eos juvenes etiam facti perseverant.*⁵ We may conjecture, that they generally began rhetoric at thirteen or fourteen years of age, and continued at it till seventeen or eighteen. The length of time employed in this study ought not to surprise us, because at Rome as well as Athens, eloquence opening the door to the highest dignities of the republic, this art was the principal employment of the youth of both cities. We must not forget, that at Rome they studied rhetoric under both Greek and Latin masters.

The function of a rhetorician included two parts: precepts and declamations.

Quintilian, in several passages of his work, proves the utility and necessity of precepts: but he is far from believing, that a scrupulous observance of them is indispensably necessary in composing. Rhetoric would certainly be very easy and attainable, if it could be made to consist in a small number of fixed and certain rules; but its rules change according to time, occasion, and necessity. For which reason the principal requisite in an orator is judgment, because he is to determine differently his own conduct, according to the exigency of affairs.⁶

The rhetorician dictated the precepts to his disciples, which must have taken up abundance of time: for the rhetorics were generally very long, as we may conclude from that of Quintilian. It often treated subjects of a very abstract, and very improper nature in my opinion, to inspire a taste for eloquence. These are that kind of passages, which, in regard to youth, I have taken the liberty to retrench in my edition of this rhetorician. He found this custom established, and could not with prudence depart from it. But he makes his readers good amends, not only by the graces and beauties of style diffused through all the passages susceptible of them, but still more by the solid reflections, with which he unites most of his precepts. And, when he explained them to his disciples, what force and clearness must his pronunciation have added to them!

To teach youth how to practise the precepts he had explained to them, the master formed them for composition.⁷ At first they made historical narrations. They then rose to praising of great men, and

blaming such as had rendered themselves odious by their criminal actions; and sometimes made parallels and comparisons between them. They exercised themselves also in commonplaces, upon avarice, ingratitude, and the other vices in general: and in certain themes which supplied abundant matter for eloquence; for instance, whether the country life is preferable to that of the town; whether most glory be acquired in the field or at the bar. Care was also taken to exercise the memory.⁸ Quintilian for this end is for having youth learn by heart select passages out of the orators, historians, and other celebrated authors: the poets were left wholly to the grammarians. They will form their taste early by this means, says he, their memory will constantly supply them with excellent models, which they will imitate even without thinking of it: expressions, turns of thoughts and figures, will rise up with no constraint under their pens, and present themselves as treasures carefully reserved against occasion.⁹

By these different exercises, they were insensibly led on to the composition of discourses in form, called declamations, in which the principal business of rhetoric consisted.¹⁰ These were harangues composed upon feigned and imaginary subjects, in imitation of those at the bar, and in the public deliberations. Demetrius Phalereus was the first who introduced the use of them among the Greeks.

Declamations were instituted to prepare youth for the real affairs of the bar, of which they were properly to be a faithful resemblance; and as long as they kept within these just bounds, and perfectly imitated the form and style of actual pleadings, they were of great use. Accordingly this sort of composition comprised all the parts and beauties of a coherent discourse. But this exercise, so useful in itself, degenerated so much through the ignorance and bad taste of masters, that declamations were one of the principal causes of the ruin of eloquence. They made choice of fabulous subjects, entirely extraordinary and unnatural, which had no manner of relation to the matters treated at the bar. I shall cite a single example of this kind, from which the rest may be known.¹¹ There was a law which decreed, that the hands of him who struck or used violence to his father should be cut off. *Qui patrem pulsaverit, manus ei præciuantur.* A tyrant, having caused a father and his two sons to be brought to him in the citadel, ordered the sons to beat the father. One of them, to avoid so horrid an impiety, threw himself headlong from the works of the citadel: the other, compelled by necessity, obeyed the command, and struck his father; he afterwards killed the tyrant, who had made him his friend, and received the reward granted him by the laws in such a case. He was however tried by the judges for having used violence to his father, and the prosecutor demanded that his hands should be cut off. The father takes upon him his defence. Matters of a much more extravagant nature were treated in declamations. The style was suited to the choice of the subjects, and consisted of nothing but stiff, far-fetched expressions, glittering conceits, points, antitheses, quibbles, and jingle, strained figures, frothy bombast,¹² in a word, of all manner of puerile ornaments, crowded together without judgment or choice.

Quintilian opposed this bad taste with the utmost zeal, and applied himself to reforming declamations,

¹ Lib. ii. c. 8.

² Sic assuescent optimis, semperque habebunt intra se quod imitentur: etiam non sentientes, sorsum illam, quam mente penitus acceperint, expriment. Abundabant autem copia verborum optimorum, et compositione, ac figuris jam non quæsitis, sed sponte et ex reposito velut thesauri se offerentibus.

¹⁰ Lib. ii. c. 4.

¹¹ Senec. Declam. iv. l. 9.

¹² Hæc tulerabilia essent, si ad eloquentiam iturus viam facerent: nunc et rerum tumore, et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu, hoc tantum proficiunt, ut, cum in forum venerint, putent se in alium terrarum orbem delatos. Et ideo ego adolescentulos existimo in schulis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil exiis, quæ in usu habemus, aut audiunt, aut vident: sed mellitos verborum globulos, et omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa. *Petrus in iuit.*

³ Ex quo mihi inter virtutes Grammatici habebitur, aliqua nascere.

⁴ L. i. c. 6.

⁵ L. ii. c. 1.

⁶ L. i. c. 7, &c.

⁷ L. ii. c. 2.

⁸ Atque adeo res in oratore præcipue consilium, quia variè et ad rerum momenta convertitur. Lib. ii. c. 14.

⁹ Lib. ii. c. 4.

by reducing them to their original design, and making them conformable to the practice of the bar. Believing it improper, however, to oppose the torrent of custom in a direct manner, he abated of his ardour in some respects, and gave way to the stream in a certain degree. It will not be disagreeable to see in what manner he justifies this condescension himself. "What then, some one may say, are youth never to be suffered to treat extraordinary subjects? To give aloose to their genius, to abandon themselves to the sallies of a warm imagination, and swell a little in their style and eloquence? That is undoubtedly right," says Quintilian. "But then let them keep at least to what is justly bold and swelling; and not give into what is ridiculous and extravagant to all who have any sense or discernment. In fine, if we must have this indulgence for declaimers, let them swell as much as they please, provided they remember, that as certain animals are turned loose into the fields upon the luxuriant herbage for a certain time, and afterwards are let blood, and return to their usual meat for the preservation of their vigour; so they ought to distrust their fulness, and retrench its vicious superfluities, if they would have their productions really sound and vigorous. Otherwise, on their first attempts in public, they will find that imaginary fulness and abundance do more than empty swell and tumour."¹

With such wise precautions, declamations might be of great use to young persons. Perfect discourses are not to be required or expected from them at first.² A fruitful and abundant genius may be known from a boldness and spirit in attempting, though not always within the bounds of the just and the true. It is good to have always something to retrench at these years. When a young person had worked in private upon a subject given him to treat, he brought his composition to the school, and read it before his companions. The master sometimes, to render them more attentive, and to form their judgment, asked them what they thought worthy of either praise or blame in the piece read to them. He afterwards determined the manner in which they were to judge of it, as well in regard to the thoughts, as the expression: he pointed out the passages that were either to be made more clear, or to be enlarged or abridged; always softening his criticism with an air of kindness, and sometimes even with praise, in order to its being the better received. "For my part," says Quintilian, "when I observed young persons either too wanton and luxuriant in their style, or more bold than solid in their thoughts, I told them, for the present I would suffer it, but the time would come when I should not permit the taking of such liberties. And thus they were pleased with their wit, without being deceived on the side of their judgment."³

When the youth, upon the advice of his master, had carefully retouched his piece, he prepared to pronounce it in public; and this was one of the greatest advantages derived from the study of rhetoric, and at the same time one of the most laborious exercises for the master, as the satirist observes:

Declamare doces, oh ferrea pectora, Vecti
Juv. Sat. 7.
 With iron lungs who teaches to declaim.

¹ Quid ergo? Nunquam hæc supra fidem, et poetica (ut verè dicam) themata juvenibus petrare permittemus, ut expatiatur, et gaudeant materia, et quasi in corpus eant? Erat optimum. Sed certè sint grandia et tumida, non stulta etiam, et acrioribus oculis intuenti ridicula. Ac, si jam cedendum esset, implet se declamator aliquando, cum sciat, ut quadrupes, cum veridi pabulo distente sunt, sanguinis detractioe curantur, et sic ad cibos veribus concervandis idoneos redeunt: ita sibi quoque tenandos adipos, et quicquid humoris corrupti contraxerit, emittendum, si esse sanus ac robustus volet. Alioqui, tumor ille inanis primo ejusque veri operis conatu deprehendetur. *Lib. ii. c. 11.*

² In pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi, nec sperari potest: melior autem est indoles læta, generosique conatus, et vel plura justo concipiens interim spiritus. Nec unquam me in his discipulis annis offendant, si quid superferuit. *Lib. ii. c. 4.*

³ Solebam ego dicere pueris aliquid ausis licentius aut latius, laudare illud me adhuc; venturum tempus, quo idem non permitterem. Ita, et ingenio gaudebant, et judicio non fellebantur. *Ibid.*

The relations and friends of the speakers assembled on these occasions, and it was the height of joy to fathers to see their sons succeed in these declamations, which prepared them for pleading, and enabled them to distinguish themselves in time at the bar.

Among the different exercises of rhetoric, there is reason to be surprised, that nothing is said of the reading and explaining of good authors, which alone is capable of forming entirely the taste of youth, and of teaching them to compose well. Quintilian⁴ confesses, that this was not practised at the time he began to teach rhetoric. He was sensible of all its advantages from the first, and exercised some young persons in it, whom he instructed in private, in consequence of their parents' request: but having found the contrary custom established in the schools, he was afraid to depart from the ancient method; so much force and dominion has custom over the mind of man! Convinced of the vast importance of this practice with regard to youth, he recommends it industriously in his oratorical institutions: and as the grammarian's business was to explain the poets to them, he is for having the rhetorician do the same in respect to the orators and historians, but especially the former, in reading them with the pupils, and making them sensible of all their beauties; and he prefers this exercise far before all the precepts of rhetoric, how excellent soever they may be; examples being infinitely more improving in his opinion.⁵ For, says he, what the rhetorician contents himself with teaching, the orator sets before the eyes. The one points out the road youth are to take, the other in a manner leads them by the hand all the way. *Que doctor præcipit, orator ostendit.*⁶

I have perhaps enlarged a little too much upon what relates to this excellent master of rhetoric, from whom I have cited many passages, for which I ought to make some excuse to the reader. I desire him therefore to pardon my too manifest prejudice and passion for Quintilian, who is my favourite author, and whose writings have been the subjects of my lessons in the royal college more than forty years. I confess, that I am charmed and transported whenever I read his books, which always seem new to me; and I set the higher value upon them, as I know no author more capable of preserving youth against the false taste of eloquence, which seems in our days to aspire at superiority and dominion.

Several Saints have taught rhetoric, and have done honour to their profession by their profound knowledge, and still more by their solid piety: St. Cyprian, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Augustine, &c. The last mentions⁷ a celebrated rhetorician, named Victorinus, to whom a statue was erected at Rome, where the learned instruction he had given the children of the most illustrious senators had acquired him great reputation. The affecting history of his conversion, (for he had courageously renounced paganism for the Christian religion) contributed very much to that of St. Augustine.

CHAPTER V.

OF SOPHISTS.

In the subject I am now to treat, I have made great use of Mr. Hurd's work upon the *Origin and Progress of Rhetoric amongst the Greeks*, of which only a small part has been published.

It is hard to give a just idea and exact definition of sophists, because their condition and reputation have undergone various changes. It was at first a very honourable title. It afterwards became odious and contemptible from the vices of the sophists, and the abuse they made of their talents. At length the same title, in a manner restored to its privileges by the merit of those who bore it, continued in honour for a considerable succession of ages, which did not however prevent many of them, even in those times, from making an ill use of it.

⁴ *L. ii. c. 5.*

⁵ Hoc diligentiè genus ausim dicere plus collaturum discipulis, quam omnes omnium artes.—Nam in omnibus ferè minus valent præcepta, quàm exempla. *Lib. ii. cap. 5.*

⁶ *L. x. c. 1.*

⁷ Confess. l. viii. c. 2.

The name of sophist among the ancients was of very great extent, and was given to all those whose minds were adorned with useful and polite learning, and who imparted their knowledge to others, either by speech or in writing, upon any science or subject whatsoever. Hence we may judge how honourable this character was at first, and what respect it must have drawn upon those, who, distinguishing themselves by a superior merit, made it their business to form mankind for virtue, science, and the government of states. The greatest proof which can be given, says Isocrates, of the singular estimation in which the sophists were held, is, that Solon, who was the first Athenian called sophist, was judged worthy by our ancestors of being placed at the head of the republic. Herodotus reckons him amongst the sophists, whom the opulence of Croesus, and his love for the polite arts, had brought to his court.

When by the defeat of Croesus, Asia Minor was subjected to the arms of the Persians, most of the sophists returned into Greece, and the city of Athens became, under the government of Pisistratus and his children, the darling asylum and residence of the learned.

To understand aright the advantages they were of to Greece, we have only to remember the important services they rendered Pericles in regard to policy and government.

All arts, whose objects are great and considerable, require a genius for discussion, and a profound knowledge of nature.² The mind is thereby accustomed to conceive lofty and sublime thoughts, and enabled to attain its perfection. Pericles united with the most happy natural talents this habit of meditating and discussing. Having fallen into the hands of Anaxagoras, who followed this method in every thing, he learned from him to trace things to their principles, and applied himself particularly to the study of nature.³ History tells us the use he made of it on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, which had thrown his whole fleet into a consternation. Anaxagoras, who abounded in this kind of knowledge, made it the principal subject of his conversations with Pericles, who knew how to select from them what was proper, to apply it to rhetoric.

Damon, who succeeded Anaxagoras with Pericles, called himself only a musician, but concealed profound learning under that name and profession.⁴ Pericles passed whole days with him, either to improve the knowledge he already had, or to acquire more.⁵ Damon was the most amiable man in the world, and never wanted abundant resources upon whatever subject he was consulted. He had studied nature profoundly, and the effects of the different kinds of music. He composed excellently himself, and all his works tended to inspire horror of vice and love of virtue. Whatever care this sophist had taken to conceal his real profession, his enemies, or rather those of Pericles, perceived at length that his lyre was only assumed to disguise him from their sight. From that time they used all means to discredit him with the people. They painted him as an ambitious, turbulent person, who favoured tyranny. The comic poets seconded them to the utmost of their power, by the ridicule they vented against him. He was at length cited to answer for himself before the judges, and banished by the ostracism. His merit and attachment to Pericles were his only crimes.

That illustrious Athenian had also another teacher both in eloquence and policy, whose name and profession must give surprise: this was the famous Aspasia of Miletus.⁶ That woman, so much celebrated for her beauty, knowledge, and eloquence, was at the same time of two very different professions, a courtesan and a sophist. Her house was frequented by the gravest personages of Athens. She gave her lessons of eloquence and policy with so much politeness and modesty, that the husbands were not afraid to carry their

wives thither, where they might be present without shame or danger.

In her conduct and studies she followed the example of another famous courtesan of Miletus, named Thargelia, whose talents had acquired her the title of sophist, and whose exceeding beauty had raised her to the height of grandeur. When Xerxes meditated the conquest of Greece, he engaged her to employ the charms of her person and wit, to bring over several of the Grecian cities to his side, in which she succeeded effectually. She at length settled in Thessaly, where the sovereign married her, and she lived thirty years upon the throne.

Aspasia with abundance of wit and beauty united a profound knowledge of rhetoric and policy. Socrates boasted, that it was to her instructions he was indebted for all his eloquence, and ascribed to her the merit of having formed all the great orators of his time.⁷ He intimates also in Plato, that Aspasia had the greatest share in composing the funeral oration, pronounced by Pericles in praise of the Athenians, who fell in battle for their country, which appeared so admirable, that when he had done speaking, the mothers and wives of those he had praised, ran to embrace and crown him with wreaths and fillets, as a champion victorious in the games.

Pericles was in no good understanding with his wife, who consented without any difficulty to be divorced from him. After he had married her to another, he took Aspasia in her stead, and lived with her in the most perfect union. She was a long time the mark of the poets' satiric wit, who in their comedies drew her sometimes under the name of Omphale, sometimes of Dejanira, and sometimes under that of Juno. It is not certain whether it was before or after her marriage that she was accused before the judges for the crime of impiety.⁸ It is only said, that Pericles saved her with great difficulty, and that he exerted all his credit and eloquence in her defence. It is a pity that Aspasia dishonoured by the irregularity of her manners, and her profession of a courtesan, the many fine qualities, for which she was otherwise so estimable, and which without that blot, would have made her an honour to her sex. But they prove, however, of what the sex is capable, and how high females can carry the talents of the mind, and even the science of government.

Besides Anaxagoras, Damon, and Aspasia, who had principally instructed Pericles in eloquence and policy, he had also several other sophists of great reputation in his house. This conduct shows the value, which the great men of antiquity set upon, and the use they made of, the sciences, which they were very far from considering as a simple amusement, fit only at most to gratify the curiosity of a speculative mind with rare and abstract knowledge, but incapable of forming persons for the government of states.

The extraordinary honour paid by all Greece to the sophists, proves how highly they were esteemed. When they arrived at a city, they were met by the people in a body, and their entrance into it had something of the air of a triumph.⁹ They had their freedom conferred upon them, were granted all sorts of immunities, and had statues erected to their honour. Rome erected one to the sophist Proæresus, who went thither by order of the emperor Constantius.¹⁰ Nothing can be imagined more glorious or more soothing than the inscription of this statue: *Regina rerum Roma Regi eloquentia*; that is, "Rome, the queen of the world, to the king of eloquence."

The experience which most of the cities had made of the advantage of the sophists to those in the administration of public affairs, and especially in the instruction of youth, occasioned their being treated with all these singular marks of esteem and distinction. Besides which, it cannot be denied, that many of them had abundance of wit, had acquired a great extent of knowledge by application, and distinguished themselves in a particular manner by their eloquence. The

² L. i. c. 29.

³ Plato in Phædr. p. 269.

⁴ Plut. in Pericl. p. 154.

⁵ Plut. in Pericl. pp. 153, 154. ⁶ Plut. in Lach. p. 180.

⁷ Plut. in Pericl. pp. 165, 169. Athen. L. xiii. p. 608. Hec-
ych, in voce *σοφιστής*. Suid. ibid.

⁸ Plut. in Menex. p. 276—249.

⁹ Plut. in Pericl. p. 169.

¹⁰ S. Chrys. in Epist. ad Ephes.

¹¹ Eunapius,

most celebrated were Gorgias, Tisias, Protagoras, and Prodicus, who all appeared in the time of Socrates.

GORGAS is surnamed *the Leontine*, because he was a native of Leontium, a city of Sicily. His citizens, who were at war with those of Syracuse, deputed him as the most excellent orator among them, to implore aid of the Athenians, whom he charmed by his eloquence, and obtained from them all he demanded. As it was new to them, they were dazzled with the pomp of his words, thoughts, genius, and figures; and with those artfully laboured, and in a manner wire-drawn periods, the members of which, by a studied disparity and resemblance, answer each other with a nice exactness, and form a regular and harmonious cadence, that agreeably soothes the ear.² This kind of *prettiness*, for it cannot well be called by any other name, is pardonable when not too frequent, and is even graceful when used with the sober temper with which Cicero employed it. But Gorgias abandoned himself to it without any reserve. Every thing glittered in his style, in which art seemed to pride itself in appearing every where without a veil. He went to display it upon a much larger theatre, namely, in the Olympic games, and afterwards in the Pythian; where he was equally admired by all Greece. They loaded him universally with honour, which they carried so far, as to erect him a statue of gold at Delphos, an honour never before conferred on any man.³ Gorgias was the first who ventured to boast in a numerous assembly, that he was ready to dispute upon any subject that should be proposed: which became very common afterwards.⁴ Crassus had reason to treat so senseless a vanity, or rather, as he calls it himself, so ridiculous an impudence with derision. He lived to an hundred and seven years old, without ever quitting his studies; and upon being asked how he could support so long a life, he replied, that age had never given him any reason to complain. Isocrates, of all his disciples, was the most illustrious, and did him the greatest honour.

TISIAS was a native of the same city as Gorgias, and according to some, was joined with him in the deputation to the Athenians.⁵ He also acquired great estimation. Lysias, a famous orator, of whom I shall speak in the sequel, was one of his disciples.

PROTAGORAS, of Abdera in Thrace, was contemporary with Gorgias, and perhaps even a little prior to him.⁷ He was also of the same taste, and had, like him, a very great reputation for eloquence. He taught it during forty years, and gained by his profession more considerable sums than Phidias, or ten as excellent statuary as him, could ever have been able to have acquired. So Socrates says in Plato.

Aulus Gellius⁸ relates a very singular lawsuit between this Protagoras and one of his disciples. The latter, whose name was Evalthus, passionately desirous of making himself a celebrated advocate, applies to Protagoras. The price was agreed on; for these masters always began with that; and the rhetorician engaged to instruct Evalthus in the most secret mysteries of eloquence. The disciple, on his side, pays down directly half the sum agreed on, and according to articles, defers the payment of the other half, till after the carrying of the first cause he should plead. Protagoras, without loss of time, displays all his precepts, and after a great number of lessons, pretends that he had made his scholar capable of shining at the bar, and presses him to make an essay of his ability. Evalthus, whether out of timidity or some other reason, always defers it, and obstinately declines exercising his new talent. The rhetorician, weary of his continued refusal, has recourse to the judges. Then, sure of the victory, whatever sen-

tence they might pass, he insults the young man. For, says he, if the decree be in my favour, it will oblige you to pay me: if against me, you carry your first cause, and are my debtor according to our agreement. He believed the argument unanswerable. Evalthus was in no concern, and replied immediately, I accept the alternative. If judgment goes for me, you lose your cause: if for you, I am discharged by our articles; I lose my first cause, and from that moment the obligation ceases. The judges were posed by this captious alternative, and left the case undecided: in all probability Protagoras retained his having instructed his disciple so well.

PRODICUS of the isle of Cea, one of the Cyclades, the contemporary with Democritus and Gorgias, and disciple of Protagoras, was one of the most celebrated sophists of Greece.⁹ He flourished in the 86th Olympiad, and among others had Euripides, Socrates, Theramenes, and Isocrates, for his disciples. He did not disdain to teach in private at Athens, though he was there in the character of ambassador from his country, which had already conferred several other public employments upon him; and though the great approbation which his harangue had obtained him from the Athenians upon the day of his public audience, seemed to oppose his descending to use his talent upon less occasions. Plato insinuates, that the desire of gain induced Prodicus to keep a school. He accordingly enriched himself considerably by that business. He went from city to city to display his eloquence, and though he did it in a mercenary manner, he however received great honour at Thebes, and still greater at Lacedæmon.

His declamation of *fifty drachmas* is very much spoken of, which was so called, as some of the learned tell us, from each auditor being obliged to pay him that sum, amounting to about twenty-five livres French.¹⁰ This was paying very dear for hearing an harangue. Others understand it of a lecture, and not an harangue. Socrates, in one of Plato's dialogues, complains with his air of ridicule, of not being able to discourse well upon the nature of nouns, because he had not heard the lesson of fifty drachmas,¹¹ which according to Prodicus, revealed the whole mystery.¹² And indeed this sophist had discourses of all prices, from two oboli to fifty drachmas.¹³ Could any thing be more sordid?

The fable of Prodicus, wherein he supposes that virtue and pleasure, in the form of women, present themselves to Hercules, and endeavour, in emulation of each other, to allure him, has been justly extolled by many authors. Xenophon¹⁴ has explained it with great extent and beauty; yet he says, that it was much longer and more adorned in the piece of Prodicus upon Hercules. Lucian has imitated it ingeniously.

The Athenians put our sophist to death, as a corrupter of youth.¹⁵ It is probable that he was accused of teaching his disciples irreligion.

These sophists did not support their reputation long. I have shown, in the life of Socrates, in what manner that great man, who believed it incumbent on him as a good citizen to undeceive the public in regard to them, succeeded in making them known for what they were, by taking off the mask from their faults. He interrogated them in public conversations, with an air of simplicity and almost ignorance, which concealed infinite art, as one who desired to be instructed and improved by their doctrine; and leading them on from proposition to proposition, of which they foresaw neither the conclusion nor consequences, he made them fall into absurdities, which showed in the most sensible and distinct manner the falsity of all their reasonings.

Two things contributed principally to their losing almost universally the opinion of the public. They set themselves up for perfect orators, who alone possessed the talent for speaking, and had carried elo-

¹ Diod. l. xii. p. 106.

² Paria paribus adjuncta, et similiter definita; itemque contrariis relata contraria quæ sua sponte, etiamsi id non agas cadunt plerumque numerosè Gorgias primus invenit, sed his est usus imtemperanter. *Orat.* n. 175.

³ Gorgias tantus honos habitus est à tota Græcia, soli ut ex omnibus, Delphis, non inaurata statua sed aurea statuebatur. *3 De Orat.* n. 127.

⁴ I De Orat. n. 103.

⁵ Pausan. l. vi. p. 376.

⁶ L. v. c. 10.

⁷ De Senect. n. 13.

⁸ Plut. in Menon. p. 21.

⁹ Suidas.

¹⁰ τὸν πρῶτον λόγον ἀδελφῶν πρὸς τὸν

¹¹ In *Cratyl.* p. 384.

¹² Id. in *Aniuch.* p. 386.

¹³ L. 2. *Memorab.* pp. 737-740. *Cic. off.* l. i. n. 118.

¹⁴ Suid.

¹⁵ About twenty-two shillings

quence to the utmost heights of which it was capable. They valued themselves upon speaking extemporaneously, and without the least preparation, upon any subject that could be proposed to them. They boasted their being capable of giving their auditors whatever impressions they pleased; of teaching how to make the worst of causes good, and of making small things seem great, and great small, by dint of eloquence.² This Plato tells of Gorgias and Tisias. They were equally ready to maintain either side of any subject whatsoever. They held truth as nothing in their discourses, and made their eloquence subservient not to demonstrate it, and make it lovely, but as a mere wit-skirmish, to give falsehood the colours of truth, and truth those of falsehood.

The great theatre in which they endeavoured to shine, was the Olympic games. There, as I have already said, in the presence of an infinite number of auditors assembled from all parts of Greece, they affectedly displayed whatever is most pompous in eloquence. With little or no regard for the solidity of things, they employed whatever is most glittering and most capable of dazzling the mind, proposing no other ends to themselves than to please the multitude, and obtain their suffrages. And this did not fail to ensue, their discourses being attended with universal applause. I need not observe how far such an affectation might carry them, and how capable it was of ruining the taste for good and solid eloquence. This Socrates incessantly represented to the Athenians, as we find in several of Plato's dialogues, wherein he introduces him speaking upon this subject. For we must not imagine, when he attacks and condemns rhetoric as he often does, that he means the true and sound rhetoric. He valued it as it deserves, but could not suffer the infamous abuse which the sophists made of it, nor applaud, with the ignorant multitude, discourses, that had neither solidity nor any real beauty in them. For, instead of dressing eloquence like a majestic queen, in the noble and splendid ornaments that become her dignity, but have nothing affected or unnatural in them; the sophists set her off in a foreign, soft, effeminate garb, like a harlot, who derives all her graces from paint, has only borrowed beauties, and at most knows only how to charm the ears with the sound of a sweet harmonious voice. This is the idea which Quintilian and St. Jerome, conformably to Socrates, give us of the eloquence of the sophists, and I imagine the reader will not be offended if I repeat their own terms in this place. "Quapropter eloquentiam, licet hanc (ut sentio enim dicam) libidinosam resupina voluptate auditoria proberent, nullam esse existimabo, quæ ne minimum quidem in se indicium masculini et incorrupti, ne dicam gravis et sancti viri, ostendat.³ Quasi ad Athenæum et ad auditoria convenitur, ut plausus circumstantium suscitantur, ut oratoria Rhetoricæ artis fucata mendacio, quasi quædam meretricula procedat in publicum, non tam eruditura populos, quam favorem populi quæsitura, et in modum psalterii et tibie dulce canentis sensus demulceat auditivum."⁴ Persons of good sense, from the remonstrances of Socrates, soon perceived the falsity of this eloquence, and abated very much of the esteem they had conceived for the sophists.

A second reason entirely lost them the people's opinion: namely, the defects and vices remarkable in their conduct. They were proud, haughty, and arrogant, full of contempt for others and of esteem for themselves. They conceived themselves the only persons that understood, and were capable of teaching youth, the principles of rhetoric and philosophy in a proper manner. They promised parents, with an air of assurance or rather impudence, entirely to reform the corrupt manners of their children, and to give them, in a short space of time, all the knowledge

that was necessary for filling the most important offices of the state.

They did not do all this for nothing, neither did they pique themselves upon generosity. Their prevailing vice was avarice, and an insatiable desire of amassing riches. What was smartly said of Apollonius the stoic⁵ philosopher, whom the emperor Antoninus caused to come from the east, to be preceptor to Marcus Aurelius whom he had adopted, may be applied to them.⁶ He brought several other philosophers to Rome, all *Argonauts*, said a Cynic of those times, and well inclined to go in quest of the golden fleece.⁷ The sophists sold their instructions at a very great price, and as they had found means to bait the parents with magnificent promises, and the world was infatuated with the belief of their knowledge and merit, they extorted boldly from them, and made the most of the warm desire people expressed for the good education of their children. Protagoras⁸ took of his disciples for teaching them rhetoric an hundred minæ, or ten thousand drachmas, which is equal to five thousand livres.⁹ Gorgias, according to Diodorus Siculus and Suidas, had the same sum. Demosthenes paid as much for his instruction to the rhetorician Isæus.¹⁰ The perfect disinterestedness of Socrates, who had neither inheritance nor income, exposed still more by the contrast, the sordid avidity of the sophists, and was a continual censure of their conduct, much stronger than the sharpest reproaches he could have made them.

Notwithstanding these faults, which were personal to many of them, for some were not guilty of them, it must be confessed that the sophists rendered the public great services in the advancement of learning and the sciences, which were in a manner deposited with them for many ages.

Many cities of Greece and Asia, to which people went from different countries, to imbibe as at their source, all the sciences, have produced at all times sophists of great reputation. To abridge and conclude this article, I shall speak only of one of these sophists, the celebrated Libanius.

LIBANIUS was of a good family of Antioch.¹¹ He studied at Athens, Ant. J. C. 339, where he remained about four years. He was appointed by the proconsul to teach rhetoric there at the age of twenty-five; but this nomination did not take place. He was a very zealous defender of paganism, which afterwards recommended him to the particular consideration of Julian the Apostate. He acquired great esteem by his wit and eloquence. He distinguished himself principally at Constantinople and Antioch. He was professor in the first of these cities for some years at different times, where he contracted a particular friendship with St. Basil, Ant. J. C. 395.¹² That saint, before he went to Athens, came to Constantinople: and as that city abounded then with excellent philosophers and sophists, the vivacity and vast extent of his genius soon made him acquainted with whatever was best in their learning. Libanius,¹³ whose scholar he seems to have made himself, had an high regard for him, young as he was, upon account of the gravity of his manners, worthy the wisdom of old age; which, says he, I admired the more, as he lived in a city where the allurements of pleasure were endless. When he was informed that this saint, notwithstanding his great reputation, had retired from the world, all pagan as he was, he could not but admire so generous an action, which equalled

⁵ It was this Apollonius, who, when he arrived at Rome, refused to go to the palace, saying, it was the pupil's business to come to the master. Antoninus only laughed at this foolish pride and fantastic oddity of the stoic's humour, (who had been well satisfied to come from the East to Rome, and when at Rome would not go from his house to the palace,) and sent Mar. Aurelius to hear him at home. That prince continued to go thither to receive his lessons, even after he rose to the imperial dignity.

⁶ Lucian.

⁷ Comonæx.

⁸ A Protagora decem milibus denariis doctrinam didicisse artem quam cûdidi, Evuthias dicitur. Quintil. l. iii. c. i.

⁹ About 2460 sterling.

¹⁰ Diad. l. xii. Plat. in Isæo. p. 103.

¹¹ Lib. in vit. sua.

¹² St. Greg. Naz. Orat. 20. p. 325.

¹³ Epist. Liban.

¹ Docere se profitebantur, arro gantibus sænè verbis, quoad modum causa inferior (ite enim loquebantur) dicendo fieri superior posset. In Brut. n. 20.

² Τὰ σοφικὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μικρά σοφικὰ φαίνονται ποιοῦντι διὰ ῥήμιν λόγον. In Phædro. p. 207.

³ Quintil. l. v. c. 13.

⁴ S. Hieron. Præf. in l. iii. Comment ad Galat.

any thing ever done by his philosophers. In all St. Basil's letters to him, we see the singular esteem he had for his works, and his affection for his person. He directed all the youth of Cappadocia, who desired to improve themselves in eloquence, to him, as the most excellent master of rhetoric then in being, and they were received by him with particular distinction. Libanius says a thing very much for his honour in relation to one of these young men, whose circumstances were very narrow: that is, that he did not consider his pupils' riches but their good will; that if he found a young man poor, who professed a great desire to learn, he preferred him, without hesitation, to the richest of his disciples; and that he was very well pleased, when those who had nothing to give, were earnest to receive his instruction. He adds, that it had not been his good fortune to meet with such masters: And indeed disinterestedness was not the virtue of the sophists. Those whose profession it is to teach, know that the soil most fruitful in merit is poverty.

He writes to Themistius, a celebrated sophist, whom his talents and wisdom had raised to the highest employments in the state, in a manner that shows Libanius had noble sentiments, and the love of mankind at heart. "I do not congratulate you," says he, "upon the government of the city being conferred on you; but I congratulate the city upon having made choice of you for so important a trust. You want no new dignities, but the city is in great want of such a governor as you."

It were to be wished, that Libanius had been as irreproachable in regard to his manners, as he was estimable for his wit and eloquence. He is reproached with having been too full of esteem for himself, and too great an admirer of his own works. This

ought not to astonish us much. We might almost say, that vanity was the virtue of paganism.

Libanius passed the last thirty-five years of his life at Antioch, from the year 354, to about 390, and professed rhetoric there with great success. Christianity supplied him also with another illustrious disciple in the person of St. Chrysostom. His mother, who spared nothing for his education, sent him to Libanius's school, the most excellent and the most famous sophist, who then taught at Antioch, in order to his forming himself under so great a master. His works, from which he had been denominated *Golden Mouth*, show the progress he made there. At first he frequented the bar, pled some causes, and declaimed in public.² He sent one of these discourses in praise of the emperors to Libanius, who, in thanking him for it, tells him, that he and several other persons of learning to whom he had showed it, admired it. An author³ assures us, that some of his friends asking this sophist when he was near death, whom he should approve of to succeed him as professor, he replied, that he should have chosen our saint, if the Christians had not engrossed him: but his pupil had very different views.

If we may judge of the master by his scholars, and of his merit by their reputation, the two disciples of Libanius, whom I have now cited, might alone do him great honour. And indeed he passed for a great orator in the opinion of all the world. Eunapius⁴ says, that all his terms are curious and elegant, that whatever he writes has a peculiar sweetness and insinuating grace, with a sprightliness and gayety, that serves him instead of the salt of the ancients.

Libanius has left us a variety of writings, consisting of panegyrics, declamations, and letters: of all which, his letters have ever been the most esteemed.

Ἐλκεῖ τῷ μὴ δυνάμεινα δευναί, το βουληθῆναι λαβεῖν.

² Isid. Pelus. l. ii. Ep. 42.

³ Sozom. l. viii. c. 2.

⁴ Eunap. c. 14.

OF THE SUPERIOR SCIENCES.

WE are now come to that part of literature, which is the greatest and most exalted in the order of natural knowledge, namely, Philosophy, and the Mathematics that are a branch of it. The latter have under them a great number of arts and sciences, which either depend upon or relate to them. The study of these requires, for succeeding in it, force and extent of mind, which natural qualities it highly improves. It is evident, that subjects so various, extensive, and important, can only be treated of very superficially in this place: neither do I pretend to take them all in, or to give an exact detail of them here. I shall confine myself to the most select, and shall treat of what seems most proper to gratify, or rather to excite the curiosity of readers little versed in such matters, and to give them some idea of the history of the great men, who have distinguished themselves in these sciences, and of the improvements they have acquired in coming down from the ancients to the moderns.

All the sciences of which I am to speak here, may be divided into two parts; Philosophy and the Mathematics. Philosophy will be the subject of this book; and Mathematics of the following, which will be the last.

OF PHILOSOPHY.

PHILOSOPHY is the study of nature and morality founded on the evidence of reason. This science was at first called *sociis*, *Wisdom*; and the professors of it *socii*, *Sages*, or *Wise men*. These names seemed too arrogant to Pythagoras, for which reason he substituted more modest ones to them, calling this science *Philosophy*, that is to say, love of wisdom;

and those who taught or applied themselves to it *Philosophers*, lovers of wisdom.

Almost in all times and in all civilized nations, there have been studious persons of exalted genius, who cultivated this science with great application: the priests in Egypt, the Magi in Persia, the Chaldeans in Babylon, the Brahmins or Gymnosophists in India, and the Druids among the Gauls. Though philosophy owes its origin to several of those I have now mentioned, I shall consider it here only as it appeared in Greece, which gave it new lustre, and became in a manner its school in general. Not only some individuals, dispersed here and there in different regions, from time to time make happy efforts, and by their writings and reputation give a shining, but short and transient light; but Greece, by a singular privilege, brought up and formed in her bosom, during a long and uninterrupted series of ages, a multitude, or, to speak more properly, a nation of philosophers, solely employed in inquiring after truth; many of whom with that view renounced their fortunes, quitted their countries, undertook long and laborious voyages, and passed their whole lives to extreme old age in study.

Can we believe that this tenacious union of learned and studious persons, of so long duration in one and the same country, was the mere effect of chance, and not of a peculiar Providence, which excited so numerous a succession of philosophers to support and perpetuate ancient tradition concerning certain essential and capital truths? How useful were their precepts upon morality, upon the virtues and duties in preventing the growth or rather inundation of depravity and vice? For instance what hideous disorder had

taken place, if the Epicurean had been the sole prevailing sect! How much did their disputes conduce to preserve the important doctrines of the difference between matter and mind, the immortality of the soul, and the existence of a supreme Being! It is not to be doubted, but God has revealed admirable principles to them upon all these points, preferably to the many other nations, whom barbarity continued in profound ignorance.¹ It is indeed true, that many of these philosophers advanced strange absurdities. And even all of them, according to St. Paul, "held the truth in unrighteousness—because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful."² None of their schools had ever the courage to maintain or prove the unity of God, though all the great philosophers were fully convinced of that truth. God has been pleased by their example to teach us, what man, abandoned to himself and his mere capacity, is. During four hundred years and upwards all these great geniuses, so subtle, penetrating, and profound, were incessantly disputing, examining, and dogmatizing, without being able to agree upon, or conclude any thing. They were not destined by God to be the light of the world: "Those did not the Lord choose, neither gave he the way of knowledge unto them."³

Philosophy, among the Greeks, was divided into two great sects: the one called the *Ionic*, founded by Thales of Ionia; the other the *Italic*, because it was established by Pythagoras in that part of Italy, called *Græcia Magna*. Both the one and the other were divided into many other branches, as we shall soon see.

This in general is the subject of my intended dissertation upon the philosophy of the ancients. It would swell to an immense size, were I to treat it in all its extent, which does not suit my plan. I shall content myself, therefore, in giving the history and opinions of the most distinguished among these philosophers, with relating what seems most important and instructive, and best adapted to gratify the just curiosity of a reader, who considers the actions and principles of these philosophers as an essential part of history, but a part of which it suffices to have a superficial knowledge and general idea. My guides among the ancients, will be Cicero in his philosophical works, and Diogenes Laertius in his treatise upon the philosophers; and among the moderns, the learned Englishman, Mr. Stanley, who has composed an excellent work upon this subject.

I shall divide my dissertation into two parts. In the first, I shall relate the history of the philosophers, without dwelling much upon their opinions: in the second, I shall treat the history of philosophy itself, and the principal maxims of the different sects.

PART FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE PHILOSOPHERS.

I shall run over all the sects of ancient philosophy, and give a brief history of the philosophers, who distinguished themselves most in each.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE IONIC SECT, TO THEIR DIVISION INTO VARIOUS BRANCHES.

THE *Ionic* sect, to reckon from Thales, who is considered as the founder of it, down to Philo and Antiochus, that Cicero heard, flourished above five hundred years.

THALES.

THALES was of Miletus, a famous city of Ionia.⁴ He was born in the first year of the 35th Olympiad, A. M. 3364, Ant. J. C. 640. To improve himself in the knowledge of the most learned persons of those times, he made several voyages, according to the custom of the ancients; at first into the island of

Crete, then into Phœnicia, and afterwards into Egypt, where he consulted the priests of Memphis, who cultivated the superior sciences with extreme application. Under these great masters he learned geometry, astronomy, and philosophy. A pupil of this kind does not long continue so. Thales accordingly proceeded very soon from lessons to discoveries. His masters of Memphis learned from him the method of measuring exactly the immense pyramids which still stand.

Egypt was at that time governed by Amasis, a prince who loved letters, because he was very learned himself. He set all the value it deserved upon the merit of Thales, and gave him public marks of his esteem. But that Greek philosopher, who was fond of liberty and independence, had not the talents for supporting himself in a court. He was a great astronomer, a great geometriician, and an excellent philosopher, but a bad courtier. The too free manner in which he declaimed against tyranny, displeased Amasis, and made him conceive impressions of distrust and fear of him, to his prejudice, which he did not take too much pains to remove, and which were followed soon after with his entire disgrace. Greece was the better for it. Thales quitted the court, and returned to Miletus to diffuse the treasures of Egypt in the bosom of his country.

The great progress he had made in the sciences, occasioned his being ranked in the number of the seven sages of Greece, so famed among the ancients. Of these seven sages, only Thales founded a sect of philosophers, because he applied himself to the contemplation of nature, formed a school and a system of doctrines, and had disciples and successors. The others made themselves remarkable only by a more regular kind of life, and some precepts of morality which they gave occasionally.

I have spoken elsewhere of these sages with some extent, as well as of many circumstances of the life of Thales: of his residence in the court of Cræsus, king of Lydia, and his conversation with Solon. I have repeated there the sensible pleasantry of a woman, who saw him fall into a ditch, whilst he was contemplating the stars: "How," said she to him, "should you know what passes in the heavens, when you do not see what is just at your feet?" and his ingenious manner of evading his mother when she pressed him earnestly to marry, by answering her when he was young, "It is too soon yet," and after his return from Egypt, "It is too late now." The reasons which had prevented Thales from giving himself chains by entering into the married state, made him prefer a life of tranquillity to the most splendid employments. Prompted by a warm desire of knowing nature, he studied it assiduously in the happy leisure, which a strict retirement afforded him, impenetrable to tumult and noise, but open to all whom the love of truth, or occasion for his counsel, brought to him. He quitted it very rarely; and that only to take a frugal repast at the house of his friend Thrasybulus, who by his abilities became king of Miletus at the time of the treaty made by that city with Alyattes king of Lydia.

Cicero tells us,⁵ that Thales was the first of the Greeks who treated the subject of physics. The glory of having made several fine discoveries in astronomy is ascribed to him: of which, one that relates to the magnitude of the sun's diameter compared with the circle of his annual motion, gave him great pleasure. Accordingly a rich man, to whom he had imparted it, offering that philosopher whatever reward he thought fit for it, Thales asked him no other, but that he would give the honour of the discovery to its author. This is an instance of the character of the learned, who are more sensible to the honour of a new discovery than to the greatest rewards; and of the truth of what Tacitus says in speaking of Helvidius Priscus, "That the last thing the wise themselves renounce, is the desire of glory."⁶ He dis-

¹ Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 25. Apul. Florid.

² Rom. i. 18—21. ³ Baruch iii. 27. ⁴ Diog. Laert.

⁵ Erant quibus appetitum finium videbatur, quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exiit. *Tacit. Hist.* l. iv. c. 6.

tinguished himself by his ability in foretelling the eclipses of the sun and moon with great exactness, which was considered in those times as a very wonderful matter.

St. Clemens Alexandrinus repeats two fine sayings of Thales, after Diogenes Laertius. Being asked one day what God was, he answered, "That which has neither beginning nor end."¹ Another asking him whether a man could conceal his actions from God: "How can that be," replied he, "as it is not in his power to conceal even his thoughts from him." Valerius Maximus adds, that Thales spoke thus, that the idea of God's presence to the most secret thoughts of the soul might induce men to keep their hearts as pure as their hands.² Cicero makes exactly the same remark, though in terms something different. Thales, says he, who was the wisest of the seven sages, believed it of the last importance for men to be convinced, that the Divinity filled all places, and saw all things, which would render them in consequence wiser and more religious.³

He died in the first year of the 58th Olympiad, A. M. 3456, Ant. J. C. 548, while present at the celebration of the Olympic games, aged ninety-two.

ANAXIMANDER.

THALES had for his successor Anaximander, his disciple and countryman. History has preserved no particular circumstances of his life. He departed from his master's doctrine in many points. It is said,⁴ that he forewarned the Lacedæmonians of the dreadful earthquake, which destroyed their city. He was succeeded by Anaximenes.

ANAXAGORAS.

ANAXAGORAS, one of the most illustrious philosophers of antiquity, was born at Clazomenæ in Ionia, about the 70th Olympiad, A. M. 3456, Ant. J. C. 500, and was the disciple of Anaximenes. The nobility of his extraction, his riches, and the generosity which induced him to abandon his patrimony, rendered him very considerable. Believing the cares of a family and an estate obstacles to his taste for contemplation, he renounced them absolutely, in order to devote his whole time and application to the study of wisdom, and the inquiry after truth, which were his only pleasures.⁵ When he returned into his own country after a long voyage, and saw all his lands lying abandoned and uncultivated, far from regretting the loss, he cried out, "I should have been undone, if all this had not been ruined."⁶ Socrates, in his ironical way, affirmed that the sophists of his time had more wisdom than Anaxagoras; as, instead of renouncing their estates like him, they laboured strenuously to enrich themselves, convinced as they were of the stupidity of old times, and that "the wise man ought to be wise for himself," that is to say, that they ought to employ their whole pains and industry in amassing as much money as possible.

Anaxagoras, in order to apply himself wholly to study, renounced the cares and honours of govern-

ment. No man however was more capable of succeeding in public affairs. We may judge of his abilities in that way from the wonderful progress made by his pupil Pericles in policy. It was to him he was indebted for those grave and majestic manners, that rendered him so capable of governing the commonwealth.⁷ It was he who laid the foundation of that sublime and triumphant eloquence, which acquired him so much power; and who taught him to fear the gods without superstition. In a word, he was his counsellor, and assisted him with his advice in the most important affairs, as Pericles himself declared.⁸ I have elsewhere mentioned the little care the latter took of his master, and that Anaxagoras wanting the necessities of life, resolved to suffer himself to die of hunger. Pericles upon this news flew to his house, and earnestly entreated him to renounce so melancholy a resolution; "When one would use a lamp," replied the philosopher, "one takes care to supply it with oil, that it may not go out." Wholly engrossed in the study of the secrets of nature, which was his passion, he had equally abandoned riches and public affairs. Upon being asked one day,⁹ whether he had no manner of regard for the good of his country; "Yes, yes," said he, lifting up his hand towards heaven, "I have an extreme regard for the good of my country." He was asked another time to what end he was born; to which he answered, "To contemplate the sun, moon, and skies." Is that then the end to which man is destined?

He came to Athens at the age of twenty, about the first year of the 75th Olympiad, A. M. 3484, Ant. J. C. 480, very near the time of Xerxes's expedition against Greece.¹⁰ Some authors say, that he brought thither the school of philosophy, which had flourished in Ionia, from its founder Thales. He continued and taught at Athens during thirty years.

The circumstances and event of the persecution fomented against him at Athens for impiety are differently related. The opinion of those, who believe that Pericles could find no surer method for preserving that philosopher, than to make him quit Athens, seems the most probable. The reason, or rather the pretext, for so heavy an accusation was, that, in teaching upon the nature of the sun, he defined it "a mass of burning matter;" as if he had thereby degraded the sun, and excluded it from the number of the gods. It is not easy to comprehend, how in so learned a city as Athens, a philosopher should not be allowed to explain the properties of the stars by physical reasons, without hazarding his life. But the whole affair was an intrigue and a cabal of the enemies of Pericles, who were for destroying him, and endeavoured to render himself suspected of impiety, from his great intimacy with this philosopher.

Anaxagoras was found guilty through contumacy, and condemned to die. When he received this news, he said, without showing any emotion: "Nature has long ago passed sentence of death upon my judges, as well as me." He remained at Lampsacus during the rest of his life. In his last sickness, upon his friends asking him, whether he would have his body carried to Clazomenæ after his death: "No," said he, "that is unnecessary. The way to the infernal regions¹¹ is as long from one place as another."¹² When the principal persons of the city came to receive his last orders, and to know what he desired of them after his death; he replied, nothing, except that the youth might have leave to play every year upon the day of his death. This was done accordingly, and continued a custom to the time of Diogenes Laertius. He is said to have lived sixty-two years. Great honours were paid, and even an altar erected to him.

ARCHELAUS.

ARCHELAUS, of Athens, according to some, and of

¹ Rogatus Thales quid sit Deus? Id, inquit, quod neque habet principium, nec finem. Cum autem rogetur alius, an Deum lateat homo aliquid agens: et quomodo, inquit, qui ne cogitans quidem?

² Mirificè Thales. Nam interrogatus an facta hominum deos fallerent; nec cogitata, inquit. Ut non solum manus, sed etiam mentes puros habere vellemus; cum secretis cogitationibus nostris cælestè numen adesse crederemus. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 2.

³ Thales, qui sapientissimus inter septem fuit, dicebat, Homines existimare oportere deos omnia cernere, deorum omnia esse plena: fore enim omnes castiores. Cic. de Leg. l. xxxvi. n. 2.

⁴ Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 112.

⁵ Quid aut Homero ad delectationem animi ac voluptatem, aut cuicumque docto defuisse unquam arbitramur? An, ni ita se res haberet. Anaxagoras, aut lic ipse Democritus, agros et patrimonium sua reliquissent, huic dicendi quærendique divine delectationi toto se animo dedissent? Cic. Tusc. Quest. l. v. n. 111, 115.

⁶ Cum è divinis per cogitationem patriam repetisset, possessionisque dea res vidisset. Non esset, inquit, ego satis, nisi ista neriscent. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7. Plut. in Hipp. maj. p. 233.

⁷ Plut. in Peric. p. 154.

⁸ Diog. Laert.

⁹ Ibid. p. 162.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Infernal regions, or hell. The ancients understood by this word the place to which the souls of all men go after death.

¹² Nihil necesse est, inquit: undique enim ad inferos tantundem via est. Cic. l. Tusc. n. 104.

Miletus according to others, was the disciple and successor of Anaxagoras, in whose doctrine he made little alteration. Some say that it was he who transported philosophy from Ionia to Athens. He confined himself principally to physics, as his predecessors had done; but he introduced ethics a little more than them. He formed a disciple, who placed them highly in honour, and made them his capital study.

SOCRATES.

This disciple of Archelaus was the famous Socrates, who had been also the pupil of Anaxagoras. He was born in the fourth year of the 77th Olympiad, A. M. 3534, and died the first of the 95th, A. M. 3604, after having lived seventy years.

Cicero has observed in more than one place, that Socrates, considering that all the vain speculations upon the things of nature tended to nothing useful, and did not contribute to render man more virtuous, devoted himself wholly to the study of morality. "He was the first," says he, "who brought philosophy down from heaven," where she had been employed till then in contemplating the course of the stars; "who established her in cities, introduced her into private houses, and obliged her to direct her inquiries to what concerned the manners, duties, virtues, and vices of life."² Socrates is therefore considered with reason as a founder of moral philosophy among the Greeks. This was not because he had not perfectly studied the other branches of philosophy: he possessed them all in a supreme degree, having industriously formed himself in them. But as he judged them of little use in the conduct of life, he made little use of them: and, if we may believe Xenophon,³ he was never heard in his disputes to mention either astronomy, geometry, or the other sublime sciences, that had solely employed preceding philosophers; in which Xenophon seems designedly to contradict and refute Plato, who often puts subjects of that kind into the mouth of Socrates.

I shall say nothing here either of the circumstances of the life and death of Socrates, or of his opinions: I have done that elsewhere with sufficient extent. It only remains for me to speak of his disciples, who though all of them made it their honour to acknowledge Socrates their chief, were divided in their opinions.

XENOPHON.

XENOPHON was certainly one of the most illustrious disciples of Socrates, but did not form a sect; for which reason I separate him from the rest. He was as great a warrior as philosopher. I have related at large the share he had in the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand. His adherence to the party of young Cyrus, who had declared himself openly against the Athenians, drew upon him their hatred, and occasioned his banishment. After his return from the expedition against Artaxerxes, he attached himself to Agesilaus king of Sparta, who then commanded in Asia.⁴ As Agesilaus knew perfectly well how to distinguish merit, he had always a most peculiar regard for Xenophon, and upon being recalled by the Ephori for the defence of his country, carried the Athenian general thither along with him. Xenophon after various events retired to Corinth with his two sons, where he passed the rest of his days. In the war between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, when the people of Athens resolved to aid the latter, he sent his two sons to that city. Gryllus signalized himself in a peculiar manner in the battle of Mantinea, and some pretend that it was he who wounded Epaminondas in the action. He did not survive so glorious an exploit long, but was killed himself. The news of his death was brought to his father, whilst he was offering a sacrifice. Upon hearing it he took the wreath from his head; but upon being informed

by the courier, that his son fell fighting gloriously, he immediately put it on again, and continued the sacrifice without shedding a single tear, saying coldly, "I knew the son to whom I gave life was not immortal." Might not this be called a constancy, or rather hardness of heart, truly Spartan?

Xenophon died in the first year of the 105th Olympiad, A. M. 3644, Ant. J. C. 360, aged ninety.

I shall speak elsewhere of his works. He was the first who reduced to writing, and published the discourses of Socrates, but exactly as they came from his mouth, and without any additions of his own, as Plato made to them.

It is pretended that there was a secret jealousy between these two philosophers, little worthy of the name they bore, and the profession of wisdom upon which they both piqued themselves: and some proofs are given of this jealousy.⁵ Plato never mentions Xenophon⁶ in any of his books, which are very numerous, nor Xenophon him, though they both frequently speak of the disciples of Socrates. Besides, all the world knows that the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon is a book, in which, relating the history of Cyrus, whose education he extols, he lays down the model of an accomplished prince, and the idea of a perfect government. We are told, that he composed this piece with no other design but to contradict Plato's *Commonwealth*, which had lately appeared; and that Plato was so angry upon that account, that to discredit this work, he spoke of Cyrus, in a book which he afterwards wrote,⁷ as of a prince indeed of great courage and love of his country, but one, whose education had been very bad.⁸ Aulus Gellius, who relates what I have now said, cannot imagine that two such great philosophers as those in question, could be capable of so mean a jealousy; (it is however but too common among men of letters) and he chooses rather to ascribe it to their admirers and partizans. And indeed it often happens that disciples, through a too partial zeal, are more delicate in respect to the reputation of their masters, and urge what concerns them with greater warmth, than themselves.

CHAPTER II.

DIVISION OF THE IONIC PHILOSOPHY INTO DIFFERENT SECTS.

BEFORE Socrates there had been no different sects among the philosophers, though their opinions were not always the same; but from his time many rose up, of which some continued longer in vogue, and others were of shorter duration. I shall begin with the latter, which are the Cyrenaic, Megarean, Elian, and Eretrian sects. They take their names from the places where they were situated.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE CYRENAIC SECT.

ARISTIPPUS.

ARISTIPPUS was the chief of the Cyrenaic sect.⁹ He was originally of Cyrene in Libya. The great reputation of Socrates induced him to quit his country, in order to settle at Athens, and to have the pleasure of hearing him. He was one of that philosopher's principal disciples: but he led a life very repugnant to the precepts taught in that excellent school, and when he returned into his own country, opened a very different course for his disciples. The great principle of his doctrine was, that the supreme good of man during this life is pleasure. His manners did not belie his opinions, and he employed a ready and agreeable turn of wit in eluding, by pleasantries, the just reproaches made him on account of his excesses. He perpetually abandoned himself to feasting and women. When he was rallied upon his intercourse with the courtizan Lais: "True," said he, "I possess Lais,

⁵ Aul. Gell. l. xiv. c. 3.

⁶ Vossius has observed that Xenophon has spoken once of Plato, but only in mentioning his name. *Memorab.* l. iii. p. 772.

⁷ *De Leg.* l. iii. p. 697.

⁸ *Πρωτοκλῆς δὲ βέλῃς οὐκ ἔστιν τὸ πικρῶπαν.*

⁹ *Laert.*

¹ *Academ. Quest.* l. i. n. 15.

² Socrates primus philosophiam devecavit ex caelo, et in urbibus et domibus, et in domos etiam introduxit, et cœgit de vita et moribus, rebusque bonis et malis quærere. *Cic. Tusc. Quest.* l. v. n. 10.

³ *Epist. ad Eschin.*

⁴ *Diog. Laert.*

but not Lais me."¹ Upon being reproached for living with too much splendour, he replied: "If good living were a crime, there would not be so much feasting on the festivals of the gods."

The reputation of Dionysius the tyrant, whose court was the centre of pleasures, whose purse was said to be always open to the learned, and whose table was always served with the utmost magnificence, drew him to Syracuse. As his wit was supple, ready, and insinuating, and he omitted no occasion of soothing the prince, and bore his raillery and intervals of bad humour with a patience next to slavish, he had abundance of credit in that court. Dionysius asking him one day, why philosophers were always seen in the houses of the great, and the great never in those of philosophers? "It is," replied Aristippus, "because philosophers know what they want, and the great do not."

"If Aristippus could content himself with herbs," said Diogenes the Cynic to him, "he would not be so base as to court princes." "If my critic," replied Aristippus, "knew how to make his court to princes, he would not content himself with herbs."

*Si pranderet olus patienter, Regibus uti
Nollet Aristippus. Si sciret Regibus uti
Fustidiret olus qui me notat.—Hor. Ep. xvii. l. 1.*

The one's view was good living, the other's to be admired by the people.

Scurrior ego ipse mihi, populo tu.

And which is best? Horace without hesitating, gives Aristippus the preference, whom he praises in more than one place. He resembled him too much himself, not to do so. However, he dares not abandon himself to the principles of Aristippus; and falls insensibly into them by propensity of nature.

*Nunc in Aristippi furtim præcepta rehoror.
Id. Ep. i. l. 1.*

So mean is the love of pleasure, that let those who give themselves up to it dissemble ever so well, they cannot entirely conceal their shame!

Aristippus was the first disciple of Socrates that took a certain premium from those he taught, which gave his master great offence. Having demanded fifty drachmas of a man for teaching his son: "How! fifty drachmas,"² cried the father! "Why, that's enough to buy a slave." "Indeed?" replied Aristippus, "buy him then, and you'll have two."

Aristippus died on his return from Syracuse to Cyrene. He had a daughter, named Areta, whom he took great care to educate in his own principles, in which she became a great proficient. She instructed her son Aristippus, surnamed *μητροδιδάκτος* in them herself.

THEODORUS.

THEODORUS, the disciple of Aristippus, besides the other principles of the Cyrenaics, publicly taught that there were no gods.³ The people of Cyrene banished him. He took refuge at Athens, where he would have been tried and condemned in the Areopagus, if Demetrius Phalereus had not found means to save him. Ptolemy the son of Lagus received him into his service, and sent him once as his ambassador to Lysimachus. The philosopher spoke to that prince with so much impudence, that one of his ministers, who was present, said, "I fancy, Theodorus, you imagine there are no kings, as well as no gods."

It is believed that this philosopher was at last condemned to die, and obliged to take poison.

We see here that the impious doctrine of atheism, contrary to the general and immemorial belief of mankind, scandalized and offended all nations so much, as to be deemed worthy of death. It owes its birth to teachers abandoned to the debauches of women and the table, and who propose to themselves the pleasures of the senses as the great ends of being.

¹ Aristippus quidem ille Socraticus erubuit, cum esset obiectum habere eum Laida: Habeo, inquit, Laida, non habeo à Laide. *Cic. Ep. xxvii. l. 9. Ad. Fam.*

² About 25 shillings.

³ Laert.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE MEGARIAN SECT.

It was instituted by Euclid, who was of Megara, a city of Achaia, near the Isthmus of Corinth. He actually studied under Socrates at Athens, at the time of the famous decree, that partly occasioned the Peloponnesian war, by which the citizens of Megara were prohibited to set foot in Athens upon pain of death. So great a danger could not abate his zeal for the study of wisdom. In the disguise of a woman he entered the city in the evening, passed the night with Socrates, and went back before light, going regularly every day almost ten leagues forwards and backwards.⁴ There are few examples of so warm and constant an ardour for knowledge. He departed very little from his master's opinions. After the death of Socrates, Plato and other philosophers, who apprehended the effects of it, retired to him at Megara, who gave them a very good reception. His brother one day in great rage upon some particular subject of discontent, said to him: "May I perish if I am not revenged on you." "And may I perish," replied Euclid, "if my kindness does not at length correct this violence of your temper, and make you as much my friend as ever."

The Euclid of whom we speak, is not Euclid the mathematician, who was also of Megara, but flourished above ninety years after under the first of the Ptolemies.

His successor was Eubulides, who had been his disciple. Diodorus succeeded the latter. We find in the sequel, that these three philosophers contributed very much to the introduction into logical disputations of a bad taste for subtle reasonings, founded solely upon sophisms.

I shall almost pass over in silence what regards the Elian and Eretrian sects, which include few things of any importance.

ARTICLE III.

OF THE ELIAN AND ERETRIAN SECTS.

I place these two sects together, and reduce what I have to say of them to a few words, as they contain nothing important.

The Elian sect was founded by Phædon, one of the favourite disciples of Socrates. He was of Elis in Peloponnesus.

The Eretrian was so called from Eretria a city of Eubœa, the country of Menedemus its founder.

ARTICLE IV.

OF THE THREE SECTS OF ACADEMIES.

OF all the sects the school of Socrates brought forth, the most famous was the *Academic*, so called from the place where they assembled, which was the house of an ancient hero of Athens, named *Academos*, situated in the suburbs of that city, where Plato taught. We have seen in the history of Cimon the Athenian general, who sought to distinguish himself no less by his love for learning and learned men than his military exploits, that he adorned the academy with fountains and walks of trees for the convenience of the philosophers who assembled there. From that time all places, where men of letters assemble, have been called Academies.

Three Academies, or sects of Academics, are reckoned. Plato was the founder of the *ancient*, or first. Arcesilaus, one of his successors, made some alteration in his philosophy, and by that reformation founded what is called the *middle* or second academy. The *new*, or third academy, is attributed to Carneades. We shall soon see wherein their difference consisted.

SECTION I.—OF THE ANCIENT ACADEMY.

THOSE who made it flourish in succession to one another were Plato, Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemon, and Crantor.

⁴ Amplius viginti millia.

PLATO.

PLATO was born in the first year of the 88th Olympiad, A. M. 3576, Ant. J. C. 423. He was at first called Aristocles from the name of his grandfather; but his master of the Palestra called him Plato from his large and broad shoulders, which name he retained. Whilst he was an infant in arms, sleeping one day under a myrtle, a swarm of bees settled upon his lips, which was taken for an omen, that the child would prove very eloquent, and distinguish himself highly by the sweetness of his style. This came to pass, whatever we may think of the augury; whence the surname of *Apis Attica*, Athenian bee, was given him. He studied grammar, music, and painting, under the most able masters. He applied himself also to poesy, and even composed tragedies, which he burned at the age of twenty, after having heard Socrates. He attached himself solely to that philosopher; and as he was exceedingly inclined to virtue by nature, made such improvements from the lesson of his master, that at twenty-five he gave extraordinary proof of his wisdom.

The fate of Athens was at that time (A. M. 3600, Ant. J. C. 404,) very deplorable. Lysander, the Lacedæmonian general, had established the thirty tyrants there. Plato's merit, which was already well known, induced them to use their utmost endeavours to engage him in their party, and to oblige him to share in the affairs of the government. To this he consented at first, with the hope either of opposing, or at least of softening, the tyranny; but he presently perceived, that the evil had no remedy, and that to share in the public affairs, it was necessary either to render himself an accomplice of their crimes, or the victim of their appetites. He therefore waited a more favourable occasion. That time (A. M. 3602, Ant. J. C. 402,) seemed soon after to be arrived. The tyrants were expelled, and the form of the government entirely changed. But the affairs of the public were in no better a condition, and the state received new wounds every day. Socrates himself was sacrificed to the malice of his enemies. Plato retired to the house of Euclid at Megara, whence he went to Cyrene, to cultivate the mathematics under Theodorus, the greatest mathematician of his time. He afterwards visited Egypt, and conversed a great while with the Egyptian priests, who taught him great part of their traditions. It is even believed, that they made him acquainted with the books of Moses, and the prophets. Not content with all these acquisitions, he went to that part of Italy called Græcia Magna, to hear the three most famous Pythagoreans of those times, Philolaus, Archytas of Tarentum, and Eurytus. Thence he went into Sicily, to see the wonders of that island, and especially the volcano of mount Ætna. This voyage, which was a mere effect of his curiosity, laid the first foundations of the liberty of Syracuse, as I have explained at large in the history of Dionysius, the father and son, and in that of Dion. He intended to have gone to Persia, in order to have consulted the Magi; but was prevented by the wars, which at that time troubled Asia. At his return to his country, after all his travels, in which he had acquired much curious knowledge, he settled his abode in the quarter of the suburb of Athens called the Academy, (of which we have spoken above) where he gave his lessons, and formed so many illustrious disciples.

Plato composed a system of doctrine from the opinions of three philosophers. He followed Heraclitus in natural and sensible things: that is to say, he believed with Heraclitus, that there was but one world; that all things were produced by their contraries; that motion, which he calls war, occasions the production of beings, and rest their dissolution. He followed Pythagoras in intellectual truths, or what we call metaphysics: that is to say, he taught as that philosopher did, that there is but one God, the author of all things; that the soul is immortal; that men have only to take pains to purge themselves of their passions and vices, in order to be united to God; that after this life there is a reward for the good, and a

punishment for the wicked; that between God and man there are various orders of spirits, which are the ministers of the Supreme Being. He had also taken the Metempsychosis from Pythagoras, but given it a construction of his own. And finally, he imitated Socrates in respect to morality and politics; that is to say, he reduced every thing to the manners, and laboured only to incline all men to discharge the duties of the situation of life, in which the Divine Providence has placed them. He also very much improved logic, or, which is the same thing, the art of reasoning with order and exactness.

All the works of Plato, except his letters, of which only twelve have come down to us, are in the form of dialogues. He purposely chose that manner of writing, as more agreeable, familiar, comprehensive, and better adapted to instruct and persuade, than any other. By the help of it he succeeded wonderfully in placing truths in their full light. He gives to each of his speakers his proper character; and by an admirable chain of reasons, which necessarily induce each other, he leads them on to admit, or rather to say themselves, all he would prove to them.¹

As to his style, it is impossible to imagine any thing greater, more noble, or more majestic; that, says Quintilian, he seems not to speak the language of men, but of the gods.² The flow and numbers of his elocution form a harmony scarce inferior to that of Homer's poetry; and the Atticism, which, among the Greeks, was in point of style whatever was finest, most delicate, and most perfect in every kind, prevails in it universally, and shows itself everywhere in a manner entirely peculiar. But neither the beauty of style, the elegance and happiness of expressions, nor the harmony of numbers, constitute the value of Plato's writings. What is most to be admired in them, is the solidity and greatness of the sentiments, maxims, and principles diffused throughout them, whether for the conduct of life, policy, government, or religion. I shall cite some passages from them in the sequel.

Plato died in the first year of the 108th Olympiad, (A. M. 3856, Ant. J. C. 348,) which was the thirteenth of the reign of Philip of Macedon, aged eighty-one, and upon the same day in which he was born.

He had many disciples, of whom the most distinguished were Speusippus his nephew by the mother's side, Xenocrates of Chalcedon, and the celebrated Aristotle. Theophrastus is also said to have been of the number of his hearers, and Demosthenes to have always considered him as his master; of which his style is a good proof. Dion, the brother-in-law of Dionysius the tyrant, also did him great honour by his excellent character, his inviolable attachment to his person, his extraordinary taste for philosophy, the rare qualities of his head and heart, and his great and heroic actions for re-establishing the liberty of his country.

After the death of Plato, his disciples divided themselves into two sects.³ The first continued to teach in the Academy, the name of which they retained. The others settled their school in the Lyceum, a place in Athens adorned with porticoes and gardens. They were called Peripatetics, and had Aristotle for their founder. These two sects differed only in name, and agreed as to opinions. They had both renounced the custom and maxim of Socrates, which was to affirm nothing, and to explain themselves in disputes only dubiously and with reserve. I shall speak of the Peripatetics in the sequel, when I have briefly related the history of the philosophers who fixed their residence in the Academy.

SPEUSIPPUS.

I HAVE already said that he was Plato's nephew.⁴ His conduct was so very irregular in his youth, that

¹ In dialogis Socraticorum, maximeque Platonis, adeo selectæ sunt interrogationes, ut, cum plerisque bene responderetur, res tandem ad id quod volunt efficere, perveniat. *Quintil.* l. v. c. 7.

² Ut mihi, non hominis ingenio, sed quodam Delphico videatur oraculo instructus. *Quintil.* l. x. c. 1.

³ Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. i. n. 17—18.

⁴ Laert.

his parents turned him out of their house. That of his uncle became his asylum. Plato behaved to him as if he had never heard of his debauched life. His friends were shocked and amazed at his placing his kindness on one so undeserving, and blamed him for taking no pains to correct his nephew, and reform his dissolute manners. He replied calmly, that he laboured more effectually to that purpose than they imagined, in showing him by his own manner of living the infinite difference between virtue and vice, and between decency and depravity. And indeed that method succeeded so well, that it inspired Speusippus with a very great respect for him, and a violent desire of imitating him, and of devoting himself to philosophy, in the study of which he afterwards made very great proficiency. It requires no common address to manage the spirit of a vicious young man, and to bring him over to a sense of his duty. The boiling heat of youth seldom gives way to violence, which often serves only to inflame and precipitate it into despair.

Plato had cultivated a particular intimacy between Speusippus and Dion, with a view of softening the austere temper of the latter, by the gayety and insinuating manners of his nephew.

He succeeded his uncle in the school after his death, but held it only eight years; after which his infirmities obliged him to resign it to Xenocrates. Speusippus did not depart from Plato's doctrine, but was not studious to imitate him in his practice. He was choleric, loved pleasure, and seemed self-interested; for he exacted a premium from his disciples, contrary to the custom and principles of Plato.

XENOCRATES.

XENOCRATES was of Chalcedon, and became very early Plato's disciple. He studied under that great master at the same time as Aristotle, but not with the same talents. He had occasion for a spur, and the other for a bridle; which are Plato's own words of them, who added, that in putting them together, he coupled a horse with an ass. He is praised for not being discouraged by the slowness of his parts, which made study much more laborious to him than to others. Plutarch² uses the example of him, and that of Cleanthes, to encourage such as perceive they have less penetration and vivacity than others, and exhorts them to imitate these two great philosophers, and like them, to set themselves above the ridicule of their companions. If Xenocrates, from the heaviness of his genius, was inferior to Aristotle, he far surpassed him in practical philosophy and purity of manners.

He was naturally melancholy, and had something stiff and austere in his temper;³ for which reason Plato often advised him "to sacrifice to the Graces," signifying clearly enough by those words, that it was necessary for him to soften the severity of his temper.⁴ He sometimes reproved him for that fault with more force, and less reserve, apprehending that his pupil's want of politeness and good nature would become an obstacle to all the good effects of his instruction and example. Xenocrates was not insensible to these reproaches: but they never diminished the profound respect he always had for his master. And when endeavours were used to make him angry with Plato, and he was provoked to defend himself with some vivacity, he stopped the mouths of his indiscreet friends with saying, "He uses me so for my good." He took Plato's place in the second year of the 110th Olympiad, A. M. 3666.

Diogenes Laertius⁵ says, that he loved neither pleasure, riches, nor praise. He showed on many occasions a generous and noble disinterestedness. The court of Macedonia had the reputation of retaining a great number of pensioners and spies in all the neighbouring republics, and to corrupt with bribes all persons sent to negotiate with them. Xenocrates was deputed with some other Athenians to Philip. That prince, who perfectly understood the art of insinua-

ting into people's favour, applied himself in a particular manner to Xenocrates, whose merit and reputation he was apprized of. When he found him inaccessible to presents and interest, he endeavoured to mortify him by an affected contempt, and ill-treatment, not admitting him to his conferences with the other ambassadors from the commonwealth of Athens, whom he had corrupted by his caresses, feasts, and liberalities. Our philosopher, firm and unalterable in his principles, retained all his stiffness and integrity, and though wholly excluded, continued perfectly easy, and never appeared either at audiences or feasts as his colleagues did. At their return to Athens, his colleagues endeavoured in concert to discredit him with the people, and complained, that he had been of no manner of use to them in this embassy; in consequence of which he was very near having a fine laid on him. Xenocrates, forced by the injustice of his accusers to break silence, explained all that had passed in Philip's court, made the people sensible of what importance it was to have a strict eye upon the conduct of deputies who had sold themselves to the enemy of the commonwealth, covered his colleagues with shame and confusion, and acquired immortal glory. His disinterestedness was also put to the proof by Alexander the Great.⁶ The ambassadors of that prince, who, without doubt, came to Athens upon account of some negotiation, (neither the time nor the affair are said) offered Xenocrates from their master fifty talents, or fifty thousand crowns. Xenocrates invited them to supper. The entertainment was simple, frugal, plain, and truly philosophical. The next day the deputies asked him, into whose hands they should pay the money they had orders to give him? "How!" said he to them, "did not my feast yesterday inform you, that I have no occasion for money?" He added, that Alexander was more in want of it than he, because he had more mouths to feed. Seeing that his answer made them sad, he accepted of thirty minæ (about seventy-five pounds) that he might not seem to despise the king's liberality out of pride. Thus, says an historian, in concluding his account of this fact, the king would have purchased the friendship of the philosopher, and the philosopher would not sell it to the king.⁷

His disinterestedness must have reduced him to great poverty, as he could not discharge a certain tax, which strangers were obliged to pay yearly into the public treasury of Athens. Plutarch⁸ tells us, that one day, as they were hauling him to prison for not having paid this tribute, the orator Lycurgus discharged the sum, and took him out of the hands of the farmers of the revenue, who frequently are not too sensible of the merit of the learned. Xenocrates some days after meeting the son of his deliverer, told him; "I pay your father the favour he did me with interest: for all the world praises him upon my account." Diogenes Laertius¹⁰ tells us something very like this of him, which perhaps is the same fact disguised under different circumstances. He says, that the Athenians sold him, because he could not pay the capitation laid upon strangers: but that Demetrius Phalereus bought him, and immediately gave him his liberty. It is not very probable, that the Athenians should treat a philosopher of the reputation of Xenocrates with so much cruelty.

Athens had a very high idea of his probity.¹¹ One day when he appeared before the judges to give evidence in some affair, on his going towards the altar, in order to swear that what he had affirmed was true, all the judges rose up, and would not suffer him to do so, declaring that his word was as satisfactory to them as an oath.

⁶ Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. n. 91. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

⁷ Cùm postridie rogarent eum, cui numerari juberet: Quid! Vos hesternâ, inquit, cenulâ non intellexistis, me pecunia non egere? Quos cùm tristiores vidisset, triginta minas accepit, ne aspernari regis liberalitatem videretur. Cic.

⁸ Ita rex philosophi amicitiam emere voluit: philosophus regi suam vendere noluit. Val. Max.

⁹ Plut. in Flamin. p. 375. ¹⁰ Diog. Laert. in Xenoc.

¹¹ Cic. Orat. pro. Com. Balb. n. 14. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9.

¹ Isocrates said the same thing of Theopompus and Ephorus.

² Plut. de Audit. p. 47.

³ Diog. Laert.

⁴ Elian. l. xiv. c. 9.

⁵ Diog. Laert.

Happening in company, where abundance of scandal was talked, he did not share in it, and continued mute. Upon being asked by somebody the reason of his profound silence, he replied: "It is because I have often repented of speaking, but never of holding my tongue."

He had a very fine maxim upon the education of youth, which it were to be wished parents would cause to be observed in their houses.¹ He was, from their earliest infancy, for having wise and virtuous discourses often repeated in their presence; but without affectation;² in order that they might seize in a manner their ears, as a place hitherto unoccupied, through which virtue and vice might equally penetrate to the heart; and that these wise and virtuous discourses, like faithful sentinels, should keep the entrance firmly closed against all words that might corrupt the purity of manners in the least, till by long habit youth were become strong, and their ears safe against the envenomed breath of bad conversation.³

According to Xenocrates, there are no true philosophers but those who do that voluntarily and of their own accord, which others do only through fear of punishment and the laws.⁴

He composed several works, amongst the rest one upon the method of reigning well; at least Alexander asked it of him.⁵

He lost little time in visits, was very fond of the retirement of his study, and meditated much. He seldom was seen in the streets: but when he appeared there, the debauched youth used to fly to avoid meeting him.

A young Athenian, more vicious than the rest, and absolutely infamous for his irregularities, in which he gloried, was not so much awed by him.⁶ His name was Polemon. After a debauch, passing by the school of Xenocrates, and finding the door open, he went in, full of wine, sweet with essence, and with a wreath on his head. In this condition he took his seat among the auditors, less to hear than out of insolence. The whole assembly were strangely surprised and offended. Xenocrates, without the least emotion or change of countenance, only varied the discourse, and went on with speaking upon temperance and sobriety, all the advantages of which he set in full light, by opposing to those virtues the shame and turpitude of the contrary vices. The young libertine, who listened with attention, opened his eyes to the deformity of his condition, and was ashamed of himself. The wreath falls from his head; with downcast eyes he hides himself in his cloak, and instead of that gay insolence which he had shown on entering the school, he appears serious and thoughtful.⁷ An entire change of conduct ensued; and absolutely cured of his bad passions by a single discourse, from an infamous debauchee, he became an excellent philosopher, and made a happy amends for the vices of his youth by a wise and regular course of life, from which he never departed.

Xenocrates died at the age of eighty-two, A. M. 3688, Ant. J. C. 316, in the first year of the 116th Olympiad.

POLEMON. CRATES. CRANTOR.

I join these three philosophers under the same title, because little is known of their lives.

¹ Plut. de Audit. p. 38.

² Τῶν λόγων τοὺς φωνήλους φυλάττειν παρὰ τῶν πρὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς χερσίν, ὥσπερ σὺλακας, ἐντραφόντας ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας, τῷ ἔθει τὴν μάστιγα κινουμένην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναπειρόμενην ἠώραν κακῶν.

³ He alludes to the Athletæ, who in boxing used to cover their heads and ears with a kind of leathern cap, to decaden the violence of the blows. He says that this precaution is much more necessary to youth. For all the risk the Athletæ ran was of having their ears hurt; whereas, young persons hazard their innocence, and even the loss of themselves.

⁴ Plut. de Virt. Moral. p. 446.

⁵ Diog. Laert. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 90.

⁶ ———— Faciasse quod olim

Mutatus Polemon? Ponas insignia morbi, Fasciolas, cubitali, fœcilia? potus ut ille Dicatur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas, Postquam est impransi corptus voce magistri.

Hor. Sat. iii. l. 3.

Polemon worthily succeeded his master Xenocrates, and never departed from his opinions, nor the example of wisdom and sobriety, which he had set him. He renounced wine in such a manner at the age of thirty, which was the time his celebrated change of conduct began, that during the rest of his life he never drank any thing but water.⁸

Crates, who was his successor, is little known, and must be distinguished from a cynic philosopher of the same name, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

Crantor was more famous. He was of Soli in Cilicia. He quitted his native country, and came to Athens, where he was the disciple of Xenocrates at the same time with Polemon. He passes for one of the great pillars of the Platonic sect.⁹ What Horace says of him in praising Homer, argues the great reputation of this philosopher, and how much his principles of morality were in esteem:

Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Pleniùs ac meliùs Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.

Hor. Ep. ii. l. 1.

Who tells what's great, what mean, what fit, what not,
Better than Crantor or Chrysippus taught.

The same cannot be said of his principles upon the nature of the soul, as we shall see in its place.

He wrote a book upon *Consolation*,¹⁰ which is lost: it was addressed to Hippocles, whom an early death had deprived of all his children. It is mentioned as a book of gold, of which every word deserved to be got by heart.¹¹ Cicero had made great use of it in a tract that bore the same title. Arcesilaus the author of the middle Academy was his disciple.

SECTION II.—OF THE MIDDLE ACADEMY.

It is so called, because it flourished between the ancient Academy instituted by Plato, and the new that soon succeeded it, of which Carneades was the author.

ARCESILAUS.

ARCESILAUS was born at Pitane in Æolia.¹² He went to Athens, and became the disciple of the greatest philosophers, of which number were Polemon, Theophrastus, Crantor, Diodorus, and Pyrrho.¹³ It was evidently of the last that he learned to doubt every thing. He was only an academic by name, which he retained out of respect to Crantor, upon being whose disciple he valued himself. He succeeded Crates, or according to others, Polemon, as professor in the Platonic school, in which he became an innovator.¹⁴ for he founded a sect, which was called the second or middle Academy, to distinguish it from that of Plato. He was very opposite to the Dogmatists, or the philosophers who affirmed and decided. He seemed to doubt all things; maintained both sides of a question, and determined nothing. He had a great number of disciples. To attack all the sciences, and to reject not only the evidence of the senses, but of reason, was certainly the boldest undertaking that could be formed in the republic of letters. To hope any success in it, required all the merit of Arcesilaus. He was by nature of a happy, ready, warm, genius: his person was very graceful, and his manner of speaking happy and delightful.¹⁵ The beauty of his aspect admirably seconded the charms of his utterance. Accordingly Lucullus, who learnedly and solidly refutes the opinion of the Academics, says that nobody would have followed the opinion of Arcesilaus, if the eloquence and address

⁸ Athen. l. ii. p. 44.

⁹ Crantor ille qui in nostra academia vel in primis fuit nobilis. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. n. 12.

¹⁰ Plut. de Consol. p. 104.

¹¹ Legimus omnes Crantoris, veteris Academici, de luctu: est enim non magnus, verum arcolus, et, ut Tuberoni Panætius præcipit, ad verbum ediscendus libellus. Acad. Quæst. l. iv. n. 135.

¹² Diog. Laert. in Arcesil.

¹³ Num. apud. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. xiv. c. 5.

¹⁴ Diog. Laert.

¹⁵ Arcesilaus floruit, tum ætate ingenii, tum admirabili quodam lepore dicendi. Academ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 16.

of the teacher had not covered, and made the manifest absurdity of his doctrine disappear.¹

Things much for his honour are related of his liberality. He delighted in doing good, and was not willing that it should be known.² Visiting a friend³ who was sick, and wanted necessities, but was ashamed to own it, he dexterously slid a purse full of money under his pillow, to spare his shame and delicacy, and that he might seem rather to have found than accepted it.⁴ Authors do not give so favourable a testimony of the purity of his manners, and accuse him of the most infamous vices.⁵ And that ought not to appear strange in a philosopher, who, doubting every thing, doubted, in consequence, the existence of virtue and vice, and could not really admit any rule in respect to the duties of civil life. He did not care to have any part in the public affairs.⁶ However, having been chosen to go to Demetrius in order to negotiate for his country with Antigonus, he accepted the deputation, but returned without success. In the torments of the gout, he affected the patience and insensibility of a Stoic.⁷ "Nothing from these has reached this," said he, pointing to his feet and touching his breast,⁸ to Carneades the Epicurean, who was much concerned to see him suffer in that manner. He was for making the other believe, that his soul was inaccessible to pain. Lofty language, with nothing real in it but pride!

Arcesilaus flourished about the 120th Olympiad, that is, about the year of the world 3704.⁹ He died of excessive drinking, which had made him delirious, at the age of seventy-five.

His successors were Lacydes, Evander, and Egesimus, which last was the master of Carneades.¹⁰

SECTION III.—OF THE NEW ACADEMY.

CARNEADES.

CARNEADES of Cyrene instituted the third or new Academy, which, properly speaking, did not differ from the second. For, except some few palliatives, Carneades was as warm and zealous an advocate for uncertainty as Arcesilaus. The difference between them, and the innovation ascribed to him of whom we now speak, consist in his not denying with Arcesilaus, that there are truths; but he maintained that they were compounded with so many obscurities, or rather falsehoods, that it was not in our power to discern with certainty the true from the false.¹¹ He went therefore so far as to admit that there were probable things, and agreed that probability might determine us to act, provided we did not pronounce absolutely upon any thing. Thus he seems to have retained at bottom the whole doctrine of Arcesilaus, but out of policy, and to deprive his opponents of the more specious pretexts for declaiming against, and ridiculing him, he granted degrees of probability, which

ought to determine the wise man to choose this or that in the conduct of civil life. He saw plainly, that without these concessions he should never be able to answer the strongest objections to his principle, nor to prove that it did not reduce man to inaction.

Carneades was the declared antagonist of the Stoics, and applied himself with extreme ardour to refute the works of Chrysippus, who had been for some time the support of the Porch. He so ardently desired to overcome him, that in preparing for the dispute he took hellebore, in order to have his mind the more free, and to give the fire of his imagination the greater force against him.¹²

A maxim of morality, very admirable in a pagan, is ascribed to him.¹³ "If a person knew," says he, "that an enemy, or another whose death would be for his advantage, would come to sit down upon the grass where an asp lurked, it would be acting dishonestly not to give him notice of it, even though his silence might pass with impunity, nobody being capable of making a crime of it." But the conduct of these pagans was always inconsistent with itself in some part or other. This grave philosopher was not ashamed of keeping a concubine in the house with him.

Plutarch has preserved a pretty reflection of Carneades,¹⁴ in his treatise upon the difference between a friend and a flatterer. He had cited the example of one, who, in disputing the prize in the horserace with Alexander, had suffered himself to be beat designedly, for which that prince was very angry with him: he adds, "That the menage is the only thing, in which young princes have nothing to apprehend from flattery. Their other masters frequently enough ascribe good qualities to them, which they have not. But a horse, without regard to rich or poor, to subject or sovereign, throws all the awkward riders that back him."

The embassy of Carneades to Rome is much celebrated: I have spoken of it elsewhere.

To conclude what relates to Carneades, I shall observe that he had not entirely neglected Physics, but that he had made Ethics his principal study. He was extremely laborious, and so avaricious of his time, that he took no care either to pare his nails or cut his hair.¹⁵ Solely devoted to meditation, he not only avoided feasts, but even forgot to eat at his own table, so that his servant, who was also his concubine, was obliged to put meat into his hand, and almost into his mouth. He was extremely afraid of dying.¹⁶ However, upon being informed that his antagonist Antipater, the Stoic philosopher, had poisoned himself, he assumed a short sally of courage against death, and cried out: "Then give me also!"—"What?" asked somebody. "Mulled wine," replied he, having bethought himself better of it. Diogenes Laertius ridicules this pusillanimity, and reproaches him with having chosen rather to languish long of the phthisic, than to give himself death: for that the pagans thought glorious, though the wisest among them were of a different opinion, "and believed, that nature was the tacit law of God." He died in the fourth year of the 162d Olympiad, A. M. 3871, Ant. J. C. 133, aged eighty-five years.

CLITOMACHUS.

CLITOMACHUS, the disciple of Carneades, was his successor.¹⁷ He was a Carthaginian, and called Asdrubal in the Punic tongue. He composed several books, which were highly esteemed, and of which one was entitled, *Consolation*. He addressed it to his countrymen after the taking and destruction of Carthage, to console them under the state of captivity into which they were fallen.

PHILO. ANTIOCHUS.

PHILO succeeded his master Clitomachus,¹⁸ He taught both philosophy and rhetoric, but at different times. Cicero frequented his school, and improved

¹ Quis ista, tam aperte perspicuè que et perversa et falsa, secutus esset, nisi tanta in Arcesila—et copia rerum, et dicendi vis fuisset? *Ibid.* n. 60.

² Εὐχόμενος περὶ χάριτος ἦν καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν χάριν ἡτοίματος. *Diog. Laert.*

³ Seneca calls him Ctesibius: Plutarch gives him another name. *De Discrim. Amic. et Adulat.* p. 63.

⁴ Arcesilaus ut aiunt, amico pauperi, et pauperatem suam dissimulanti, ægro autem, et ne hoc quidem confitenti deesse sibi in sumptum ad necessarios usus, cum clam succurrendum judicasset, pulvino ejus ignorantis sacculum subiecit, ut homo inutiliter verecundus, quod desiderabat, inveniret potius quam acciperet. *Senec. de Benef.* l. ii.

⁵ *Diog. Laert.* ⁶ *Idem.*

⁷ Is enim arderet et prodagare doloribus, visissetque hominem Carneades Epicuri per familiaris, et tristis exiret: mane, quærit, inquit, Carneade noster. Nihil illinc huc pervenit, offendens pedes et pectus. *De Finib.* l. v. n. 94.

⁸ The ancients believed the breast the seat of the soul and of courage.

⁹ *Diog. Laert.*

¹⁰ Acad. Quæst. l. iv. n. 16.
¹¹ Non sumus ii quibus nihil verum esse videatur, sed ii qui omnibus veris falsa quædam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in his nulla insit certa judicandi et assentiendi nota. Ex quo existit et illud, multa esse probabilia; quæ quamquam non perciperent, tamen, quia, visum habent quendam insignem et illustrem, his sapientis vita regeretur. *De Nat. Deor.* l. i. n. 12.

¹² Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7.

¹³ Cit. de Fineb. l. ii. n. 59.

¹⁴ Page 58.

¹⁵ *Diog. Laert.* Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7.

¹⁶ *Diog. Laert.*

¹⁷ Plut. de Fort. Alex. p. 323. Cic. l. iii. Tuscul. Quæst. n. 54.

¹⁸ Tuscul. Quæst. l. ii. n. 9.

from his double lectures. He was also the hearer of Antiochus, Philo's disciple and successor.

ANTIOCHUS was of Ascalon, and is the last of the Academic philosophers mentioned in history. Cicero in his voyage to Athens was charmed with his calm, flowing, graceful manner of speaking;¹ but he did not approve of the change he had introduced in the method of Carneades. For Antiochus, after having long and strenuously maintained the opinions of the new Academy, which rejected entirely the evidence of the senses, and even of reason, and taught that there was nothing certain, had on a sudden embraced those of the old Academy; either from being undeceived by the conviction of reason and the report of his senses; or, as some believed, from jealousy and envy for the disciples of Clitomachus and Philo.

Lucullus,² the famous Roman, as well known for his wonderful taste for the sciences as his great ability in war, had declared openly for the sect of the Academics, not of the new Academy, though then very flourishing from the writings of Carneades which Philo explained, but for that of the old Academy, of which the school was held at that time by Antiochus. He had cultivated the friendship of that philosopher with extreme ardour: he gave him an apartment in his own house, and made use of his assistance in opposing the disciples of Philo, of whom Cicero was the chief.

ARTICLE V.

OF THE PERIPATETICS.

ARISTOTLE.

I HAVE already observed, that after Plato's death, his disciples divided themselves into two sects: of which the one continued in the school where Plato had taught, and the other removed to the Lycæum, an agreeable place in the suburbs of Athens. Aristotle was the chief and founder of the latter. He was a native of Stagira, a city of Macedonia, and was born in the first year of the 99th Olympiad, A. M. 3620, forty years after Plato.³ His father Nicomachus was a physician, and flourished in the reign of Amyntas king of Macedonia, Philip's father. At the age of seventeen he went to Athens, and entered himself in the school of Plato, under whom he studied twenty years. He was its greatest honour, and Plato used to call him the soul of the school. His passion for study was so great, that in order to prevent sleep from engrossing him, he placed a basin of brass by his bed-side, and when he lay down, extended one of his hands out of bed with an iron ball in it, that the noise made by the falling of the ball into the basin, when he fell asleep might immediately awaken him.

After Plato's death, which happened in the first year of the 108th Olympiad, A. M. 3656, he retired to the house of Hermias tyrant of Atarneus in Mysia, his fellow-pupil, who received him with joy, and loaded him with honours. Hermias having been condemned and put to death by the king of Persia, Aristotle married his sister Pithias, who was left without fortune or protector. It was at this time Philip chose him, to take care of the education of his son Alexander, who might then be about fourteen or fifteen years old. He had long before designed him that important and glorious employment.⁴ As soon as his son came into the world, he informed him of his birth by a letter, which does Philip no less honour than Aristotle, and which I am not afraid to repeat in this place. "You have this," says he, "to inform you, that I have a son. I thank the gods, not so much for having given him to me, as for having given him to me in the time of Aristotle. It is with reason I assure myself, that you will make a successor worthy of us, and a king worthy of Macedonia." Quintilian⁵ says expressly, that Aristotle taught

Alexander the first rudiments of grammar. But as that opinion admits of some difficulty, I do not entirely give into it. When the time for taking upon him the education of that prince arrived, Aristotle repaired to Macedonia. We have seen elsewhere the high value, which Philip and Alexander expressed for his extraordinary merit.

After a residence of some years in that court, he obtained permission to retire. Callisthenes, who had accompanied him thither, took his place, and was appointed to follow Alexander into the field. Aristotle,⁶ in whom profound judgment and a great knowledge of the world were united, upon the point of setting sail for Athens, advised Callisthenes not to forget one maxim of Xenophanes, which he judged absolutely necessary to persons who live in courts: "Speak seldom to the prince, or speak so as to please him: that your silence may either make you more secure, or your discourse more agreeable to him." Callisthenes, who was naturally morose and austere, made but ill use of this counsel, which indeed at bottom savours more of the courtier than the philosopher.

Aristotle, then, not having thought proper to follow his pupil to the war, to which his attachment to study made him very averse, after Alexander's departure returned to Athens. He was received there with all the marks of distinction due to a philosopher that excelled in so many respects. Xenocrates at that time presided in Plato's school in the Academy: Aristotle opened his in the Lycæum. The concourse of his hearers was extraordinary. In the morning his lessons were upon philosophy, and in the afternoon upon rhetoric: he usually gave them walking, which occasioned his disciples to be called Peripatetics. He taught only philosophy at first: but the great reputation of Isocrates, then ninety years old, who had applied himself solely to rhetoric, and with incredible success, excited his jealousy and induced him also to teach it.⁷ It is perhaps to this noble emulation, allowable between the learned, when confined to imitating, or even surpassing what others have done well, that we owe Aristotle's Rhetoric, the most complete and most esteemed work the ancients have left us upon that subject; unless we choose rather to believe it composed for Alexander.

So shining a merit as Aristotle's did not fail to excite envy, which seldom spares great men. As long as Alexander lived, that conqueror's name suspended the effects of it, and awed the malignity of his enemies. But he was no sooner dead, than they rose up in concert against him, and swore his destruction. Eurymedon, priest of Ceres, lent him his assistance, and served their hatred with a zeal the more to be feared, as it was covered with the mask of religion. He cited Aristotle before the judges, and accused him of impiety, pretending that he taught doctrines contrary to the worship of the gods established at Athens. To prove this, he referred to Aristotle's hymn in honour of Hermias, and the inscription engraved upon his statue in the temple of Delphos. This inscription is still extant in Athenæus and Diogenes Laertius. It consists of four verses, which have no relation to sacred matters, but only to the king of Persia's perfidy to the unfortunate friend of Aristotle: neither is the hymn more criminal. Aristotle might perhaps have offended Eurymedon the priest of Ceres personally by some stroke of ridicule, a much more unpardonable crime than only attacking the gods. However this may be, not believing it safe to wait the event of a trial, he quitted Athens, after having taught there thirteen years. He retired to Chalcis in the island of Eubœa, and pled his cause from that place in writing. Athenæus⁸ repeats some expressions in this apology, but does not warrant them positively to be Aristotle's. Somebody asking

¹ Plut. in Cic. p. 862.

² Plut. in Lucull. pp. 519, 520.

³ Diog. Laert.

⁴ Aul. Gell. l. ix. c. 3.

⁵ An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima litterarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis Philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initia à perfectissimo quoque tractari, pertinere ad summam credidisset? Quintil. l. i. c. 1.

⁶ Aristoteles, Callisthenem auditorem suum ad Alexandrum dimittens, monuit ut cum eo aut rarissime, aut quàm jucundissime loqueretur: quo scilicet apud regias aures vel silentio tutior, vel sermone esset acceptior. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 2.

⁷ Cic. l. iii. de Orat. n. 141. Quintil. l. iii. c. 1.

⁸ Athen. l. xv. pp. 696, 697.

him the cause of his retiring, he answered, "that it was to prevent the Athenians from committing a second murder upon philosophy," alluding to the death of Socrates.¹

It is pretended that he died of grief, because he could not discover the cause of the ebbing and flowing of the Euripus, and that he even threw himself headlong into that sea, saying, "Let the Euripus swallow me, since I cannot comprehend it." There were a multitude of other things in nature beyond his comprehension, and he was too wise to be mortified on that account. Others² affirm, with more probability, that he died of the colic in the 63d year of his age, A. M. 3683, two years after Alexander's death. He was extremely honoured in Stagira, the place of his nativity. It had been demolished by Philip king of Macedonia: but Alexander caused it to be rebuilt at the request of Aristotle.³ The inhabitants in gratitude for that benefit instituted a festival in honour of this philosopher, and when he died at Chalcis in Eubœa, transported his bones to their city, erected an altar upon his monument, gave the place the name of Aristotle, and afterwards held their assemblies in it. He left a son called Nicomachus, and a daughter who was married to a grandson of Demaratus king of Sparta.

He related elsewhere the fate of his works, during how many years they remained buried and unknown, and in what manner they were at length brought to light and made public.

Quintilian⁴ says, that he does not know which to admire most in Aristotle, his vast and profound erudition, the prodigious number of the writings which he left behind him, the beauty of his style, or the infinite variety of his works. One would believe, says he in another place, that he must have employed several ages in study, for comprehending within the extent of his knowledge all that regards not only philosophy and rhetoric, but even plants and animals, whose nature and properties he studied with infinite application.⁵ Alexander, to second his master's ardour in that learned labour,⁶ and to satisfy his own curiosity, gave orders for making exact inquiries throughout the whole extent of Greece and Asia into all that related to birds, fish, and animals of every kind: an expense which amounted to above eight hundred talents, or eight hundred thousand crowns.⁷ Aristotle composed above fifty volumes, upon this subject, of which only ten remain.

The university of Paris has thought very differently at different times of Aristotle's writings. In the council of Sens held at Paris in 1209, all his books were ordered to be burned, and the reading, writing, or keeping them prohibited. The rigour of this prohibition was afterwards somewhat abated. At length, by a decree of the two cardinals sent by pope Urban V. to Paris, in the year 1366, to regulate the university, all the books of Aristotle were allowed there; and that decree was renewed and confirmed in 1452, by cardinal Etouteville. From that time Aristotle's doctrine always prevailed in the university of Paris, till the happy discoveries of the last age opened the eyes of the learned, and made them embrace a system of philosophy highly different from the ancient opinions of the schools. But as Aristotle was formerly admired beyond due bounds, he is perhaps despised at present more than he deserves.

ARISTOTLE'S SUCCESSORS.

THEOPHRASTUS was of the island of Lesbos. Aristotle, before he returned to Chalcis, appointed him his successor.⁸ Accordingly he filled the place of his master with so much success and reputation, that the number of his hearers amounted to two thousand. Demetrius Phalereus was one of his disciples and intimate friends. The beauty and delicacy of his eloquence, occasioned his being called Theophrastus, which signifies "divine speaker."

Cicero relates a circumstance particular enough of

him.⁹ He was cheapening something of an herb-woman, and was answered by her: "No, Mr. Stranger, you shall have it for no less." He was extremely surprised and even concerned, that after having passed great part of his life at Athens, the language of which he piqued himself upon speaking in perfection, he could however still be discovered for a stranger. But it was his attention itself to the purity of the Attic dialect carried too far, that occasioned his being known for such, as Quintilian observes. What a taste had Athens even down to the meanest of the people!

He did not believe, any more than Aristotle, that it was possible to enjoy any real felicity here without the goods and conveniences of life: in which, says Cicero,¹⁰ he degraded virtue, and deprived her of her highest glory; reducing her to an incapacity of making man happy of herself. He ascribes supreme divinity, in one place, to intelligence, in another to heaven in general, and after that, to the stars in particular.¹¹

He died at the age of eighty-five, exhausted with labour and study. He is said to have murmured against nature at his death, for granting a long life to stags and ravens, who can make no beneficial use of it; whilst she abridged that of man, whom a longer date would enable to attain a perfect knowledge in the sciences:¹² a murmur equally trifling and unjust, and which the light of reason only has taught many of the ancients to condemn, as a kind of rebellion against the divine will. *Quid enim est aliud gigantum more bellare cum diis, nisi naturæ repugnare?*¹³

Strato was of Lampsacus.¹⁴ He applied himself very much to physics, and little to ethics, which occasioned his being called the physician. He began to preside in his school in the third year of the 123d Olympiad, A. M. 3718, and taught there eighteen years. He was the master of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Lycón of Troas. He governed his school forty years.

Ariston. Critolaus. The latter was one of the three ambassadors sent by the Athenians to Rome in the second year of the 140th Olympiad, A. M. 3781, and the 534th of Rome.

Diodorus. This was one of the last eminent philosophers of the sect of the Peripatetics.

ARTICLE VI.

OF THE SECT OF THE CYNICS.

ANTISTHENES.

THE Cynic philosophers owe their origin and institution to Antisthenes the disciple of Socrates.¹⁵ This sect derives its name from the place where its founder taught, called *Cynosarges*,¹⁶ in the suburb of Athens. If this origin be true, at least, we cannot doubt but their immodesty and impudence might well have confirmed a name given them at first from the place. Antisthenes led a very hard life, and for his whole dress had only a wretched cloak. He had a long beard, a staff in his hand, and a wallet at his back. He reckoned nobility and riches as nothing, and made the supreme good of man consist in virtue. When he was asked of what use philosophy had been to him, he answered, "To enable me to live with myself."

DIOGENES.

DIOGENES was the most celebrated of his disciples.¹⁷

* Ut ego jam non mirer illud Theophrasto accidisse quod dicitur, cum percontaretur ex anculla quadam, quanti aliquid venderet? et respondisset illa, atque addidisset: Hospes, non pote minoris: tulisse eum molestè, se non effugere hospitii speciem, cum ætatem ageret Athenis, optimeque loqueretur. *In Brut.* l. i. n. 172.

Quomodo et illa Attica anus Theophrastum, hominem aliqui doctissimum, annota unius affectione verbi, hospitum dixit: nec aliò se id deprehendisse interrogata respondit, quàm quod nimium Atticè loqueretur. *Quintil.* l. viii. c. i.

¹⁰ Spoliavit virtutem suo decore, imbecillamque reddidit, quod negavit in ea sola positum esse beatè vivere. *Acad. Quæst.* l. i. n. 33.

¹¹ Lib. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 35.

¹² Tusc. Quæst. l. iiii. n. 69.

¹³ Cic. de Senect. n. 5.

¹⁴ Laert.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ This word signifies a white, or a lively and swift dog.

¹⁷ Laert.

¹ Ælian. l. iii. c. 36.

² Ammon. in vit. Aristot.

³ Lib. xii. c. ult.

⁴ Athen. l. ix. p. 893.

⁵ Laert.

⁶ Lib. x. c. 72.

⁷ Plin. l. viii. c. 16.

⁸ Laert.

He was of Synope, a city of Paphlagonia. He was expelled thence for counterfeiting the coin. His father, who was a banker, was banished for the same crime. Diogenes, upon arriving at Athens, went to Antisthenes, who treated him with great contempt, and would have driven him away with his staff, because he was resolved to have no more disciples. Diogenes was not surprised, and bowing his head, "Strike, strike," said he, "do not be afraid: you'll never find a stick hard enough to make me remove, so long as you speak." Antisthenes, overcome by the obstinacy of Diogenes, permitted him to be his disciple. Diogenes made great improvements from his lessons, and perfectly imitated his manner of living. His whole furniture consisted of a staff, a wallet, and a wooden bowl. Seeing a little boy drink out of the hollow of his hand: "He shows me," says he, "that I have still something superfluous," and broke his bowl. He always went barefoot, without ever wearing sandals, not even when the earth was covered with snow. A tub served him for a lodging, which he rolled before him wherever he went, and had no other habitation. Every body knows what he said to Alexander, who made him a visit at Corinth: and the celebrated saying of that prince, "If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." Juvenal, accordingly, finds the inhabitant of the tub greater and more happy than the conqueror of the universe.¹ The one desired nothing, and the whole world was too little for the other. Seneca therefore is not mistaken, when he says that Alexander, the proudest of mankind, who believed that every thing ought to tremble before him, was forced that day to submit to Diogenes, having found a man in him, from whom he could take, and to whom he could give, nothing.² For the rest we are not to believe, that he was the more humble for his ragged cloak, bag, and tub. He had as much vanity in these things, as Alexander could have from the conquest of the whole earth.³ One day entering Plato's house, which was furnished magnificently enough, he trampled a fine carpet under his feet, saying, "I tread upon the pride of Plato." "Yes," replied the latter, "but with another kind of pride."⁴ He had a supreme contempt for all the human race. Walking at noon with a lighted lantern in his hand, somebody asked him what he sought? "I am seeking a man," replied he. Upon seeing a slave put on a person's shoes: "You'll not be satisfied," says he, "till he wipes your nose for you. Of what use are your hands to you?" Another time seeing the judges carrying a man to be punished for stealing a little vial out of the public treasury: "See," said he, "the great thieves have caught a little one!" The relations of a young man, whom they brought to him to be his disciple, said all the good things of him imaginable: that he was prudent, of good morals, and knew a great deal. Diogenes heard them very calmly: "As he is so accomplished," said he, "he has no occasion for me."

He was accused of speaking and thinking ill of the divinity.⁵ He said that the uninterrupted good fortune of Harpalus, who generally passed for a thief and a robber, was a testimony against the gods.

Among excellent maxims of morality, he held some very pernicious opinions. He regarded chastity and modesty as weakness, and was not afraid to act openly with an impudence contrary to all sense of decency and natural shame. And indeed the character of the Cynics was to overdo every thing in respect to manners, and to render virtue itself hateful if possible, by the excesses and inconsistencies to which they carried it.

Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra, quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.

Hor. Ep. vi. l. 1.

¹ Sensit Alexander, testa cùm vidit in illa
Magnam habitorem, quanto felicior hic, qui
Nil cuperet, quàm qui totum sibi posceret orbem.

² Quidni victus sit illo die, qui homo, supra mensuram
humane superbiam tumens, vidit aliquem cui nec dare quidquam posset, nec eripere. *Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 6.*

³ *Elian. l. iii. c. 29.*

⁴ *De Nat. Decor. iii. n. 83.*

⁵ *Diog. Laert.*

More than enough, in virtue's self is bad;

Just's then unjust; the wise man grows the mad.

His historian ascribes to him most persuasive eloquence, of which he relates wonderful effects. Onesicritus had sent one of his sons to Athens. That young man having heard some of Diogenes's lectures, settled in that city.⁶ His elder brother soon after did the same. Onesicritus himself, having had the curiosity to hear that philosopher, became his disciple, such attractions had the eloquence of Diogenes. This Onesicritus was a person of importance. He was in great favour with Alexander, followed him in his wars, in which he had employments of distinction, and composed a history, that contained the beginning of Alexander's life.⁷ Phocion, still more illustrious than he, was also the disciple of Diogenes, as was Stilpon of Megara.

Diogenes in going to the island of Ægina was taken by pirates, who carried him to Crete, where they exposed him to sale. When he was asked by the crier, "What he could do?" he answered, "Command men," and bade him say, "Will any body buy a master?" A Corinthian called Xenades bought him, and carried him to Corinth, where he made him preceptor to his sons. He confided also the whole care of his house to him. Diogenes acquitted himself so well of those employments, that Xenades was incessantly saying every where, "A good genius has taken up his abode in my house." The friends of Diogenes would have ransomed him: "No," said he, "that's foolish. Lions are not the slaves of those that feed them, but those that feed them their servants."⁸ He educated the children of Xenades very well, and acquired their affection to a great degree. He grew old in this house, and some say he died there.

He ordered at his death that his body should be left upon the earth without interment.⁹ "How!" said his friends, "would you lie exposed to the birds and beasts?" "No," replied he, "put my stick by me, that I may drive them away." "And how will you do that," said they, "when you have no sense?" "What then does it signify," answered the Cynic, "whether I am eaten or not by the birds and beasts, as I shall have no sense of it?"

No regard was had to the great indifference of Diogenes about interment. He was buried magnificently near the gate next the Isthmus. A column was erected near his tomb, on which a dog of Parian marble was placed.

He died at nearly ninety years of age, according to some upon the same day as Alexander, but others make him survive that prince some years.

CRATES.

CRATES the Cynic was one of the principal disciples of Diogenes.¹⁰ He was a Theban of a very considerable family, and of great fortune. He sold his whole patrimony for more than two hundred talents,¹¹ which he put into the hands of a banker, and desired him to give them to his children in case they proved fools; but if they had elevation of mind enough to be philosophers, he directed him to distribute the money among the citizens of Thebes, because philosophers wanted nothing: always excess and caprice even in actions laudable in themselves.

Hipparchia, the sister of the orator Metrocles, charmed with the freedom of Crates's manners, was absolutely determined to marry him, notwithstanding the opposition of all her relations. Crates, to whom they applied themselves, did all he could on his side to make her disgust this marriage. Having stript himself before her to show her his hunch-back and ill-made body in the worst light, and throwing his cloak, bag, and staff, upon the ground; "There," says he, "are all my riches, and my wife must expect no other jointure from me." She persisted in her resolution, married hunch-back, dressed herself like a Cynic, and became still more "free" and impudent than her husband.

⁶ *Diog. Laert.*

⁷ *Diog. Laert.*

⁸ *Diog. Laert.*

⁹ *Plut. in Alex. p. 701.*

¹⁰ *Tusc. Quæst. l. i. n. 104.*

¹¹ Two hundred thousand crowns.

Impudence was the prevailing character of these philosophers. They reproached others with their faults without any reserve, and added an air of insolence and contempt to their reproaches. This, according to some, occasioned their being called Cynics, because they were biting, and barked at all the world like dogs; and because they were ashamed of nothing, and held that every thing might be done openly without shame or reserve.

Crates flourished at Thebes about the 113th Olympiad, A. M. 3676, and excelled all the Cynics of his time. He was the master of Zeno, the founder of the famous sect of the Stoics.

ARTICLE VII.—OF THE STOICS.

ZENO.

ZENO was of Citium in the island of Cyprus.¹ On his return from buying purple in Phœnicia, for he applied himself first to commerce, he was cast away in the port of Pyraeus. He was much afflicted with his loss, and removed to Athens, where he went into a bookseller's shop, and took up a book of Xenophon's, the reading of which gave him infinite pleasure, and made him forget his misfortune. He asked the bookseller, where that sort of people, of whom Xenophon spoke, were to be found. Crates the Cynic happened to pass by at that instant. The bookseller pointed him out to Zeno, and advised him to follow him. From that day he commenced his discipline; at which time he was thirty years of age, A. M. 3672. The morality of the Cynics highly pleased him, but he could not relish their immodesty and impudence.

After having studied ten years under Crates, and passed ten more in the houses of Stilpon of Megara, Xenocrates, and Polemon, he instituted a new sect at Athens, A. M. 3692. His reputation immediately spread throughout Greece. In a short time he became the most distinguished philosopher in the country. As he usually taught in a porch, his followers were called *Stoics*, from the Greek word *στοά*, which signifies a porch or portico.

Zeno lived to the age of ninety-eight, without ever experiencing any disorder of body.² He taught forty-eight years successively, and lived sixty-eight from his first applying to philosophy under Crates the Cynic. Eusebius dates his death, which was much regretted, at the 129th Olympiad, A. M. 3743. When Antigonus king of Macedonia received news of it, he was sensibly afflicted. The Athenians caused a tomb to be erected for him in the suburb of Ceramica, and by a public decree, (wherein he was praised as a philosopher who had perpetually excited the youth under his discipline to virtue, and who had always led a life conformable to the precepts he taught) they gave him a crown of gold, and caused extraordinary honours to be paid to his memory: "In order," says the decree, "that all the world may know, that the Athenians are studious to honour persons of distinguished merit, both during their lives and after their deaths." Nothing does a people more honour than such noble and generous sentiments, which arise from a high esteem for knowledge and virtue. I have already observed elsewhere that a neighbouring nation, I mean England, distinguishes itself by its esteem for great men of this kind, and by the gratitude it expresses for those who have exalted the glory of their country.

LEUCIPPUS.

LEUCIPPUS is one of the most famous of Zeno's disciples. Authors do not agree about the place of his birth. He is believed to be the inventor of the atomical system. Posidonius ascribes it to one Moschus of Phœnicia, who, according to Strabo,³ lived before the Trojan war: but the most learned persons give Leucippus the honour of it. Epicurus is blamed for not owning his improvement from the inventions of this philosopher, and reproached with having only

reformed the system of Democritus in some places, of which Leucippus was the first author.⁴

CLEANTHES.

CLEANTHES was of Assos in Troas.⁵ He was worth but four drachmas, or thirty pence, when he came to Athens. He recommended himself highly by the courageous patience, with which he supported the hardest and most painful labours. He passed almost the whole night in drawing water for a gardener, in order to gain subsistence, and to enable himself during the day to apply to the study of philosophy. Being cited before the judges of the Areopagus, to give an account, according to one of Solon's laws, how he lived, he produced the gardener as an evidence, and without doubt his own hands, hard and callous with labour. The judges, in a transport of admiration, ordered him ten minæ, about thirty pounds, out of the public treasury. Zeno forbade him to accept of them, so much was poverty in honour with these philosophers! He filled the chair of the Porch with great reputation.

His genius was naturally heavy and slow; but he overcame that defect by tenacious application to study. Eloquence was not his talent. He, however, thought fit to compose a Rhetoric, as well as Chrysippus, of whom we shall soon speak; but both with such bad success, that, if we may believe Cicero, who certainly was a good judge in this case, those works were fitter to make a man mute than a speaker.⁶

CHRYSIPPUS.

CHRYSIPPUS was of Soli a city of Cilicia.⁷ His genius was very subtle, and proper for logical disquisitions, in which he exercised himself much, and upon which he wrote many tracts. Diogenes Laertius makes them amount to above three hundred. It is said that the occasion of his writing so much, was his envy of Epicurus, who had composed more books than any other philosopher: but he never came up to that rival. His works were little laboured, and by necessary consequence incorrect, full of tedious repetitions, and often even contradictions. It was the common fault of the Stoics, to introduce much subtlety and dryness into their disputations either by word of mouth or in writing. They seem as carefully to have avoided all beauty of style, as depravity of morals. Cicero did not blame them much for wanting a talent entirely foreign to their profession, and not absolutely necessary to it.⁸ "If a philosopher," says he, "have eloquence, I do not like him the worse for it: if not, I make it no crime in him."⁹

He was satisfied if they were clear and intelligible; for which he valued Epicurus.¹⁰ Quintilian often cites with praise a work written by Chrysippus upon the education of children.

He associated himself for some time with the Academics,¹¹ maintaining after their manner both sides of a question. The Stoics complained, that Chrysippus had collected so many and so strong arguments for the system of the Academics, that he could not afterwards refute them himself, which had supplied Carneades their antagonist with arms against them.

His doctrine, in many points, did no honour to his sect, and could only disgrace it.¹² He believed the gods perishable, and maintained that they would actually perish in the general conflagration. He allowed the most notorious and most abominable incests; and admitted the community of wives among

⁴ Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 72, 73.

⁵ Laert.
⁶ Scripsit artem rhetoricam Cleanthes, Chrysippus etiam, sed hic, ut, si quis obtusescere concupierit, nihil aliud legere debeat. De Finib. l. iv. n. 7.

⁷ Laert.
⁸ Videmus fisdem de rebus jejund quosdam et exilliter, ut eum, quem acutissimum ferunt, Chrysippum disputavisse; neque ob eam rem philosophi non satisfecisse, quod non habuerunt hanc dicendi ex arte alienam facultatem. De Orat. l. i. n. 49.

⁹ A philosopho, si afferat eloquentiam, non aspernet: si non habeat, non admodum flagitet. De Finib. l. i. n. 15.

¹⁰ Oratio me istius philosophi non offendit. Nam et complentur verbis quod vult, et dicit planè quod intelligam. — Ibid.

¹¹ Academ. l. iv. n. 7.

¹² Plut. contra Stoic. pp. 1074, 1075. Laert.

¹ Diog. Laert.

² Laert.

³ Strab. l. xvi. p. 557.

sages. He composed several writings full of the most horrid obscenities. Such was the philosopher, who passed for the most solid support of the Porch, that is to say, of the most severe sect of the Pagan world. It must appear astonishing after this, that Seneca² should praise this philosopher, whom he joins with Zeno, in the most magnificent terms. He goes so far as to say of both the one and the other, that they had done greater things in their closets, than if they had commanded armies, filled the first offices of a state, and instituted wise laws; and he adds, that he considers them, not as the legislators of a single city, but of all mankind.

1 Chrysippus died in the 143d Olympiad, A. M. 3793. A tomb was erected for him among those of the most illustrious Athenians. His statue was to be seen in the suburb of Ceramica.

DIOGENES THE BABYLONIAN.

DIOGENES the Babylonian was so called, because his country, Seleucia, was in the neighbourhood of Babylon. He was one of the three philosophers deputed by Athens to the Romans. He showed great moderation and tranquillity of soul upon an occasion capable of moving the calmest and most patient of men. He was expatiating upon anger.³ A young man of great impudence and presumption spit in his face, probably to try whether he practised himself the doctrine he taught others. The philosopher, without seeming moved, or raising his voice, said coldly; "I am not angry: but I doubt whether I ought not to be so." Did such a doubt suit the apathy of a Stoic?

ANTIPATER.

ANTIPATER was of Sidon. He is often mentioned in the fourth book of Academical Questions as one of the most learned and esteemed of the Stoics. He was the disciple of Diogenes the Babylonian, and Posidonius was his.

PANÆTIUS.

PANÆTIUS was, without contradiction, one of the most famous philosophers of the Stoic sect. He was a Rhodian, and his ancestors had commanded the armies of that state.⁴ We may date his birth about the middle of the 148th Olympiad, A. M. 3814. He perfectly answered the peculiar care that had been taken of his education, and devoted himself wholly to the study of philosophy. Inclination, perhaps prejudice, determined him in favour of the Stoic sect, at that time in the highest credit. Antipater of Tarsus was his master. He heard him as a man that understood the rights of reason;⁵ and notwithstanding the blind deference, with which the Stoics received the decisions of the founders of the Porch, Panætius abandoned those without scruple, which did not appear sufficiently established.

To satisfy the desire of knowledge, which was his darling passion, he quitted Rhodes, without regard to the advantages for which the greatness of his birth seemed to design him. The most distinguished persons in every kind of literature usually assembled at Athens, and the Stoics had a famous school there. Panætius frequented it with assiduity, and at length supported its reputation with dignity. The Athenians resolved to make him their own, and offered him the freedom of their city; for which he returned them his thanks.⁶ "A modest man," said he to them in respect to Proclus, "ought to content himself with one country:" in which he imitated Zeno, who, lest it might be injurious to his own citizens, would not accept the same favour.

The fame of Panætius soon extended itself beyond the seas. The sciences had for some time made considerable progress at Rome. The great cultivated them in emulation of each other, and those whom their birth or capacity had placed at the head of the public affairs, made it their honour to protect them to the utmost. Such was the state of things when Panætius came to Rome. He was ardently desired there. The young nobility flew to hear him; and the Scipios and the Lælii were of the number of his disciples. A tender friendship united them from that time, and Panætius, as many writers inform us, attended Scipio in his several expeditions. To make him amends, that illustrious Roman, on a signal occasion, gave him the most grateful marks of his confidence. Panætius was the only one upon whom he cast his eyes, when the senate appointed him ambassador to the nations and kings of the east in alliance with the commonwealth.⁷ The credit of Panætius with Scipio was not useless to the Rhodians, and was often employed for them with success.⁸

The year of his death is not precisely known. Cicero tells us, that Panætius lived thirty years after having published his treatise upon the duties of man, which Cicero has diffused into his: but it is not known at what time that treatise appeared. It is probable that he published it in the flower of his age. The value Cicero set on it, and the use he made of it, are good proofs of the excellency of this work, of which we therefore should regret the loss. He composed many others. The reader may see an account of them in the memoir of the Abbé Sevin upon the life of Panætius,⁹ from which I have extracted all I have said of them in this place.

To the praise of the Stoics it must be confessed, that less intent than other philosophers upon frivolous and often dangerous speculations, they devoted their studies to the clearing up of those great principles of morality, which are the firmest supports of society: but the dryness and stiffness that prevailed¹⁰ in their writings, as well as in their manners, disgusted most of their readers, and greatly lessened their utility. The example of Cleanthes and Chrysippus, the founders of the Porch, did not mislead Panætius. Attentive to the good of the public, and aware that the useful generally is not current without the agreeable, he united solidity of argument with beauty and elegance of style, and diffused into his works all the graces and ornaments of which they were susceptible.

POSIDONIUS.

POSIDONIUS was of Apamea in Syria, but he passed the greater part of his life at Rhodes, where he taught philosophy with much reputation, and was employed in the affairs of the public with the same success. Pompey, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, touched at Rhodes in order to see him. He found him sick. We shall see in the sequel, in what manner this visit passed.

EPICTETUS.

I SHOULD injure the sect of the Stoics, if in the number of its followers I omitted Epictetus, the man perhaps of all these philosophers, who did it most honour by the sublimity of his sentiments, and the regularity of his life.

EPICTETUS was born at Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia near Laodicia. The meanness of his extraction has prevented us from the knowledge of his parents. He was the slave of one Epaphroditus, whom Suidas calls "one of Nero's guards;" whence he took his name Epictetus, which signifies *bought servant* or *slave*. It is neither said by what accident he was brought to Rome, nor how he came to be sold to

¹ Fulcire putatur porticum Stoicorum. *Academ.* 4. 75.

² Nos certe sumus, qui dicimus, et Zenonem et Chrysippum majora egisse, quam si duxissent exercitus, gessissent honores, leges tulissent, quas, non uni civitati, sed toti humano generi tulerunt. *Senec. de Ot. sap. c. 31.*

³ Et de ira eum maxime discentem adolescens protervus fœpuit. Tulit hoc ille leniter ac sapienter. Non quidem inquit, irascor: sed dubito tamen an irasci oporteat. *Senec. de Ira. l. iii. c. 38.*

⁴ Strab. l. xiv. p. 655.

⁵ Divin. l. i. n. 6.

⁶ Plut. de Stoic. repugn. p. 1034. Procl. in Hesiod. p. 151.

⁷ P. Africani historie loquuntur, in legatione illa nobili quam obiit, Panætium unum omnino comitem fuisse. *Acad. Quæst. l. iv. n. 5.*

⁸ Plut. in Mornl. p. 814.

⁹ Tom. x. des Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres.

¹⁰ Stoici proflibores evadunt, asperiores, duriores et oratione et moribus. Quam illorum tristitiam atque asperitatem fugiens Panætius, nec acerbiter sententiarum, nec disserendi spinas probavit: fuitque in altero genere mitior, in altero illustrior. *De Finib. l. iv. n. 73, 79.*

Epaphroditus. It is only known that he was the latter's slave. Epictetus was apparently made free. He always was a follower of the Stoic philosophy, which was at that time the most perfect and the most severe sect. He lived at Rome till the edict of Domitian, A. D. 96, by which all philosophers were banished from thence. If we may believe Quintilian, many of them concealed great vices under so fair a name, and had acquired the reputation of philosophers, not by their virtue and knowledge, but by a grave and severe countenance, and a singularity of dress and behaviour, which served as a mask for very corrupt manners. Quintilian is perhaps a little excessive in this description, with the view of pleasing the emperor: but it is certain, that it could in no manner be applied to Epictetus. Upon quitting Rome, he went to settle at Nicopolis, a considerable city of Epirus, where he lived many years, always in great poverty, but highly honoured and esteemed. He returned afterwards to Rome in the reign of Adrian, with whom he was in great consideration. Neither the time, place, nor any other circumstances of his death are mentioned: he died at a sufficiently great age.

He confined all his philosophy to suffering ills patiently, and moderation of pleasure, which he expressed by the two Greek words, ἀνιχου καὶ ἀπηνου, *sustine et abstine*. Celsus² who wrote against the Christians, says, that upon his master's bending his leg with great violence, he told him without emotion, and in a laughing manner: "Why, you'll break my leg." And as it happened so, he continued in the same tone: "Did not I tell you, that you'd break it?"

Lucian³ ridicules a man, who bought Epictetus's lamp at a great price,⁴ though only an earthen one; as if he had imagined that by using it he should become as wise as that admirable and venerable old man.

Epictetus had composed many works, of which only his *Enchiridion* or *Manuel* remain. But Arrian, his disciple, has written a great work, which, as he pretends, consists solely of what he had heard him say, and which he had collected as near as possible, in his own terms. Of the eight books which formed this work, we have only four.

Stobæus has preserved us some sentences of this philosopher's, which had escaped the diligence of his disciple. I shall cite only two of them in this place. "To be rich does not depend on thee, but to be happy does. Riches themselves are not always a good, and certainly are always of short duration; but the happiness derived from wisdom, endures for ever." "When thou seest a viper or a serpent in a box of gold, dost thou esteem it the more, and hast thou not always the same horror for it on account of its venomous nature? Have the same for the wicked man, when thou seest him surrounded with splendour and riches." "The sun does not stay to be implored to impart his light and heat. By his example do all the good thou canst, without staying till it be asked of thee."

The following prayer Epictetus desired to make at his death, which I take from Arrian. "O Lord, have I violated your commandments? Have I abused the gifts you have conferred upon me? Have I not submitted my senses, wishes, and opinions, to you? Have I ever complained of you? Have I accused your providence? I have been sick, because it was your will; and it was also mine. It was your will that I should be poor, and I was contented with poverty. I have been of the meanest of the people, because it was your will; and did I ever desire to be otherwise? Was I ever afflicted for my condition? Have you ever surprised me murmuring and dejected? I am still entirely ready to undergo whatever you shall please to ordain for me. The least sign from you is an inviolable order for me. It is your will that I should quit this magnificent scene: I go, with a thousand most humble thanks, that you have vouchsafed to admit me to see your works, and to display to

my eyes the admirable order, with which you govern this universe." Though it be easy to observe in this prayer several strokes borrowed from Christianity, which at that time began to cast a great light, we, however, perceive in it a man well satisfied with himself, and who, by his frequent interrogations, seems to defy the Divinity himself to find any fault in him. A sentiment and prayer truly worthy of a Stoic, all proud of his pretended virtue! St. Paul, who abounded so much in good works, did not speak such language, "I judge not mine own self," said he. "For I know nothing by myself," (or as the French expresses it better, "though my conscience reproaches me with nothing,") "yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the lord."⁵ For the rest, this prayer, all defective as it is, will condemn many Christians. For it shows us, that a perfect obedience, an entire devotion, and total resignation to the will of God, were considered by the pagans themselves, as the indispensable duties of creatures to him from whom they hold their being. This philosopher knew the terms of duties and virtues; but had the misfortune to be ignorant of the principle of them.

Epictetus was at Rome at the time when St. Paul made so many conversions there, and when Christianity almost at its birth shone out with so much lustre in the unexampled constancy of the faithful. But far from improving from so radiant a light, he blasphemed against the faith of the primitive Christians, and the heroic courage of the martyrs. In the fourth chapter of the seventh book of Arrian, after having shown, that a man conscious of his liberty, and convinced that nothing can hurt him, because he has God for his deliverer, fears neither the guards nor swords of tyrants, Epictetus adds: "*Frenzy and custom* have been capable of inducing some to despise them, as the Gallians;⁶ and shall not reason and demonstration produce the same effect?" Nothing was more contrary to the doctrine of the gospel than the pride of the Stoics.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE PHILOSOPHERS OF THE ITALIC SECT.

I HAVE already said, that the Italic sect was so called, because it was instituted by Pythagoras in that part of Italy called Græcia Magna.

I shall divide this chapter into two articles. In the first I shall relate the life of Pythagoras, and that of Empedocles the most famous of his disciples. In the second I shall treat the division of the Italic into four other sects.

ARTICLE I.

PYTHAGORAS.

THE most common opinion is that Pythagoras was of Samos, and son of Mnesarchus the sculptor.⁷ He was at first the disciple of Pherecides, who is ranked in the number of the seven sages. After the death of his master, as he had an extraordinary desire of learning and of knowing the manners of strangers, he abandoned his country, and all he had, for the sake of travelling. He remained a considerable time in Egypt, to converse there with the priests, and to learn from them whatever was most occult in the mysteries of their religion and learning. Polycrates wrote in his favour to Anaxis king of Egypt, in order that he might treat him with distinction, A. M. 3440, Ant. J. C. 564. Pythagoras went afterwards into the country of the Chaldeans, to acquire the learning of the Magi. Some imagine that he might have seen Ezekiel and Daniel, and have improved from their lessons at Babylon. After having travelled into different parts of the East, he went to Crete, where he contracted a great intimacy with the wise Epimenides. And at last, after having enriched himself with various knowledge in the several countries where he had been, he returned to Samos, laden with the precious spoils which had been the motives, and were the fruits of his travels. His grief to see his country oppressed by the tyranny of

¹ Nostris temporibus sub hoc nomine maxima in plerisque vitia latuerunt. Non enim virtute ac studiis, ut habebatur philosophis, laborantibus; sed vitiis, et tristitia, et dissentione a curis habitum pessimis moribus pretendebant. Quintil. l. i. in Proem.

² Orig. in Cels. l. vii. ³ Lucian, advers. indoct. p. 548.

⁴ Three thousand drachmas, about 75*l*.

⁵ 1 Cor. iv. 2, 4.

⁷ Diog. Laert.

⁶ So the Christians were called.

Polycrates, made him resolve on voluntary banishment. He went into that part of Italy which was called Great Greece, and settled at Crotona in the house of Milo, the famous boxer, where he taught philosophy. It is from this place that the sect of which he was author, was called the Italic sect.

Before him, as I have observed already, those who excelled in the knowledge of nature, and had acquired reputation by a virtuous and regular life, were called sages σοφοί.¹ That name appearing too proud to him, he assumed another, which implied, that he did not ascribe the profession of wisdom to himself, but only the desire of possessing it. This was *Philosopher*, that is to say, lover of wisdom.

The reputation of Pythagoras soon spread over all Italy, and brought a great number of disciples to hear him. Some make Numa of this number, who was elected king of Rome: but they mistake. Pythagoras flourished in the time of Tarquin, the last king of the Romans, that is, in the 220th year of Rome; or, according to Livy, in the reign of Servius Tullius.² A. M. 3472. The error³ of those who make him king Numa's contemporary is glorious for them both. For they had not fallen into it, if they had not believed that Numa could not have shown so much ability and wisdom in his government, if he had not been the disciple of Pythagoras. Certain it is that his reputation afterwards became very great at Rome. The Romans must have conceived a very high idea of him, as upon being commanded by an oracle during the war with the Samnites to erect two statues, the one to the bravest, and the other to the wisest, of the Greeks, they set up those of Alcibiades and Pythagoras.⁴ Pliny was much surprised that they chose either of them.

He made his scholars undergo a severe novitiate of silence for at least two years: and extended it to five with those in whom he discerned a too great itch for talking.⁵ His disciples were divided into two classes.⁶ The one were simple hearers, ἀκουστικοί, hearkening to and receiving what was taught them, without demanding the reasons of it, of which it was supposed they were not yet capable. The others, as more formed and intelligent, were admitted to propose their difficulties, μαθηματικοί, to penetrate deeper into the principles of philosophy, and to learn the reasons of all that was taught them.

Pythagoras considered geometry and arithmetic, as absolutely necessary to enlarge the minds of young people, and to prepare them for the study of great truths. He also set great value upon, and made great use of, music, to which he referred every thing;⁷ pretending that the world was formed by a kind of harmony imitated afterwards by the lyre; and he annexed peculiar sounds to the motion of the celestial spheres which revolve over our heads. It is said that it was the ⁸ custom of the Pythagoreans on rising from bed, to awaken the mind with the sound of the lyre, in order to make themselves more fit for action: and before going to bed, they resumed their lyre, which no doubt they touched to a softer strain, in order to prepare themselves for sleep, by calming whatever might remain of the tumultuous thoughts of the day.

Pythagoras had a great influence over the minds of his scholars. His having advanced any thing sufficed for them to be convinced of it without farther

proof: whence came the famous saying ἀντὶς ἱσχυρῶς, *ipse dixit, he (the master) has said it*. A reprimand which he gave one of his scholars in the presence of all the rest, so sensibly affected him, that he could not survive it, and killed himself.⁹ From that period Pythagoras, instructed and afflicted by so mournful an example, never rebuked any body except in private.

His doctrine, and still more his example, produced a wonderful change in Italy, and especially at Crotona, where he principally resided. Justin¹⁰ describes at large the reformation, which he introduced into that city. "He came," says he, "to Crotona, and having found the inhabitants in general abandoned to luxury and debauchery, he conciliated them at length by his authority to the rules of a prudent frugality. He continually praised virtue, and inculcated its beauty and advantages. He represented in the most lively terms the shame of intemperance, and enumerated the states which had been ruined in consequence of vicious excesses. His discourse made such an impression on the people, and occasioned so general a change in the city, that it seemed a quite different place, and retained no marks of the ancient Crotona. He spoke to the women separately from the men, and the children from their fathers and mothers. To the wives he recommended the virtues of their sex, chastity, and submission to their husbands; to the youth, profound respect for their fathers and mothers, and a taste for study and the sciences.¹¹ He insisted principally upon frugality, the mother of all virtues; and prevailed upon the ladies to renounce the fine clothes, and rich ornaments, which they thought essential to their rank, but which he considered as the food of luxury and vice. These they sacrificed to the principal divinity of the place, which was Juno; showing by so generous a conduct that they were entirely convinced, that the true ornament of ladies was unspotted virtue, and not magnificence of dress. The reformation which the warm exhortations of Pythagoras produced among the youth, may be judged," adds the historian, "from their success with the ladies, who generally adhere to their ornaments and jewels, with almost invincible passion. 'In juvenile quoque quantum profugatum sit, victi feminarum contumaces animi manifestant.'" This last reflection, which naturally enough expresses the character of the ladies, is not made only by Justin. St. Jerome also observes, "that the sex are naturally fond of ornaments."¹² "We know ladies," says he, "of distinguished chastity, who love to adorn their persons, not for the sake of pleasing any man, but to please themselves." And he adds elsewhere,¹³ that some of them carry their taste to an excess which knows no bounds, and will hearken to no reason: "Ad quæ ardent et insanient studia matronarum."

The zeal of Pythagoras was not confined to his school, and the instruction of private persons, but even penetrated into the palaces of the great. That philosopher knew, that to inspire princes and magistrates with the principles of honour, probity, justice, and love of public good, was labouring for the happiness and reformation of whole nations. He had the glory of forming disciples, who proved excellent legislators:¹⁴ Zaleucus, Charondas, and many others, whose wise laws were so useful to Sicily, and that part of Italy called Great Greece, and who have a juster title to the highest commendation than those

¹ Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 9.

² Tusc. Quæst. l. i. n. 38. Tusc. Quæst. l. iv. n. 3.

³ Ovid has followed this false tradition in the fifteenth book of the *Metamorphoses*.

⁴ Plut. in Num. p. 65. Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

⁵ Loquaciores eorumvero ferme in quinquennium, velut in exilium vocis, mittebantur. *Apud. in Florid.*

⁶ Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

⁷ Pythagoras atque cum secuti, acceptam sine dubio antiquitatis opinionem vulgaverunt, mundum ipsum ea ratione esse compositum, quam postea sit lyra imitata. Nec illa modo contenti dissimulium concordia, quam vocant *harmonia*, sonum quoque his notibus dederunt. *Quintil. l. i. c. 10.*

⁸ Pythagoras is said to have said, et cum civi illud, artem ad lyram excitare, quo essent ad agendum erectoris; et cum sonum peterent, ad eandem prout lenire mentem, ut, si quid fallax turbidiorum cogitationum, compoierent. *Quintil. l. i. c. 4.*

⁹ Plut. de adul. et amic. Discr. p. 70. ¹⁰ L. xx. c. 4.

¹¹ Inter hæc, velut genericam virtutem frugalitatem omnibus ingereret, consecutusque disputationum assiduitate erat, ut matronæ auratas vestes, ceteraque dignitatis suæ ornamenta, velut instrumenta luxuriæ, deponerent, eaque omnia delata in Junonis ædem ipse decem consecrarent; præ se ferentes, vera ornamenta matronarum pudicitiam, non vestes, esse. *Justin. l. xx. c. 4.*

¹² Φαλακροποιον genus femineum est: multasque etiam insignia pudicitiae, quamvis nulli virorum, tamen sibi scilicet libenter ornant. *Epian. Epist. ad Gaudent.*

¹³ Hæren. *Thron. ad Demetri.*

¹⁴ Zaleuci leges Chronodæque laudantur. Hi, non in foro, nec in conciliabulo atris, sed in Pythagoreo templo sancto quo secessu discerunt jura, quæ florenti tunc Sicilia: et per Italiam Græciæ puerent. *Senec. Epist. 10.*

famed conquerors who have made themselves known to the world only by ravages, fire, and sword. He took great pains to put an end to wars in Italy, and to calm the intestine factions which disturbed the tranquillity of states. War, said he, should be made only against these five things: diseases of the body, ignorance of the mind, passions of the heart, seditions of cities, and discord of families. These five enemies he is for combating with the utmost ardour and perseverance.

The inhabitants of Crotona thought proper, that their senate, which consisted of a thousand persons, should act in all things by the advice of so great a man, and determine nothing but in concert with him: such credit had his prudence and zeal for the public good acquired him.¹ Crotona was not the only city that had the benefit of his counsels: many others experienced the good effects of this philosopher's studies.² He went from one to another to diffuse his instructions with greater fruit and abundance, and he left behind him, in all places where he continued any time, the precious traces of his residence in the good order, discipline, and wise regulations which he established in them.

His maxims of morality were admirable, and he was for having the study of philosophy tend solely to the rendering men like God. Hierocles³ gives this praise to a piece of poetry, entitled *Carmen aureum*, (golden verses,) which contain this philosopher's maxims. But his notions of the nature of God were very imperfect.⁴ He believed that God is a soul diffused into all the beings of nature, and from which human souls are derived: an opinion which Virgil, in the fourth book of the *Georgics*, has expressed in fine verses.⁵ Velleius, in Cicero, refutes this opinion in an agreeable but solid manner. "If this were so," says he, "God would be divided and torn to pieces, when these souls were taken from his substance. He would suffer, and a God is not capable of suffering, in a part of himself, whenever they suffer, as frequently happens. Besides, how comes it that the mind of man should be ignorant of any thing, if it were God?"

The Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, was the principal maxim of Pythagoras's philosophy.⁶ He had borrowed it either from the Egyptians, or the Brahmins, those ancient sages of India. This opinion subsists still among the idolaters of India and China, and is the fundamental principle of their religion. According to it, Pythagoras believed, that the souls of men at their death passed into other bodies, and if they had been wicked, that they were confined in unclean and miserable beasts, to expiate the faults of their past lives; and that after a certain revolution of years or ages, they returned to animate other men.

This philosopher boasted, in this respect, of a privilege entirely singular: for he said⁷ he remembered in what bodies he had been before he was Pythagoras. But he went no farther back than the siege of Troy. He had first been Æthalides, the supposed son of Mercury, and having had permission to ask whatever he pleased of that god, except immortality, he desired that he might remember all things even after death. Some time after he was Euphorbus, and received a mortal wound from Menelaus at the

siege of Troy. His soul passed afterwards into Herminotus, at which time he entered the temple of Apollo in the country of the Branchidae, where he saw his buckler eaten up with rust, which Menelaus on his return from Troy had consecrated to that god in token of his victory. He was afterwards a fisherman of Delos, named Pyrrhus; and lastly, Pythagoras. He affirmed, that in a voyage which he had made to hell, he had seen the soul of the poet Hesiod fastened with chains to a pillar of brass, and suffering great torments. That as for that of Homer, he had seen it hanging on a tree, surrounded with serpents, upon account of the many falsehoods he had invented and ascribed to the gods; and that the souls of the husbands, who had lived amiss with their wives, were severely tormented in that region.

To give more weight and credit to these fabulous tales, he had made use of industry and artifice. Upon arriving in Italy, he shut himself up in a subterraneous place, after having desired his mother to keep an exact journal of all that should pass. When he had continued there as long as he judged proper, his mother, as they had agreed before, gave him her notes, wherein he found the dates and other circumstances of events. He quitted this place with a visage pale and wan. In an assembly of the people he assured them, that he was just returned from hell; and to convince them of what he said, he began with relating all that had passed during his absence. All the hearers were moved and surprised with that account, and nobody doubted but that there was something divine in Pythagoras. Fears and cries ensued on all sides. The people of Crotona conceived an extraordinary esteem for him, received his lessons with great eagerness, and begged of him that he would vouchsafe to instruct their wives also.

There must have been a very blind credulity, or rather gross stupidity among the people, to have believed such wild chimeras, which often even contradicted themselves. For it does not seem very easy to reconcile the transmigration of souls into different bodies with the pains Pythagoras supposed, that the souls of the wicked suffered in hell; and still less with his doctrine upon the nature of souls. For, as the learned translator of Cicero's books upon the nature of the gods observes, the souls of men, and those of beasts, according to Pythagoras, are of the same substance; that is to say, a particle of that universal Soul, which is God himself.⁸ When therefore it is said, that the soul of Sardanapalus, as a punishment for his excesses, passes into the body of a hog, it is precisely the same thing as to say, God modifies himself into a hog, in order to punish himself for not having been wise and temperate, while he was modified in Sardanapalus. Lactantius⁹ has reason for treating Pythagoras as an old dotard, and for saying, he must have thought that he had talked to infants and not to men, to vent such absurd fables and old women's stories to them with a grave and serious air.

Empedocles his disciple rose upon his master's ravings, and composed a genealogy of his soul still more extravagant and various; for according to Athenæus,¹⁰ he gave out, that he had been a girl, a boy, a shrub, a bird, and a fish, before he was Empedocles.

But how could so great a philosopher as Pythagoras, and one so valuable for many excellent qualities, conceive so strange a system? How could he draw so great a number of followers after him while he advanced opinions capable of shocking every man of common sense? How happens it, that whole nations, in other respects not void of knowledge, and civilized, have retained this doctrine down to our days?

It is most certain that Pythagoras, and all the ancient philosophers, when they began to philosophize, found "the doctrine of the immortality of the soul generally received by all nations;" and it was upon

¹ Val. Max. l. viii. c. 15.

² Plurimum et opulentissimis urbibus effectus suorum studiorum approbavit. Val. l. viii. c. 7.

³ Hierocel. in Pref. ad Carm. Aurea.

⁴ Pythagoras censuit Deum animum esse per naturam rerum omnium intentum et commentantem, ex quo animi nostri eaperetur. l. De Nat. Deor. n. 27.

⁵ Esse apibus partem divine mentis, et haustus

Æthereos dixerunt. Deum namque ire per omnes

Terresque tractusque maris, cælumque profundum.

Hinc pecudes, armenta, vitus, genus omne ferarum,

Quemque sibi tenues nascentem accessere vitas,

Laert.

⁶ ——— Habentque

Tartara Panthoiden iterum Ore

Demissum; quamvis clypeo Trojana refixe

Tempora testantur, nihil ultra

Nervos atque eunt mortui concesserat atræ,

Judice te non sordidus auctor

Naturæ.

Hor. Od. xxviii. l. 1.

⁸ Divine particulam auræ. Horat.

⁹ Videlicet senex vanus (sicut otiose anicula solent) fabulas tanquam infantibus credulis finxit. Quod si bene sensisset de iis quibus hæc locutus est, si anicula eos existimasset, nunquam sibi temere propter antemortem licentiam vindicasset. Sed deridenda hominis levissimi vanitas. Lactant. Divin. Inst. l. iii. c. 18.

¹⁰ Athen. l. viii. p. 365.

that principle Pythagoras, as well as the rest, founded his system. But when the question was to fix what became of that soul after its brief office of animating a human body, Pythagoras, and all the philosophers with him, were at a loss and in confusion, without being able to resolve upon any thing capable of satisfying a rational mind. They could not reconcile themselves to the Elysian fields for the virtuous, nor Styx for the wicked, mere fictions of the poets. Those amusements for the souls of the blessed seemed very insipid to them; and could they be believed to exist without end, and to endure throughout all eternity? But the souls of those, who had done neither good nor harm, as of infants, what became of them? What was to be their lot, their condition? What were they to do to all eternity? To extricate themselves from this very difficult objection, some philosophers destined the souls of the wise and ingenious to the contemplation of the course of the stars, the harmony of the spheres, the origin of winds, storms, and other meteors, as Seneca and some other philosophers teach. But the generality of the world could have no part in the learned and speculative joys of this philosophical paradise. What occupation, then, were they to have throughout futurity? They perceived, that it did not consist with so wise a being as God, to create beings purely spiritual every day, only to animate bodies for some short space, and to have no other employment during the rest of eternal duration. Why create so many souls of infants, that die in their births, and at their mothers' breasts, without ever being able to make the least use of their reason? Does it consist with the wisdom of God to produce so many thousands of new souls every day, and to continue creating them every day throughout all eternity, without either use or purpose? What is to be done with those infinite millions of useless inactive souls? What could be the end of forming those incessantly increasing numbers of spirits without either function or end? These were insurmountable difficulties to all the sects of the philosophers. In the impossibility of getting over them, some went so far as to doubt and even deny the immortality of the soul. Others, who could not resolve to renounce a maxim which God has impressed too deeply on the heart of man for him to be able to disown it, found themselves reduced to make them pass from one body into another: and as they could not conceive eternal punishments, they believed that they sufficiently punished the wicked, in confining them within the bodies of beasts. And thence they fell into all the absurdities, with which they are justly reproached. But the other sects scarce defended themselves better from the absurdities to which their different systems gave birth.

But to return to Pythagoras. In necessary consequence of the Metempsychosis, he concluded, and one of the capital points of his moral doctrine was, that man committed a great crime, when he killed and ate animals; because all animals, of whatever kind they are, being animated with the same soul, it was a horrid cruelty to cut the throat of another self. This is what Ovid,¹ where he feigns that Pythagoras instructs king Numa in his maxims, wittily describes after his manner in these three verses:

Hec I quantum scelus est in viscera condì,
Conjetoque avidum pinguescere corpore Corpus,
Alteriusque animantem animantis vivere letho.

But, observes again with ingenuity, the translator already cited, what would Pythagoras have answered to a man who should have asked him conformably to his own principles: "What injury do I do a fowl in killing it? I only make it change its form, and it is much more likely to gain than lose by that change. Perhaps that soul immediately after quitting its body, will go to animate some embryo, who will one day be a great monarch or philosopher; and instead of seeing itself confined to a fowl, which uncharitable men leave in a yard to suffer the injuries of the weather, and a thousand other inconveniences, it

will find itself seated in an assemblage of corpuscules, that forming the body, sometimes of an epicure, sometimes of a Caesar, will glut itself with pleasures and honours."

The same philosopher forbade his disciples to eat beans; whence Horace² calls them the relations or allies of Pythagoras: *faba Pythagoræ cognata*. Different reasons are given for this prohibition; among others, that beans by the great wind they occasion, excite vapours very contrary to the tranquillity of soul necessary to those, who devote themselves to inquiring after truth.³

I shall never have done, if I undertook to relate circumstantially all the wonders ascribed to Pythagoras. If we may believe Porphyry, that declared enemy of Christianity, and Iamblichus his disciple, (for they are the worthy authorities for all these miracles) Pythagoras made even the beasts understand and obey him. He commanded a bear that made great ravages in Daunia to be gone, and it disappeared. He forbade an ox, after having whispered a word in his ear, to eat beans: and never more did he touch bean. It is affirmed that he had been seen and heard at the same time disputing in the public assemblies of two cities very remote from each other; the one in Italy, and the other in Sicily. He foretold earthquakes, appeased tempests, expelled pestilence, and cured diseases. His golden thigh ought not to be omitted. He showed it to his disciple Abaris, the priest of Apollo Hyperboreus, to prove to him that he himself was that Apollo; and he had also shown it, says Iamblichus, in a public assembly at Crotona. What wonders does not the same Iamblichus relate of this Abaris? Borne upon a dart as upon a Pegasus, he could pass a great way through the air in a short time, without being stopped or retarded in his course by rivers, seas, or places inaccessible to other men. Would one believe, that the miracles and cures ascribed to Pythagoras could be quoted on the testimony of such authors, as things of a real nature? *Credat Judæus Appella*. People of sense, even among the pagans, openly laughed at them.

It is time to make an end of his history. The circumstances of his death, which I shall not enter into particularly, are very differently related. Justin⁴ observes, that he died at Metapontum, whither he had retired after having continued twenty years at Crotona; and that the people's admiration of him rose so high, that they converted his house into a temple, and honoured him as a god. He lived to a very advanced age.

EMPEDOCLES.

EMPEDOCLES, a Pythagorean philosopher, was of Agrigentum, a city of Sicily. He flourished in the 34th Olympiad, A. M. 3560. He travelled much, as was the custom of these times, in order to enrich his mind with curious knowledge. On his return into his country, he frequented the schools of the Pythagoreans. Some make him Pythagoras's disciple; but he is believed to have lived many years after him. He applied himself not only to composing works, but reforming the manners of his country; and Empedocles spared no pains to do at Agrigentum what Pythagoras had done at Crotona. The city of Agrigentum was abandoned to luxury and debauchery. Its inhabitants, according to Diogenes Laertius, amounted to eight hundred thousand: which is to be understood of its territory as well as city. I have mentioned its power and riches elsewhere. Empedocles used to say that the people of Agrigentum abandoned themselves to feast and pleasure, as if they believed they were to die to-morrow; and applied themselves in building, as if they thought they were never to die. Nothing shows the luxury and effeminacy of the Agrigentines better, than the order

¹ Satyr. 6. l. ii.

² Ex quo etiam Pythagoreis interdictum putatur, ne faba vescerentur; quod habet inflationem magnam in cibis, tranquillitatis mentis querentis vera contrariam. Cic. l. i. de Divinat. n. 62.

³ Justin. l. xx. c. 4.

⁴ Diog. Laert.

¹ Metam. l. xv.

given those who were to defend the city in the night against the attacks of the Carthaginians.¹ By this order each man was to have only one camel's skin, one tent bed, one woollen quilt, and two pillows. The Agrigentines thought this discipline highly severe, and could not be brought to submit to it without difficulty. Among these citizens abandoned to luxury, there were however persons of merit, who made a very good use of their riches, as I have shown elsewhere.

The authority, which Empedocles had acquired at Agrigentum, he employed solely in making peace and good order take place as much as possible.² The supreme command was offered him, which he tenaciously refused. His principal care was to put an end to the divisions that prevailed among the Agrigentines; and to persuade them to consider themselves as all equals, and members of one and the same family. His next attention was to reform the insolence of the principal persons of the city, and to prevent the dissipation of the public revenues.³ As to himself, he employed his own estate in marrying the young women that had no portions. In order to establish equality as much as possible among the citizens of Agrigentum, he caused the council, which consisted of a thousand persons chosen out of the richest citizens, to be abolished.⁴ He rendered it triennial, from perpetual as it was before; and succeeded in ordaining that the people should be admitted into it, or at least such of them as favoured democratical government.

When Empedocles went to the Olympic games, nothing was talked of there but him.⁵ His praises were the common subject of all conversations. It was an ancient custom to sing the verses of the great poets in public, as those of Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Minernus, Phocylides, and others.⁶ The same honour was done to those of Empedocles. The singer Cleomenes sung his *καθαρμοί*, Purifications in the Olympic games. This was a moral poem of three thousand hexameters, composed by our philosopher upon the duties of civil life, the worship of the gods, and the precepts of morality. It took its name from containing maxims, which taught the means for purifying and improving the soul. The golden verses are believed to have been part of this poem.

Empedocles was at the same time a philosopher, poet, historian, physician, and even according to some, magician. It is very probable that his magic was only the profound knowledge he had acquired in whatever was most abstruse in nature. The important service he had done the people of Agrigentum, in making certain periodical winds cease to blow, which by their pernicious nature did great damage to the fruits of the earth, was ascribed to magic: as was also what he did for the inhabitants of Selinontum, in curing them of a pestilence occasioned by the stench of the waters of a river that ran through their city. His magic, as to the first, was his having filled up an opening of a mountain, whence issued the infected exhalations, which a south wind drove upon the territory of Agrigentum; and as to the second, it was his having caused two small rivers to empty themselves into that of Selinontum, which sweetened the water, and removed its bad quality. The most wonderful effect of Empedocles' magic, and which made him be considered as a god, was the pretended resurrection of an Agrigentine woman, named Panthea.⁷ Pliny⁸ speaks of it, as well as Origen.⁹ Herimippus, who contents himself with saying, that having been given over by the physicians, and probably taken for dead, she was cured by Empedocles, reduces that miracle to reality; and Galen¹⁰ seems to give into the same opinion.

It is said that Empedocles,¹¹ in order to confirm the world in the opinion they had conceived of his

divinity by disappearing suddenly, threw himself into the gulf of mount Ætna.¹² But this extravagance has much the air of being the invention of such as have pleased themselves either with throwing the marvellous into the lives of those philosophers, or, on the contrary, with rendering them ridiculous. Authors of greater gravity tell us, that he retired into Peloponnesus, where he died at the age of sixty, according to Aristotle, about the beginning of the 88th Olympiad, A. M. 3576.

ARTICLE II.

DIVISION OF THE ITALIC SECT INTO FOUR SECTS.

THE Italic or Pythagorean sect divided itself into four others: that of Heraclitus, which took his name; the Eleatic, of which Democritus was the chief; the Sceptic, founded by Pyrrho; and the Epicurean, instituted by Epicurus.

SECTION I.—SECT OF HERACLITUS.

LITTLE is known of this philosopher. He was a native of Ephesus, and lived in the 58th Olympiad, A. M. 3460. He is said to have had no masters, and to have become learned by continual meditation.¹³

Among many treatises of his composing, that concerning nature, which included his whole philosophy, was the most esteemed. Darius king of Persia, son of Hystaspes, having seen this work, wrote a most obliging letter to Heraclitus, to desire him to come to his court, where his virtue and knowledge would be more esteemed than in Greece. The philosopher, little affected with offers so gracious and so full of goodness, replied bluntly, that he saw nothing among men but injustice, knavery, avarice, and ambition, and that contenting himself with little, as he did, the court of Persia suited ill with him. He was not in the wrong at bottom. It is not surprising, that a Greek born free and an enemy to the pride of Barbarian kings, and the slavery and vices of courtiers, should set a high value upon poverty with independence, and esteem it infinitely more than the greatest fortunes he could expect from a monarch living in the midst of pomp, pride, effeminacy, and pleasures, in a nation devoted solely to luxury. He might indeed have expressed his refusal in more polite terms.

He was a true man hater. Nothing satisfied him; every thing gave him offence. Mankind were the objects of his pity.¹⁴ Seeing all the world abandoned themselves to a joy, of the falsehood of which he was sensible, he never appeared in public without shedding tears, which occasioned his being called the *Weeper*. Democritus, on the contrary, who saw nothing serious in the most serious occupations of men, could not forbear laughing at them. The one could find nothing in life but misery, the other nothing but folly and trifling. Both, in some sense, were in the right.

Heraclitus, disgusted and tired with every thing, at last conceived so great an aversion to mankind, that he retired to a mountain, where he lived upon herbs in company with wild beasts. A dropsy, which that kind of life occasioned, obliged him to return to the city, where he died soon after.

SECTION II.—SECT OF DEMOCRITUS.

DEMOCRITUS, author of this sect, one of the greatest philosophers of the ancient world, was of Abdera in Thrace.¹⁵ Xerxes, king of Persia, having lodged in the house of Democritus' father, left him some Magi, to be his son's preceptors, and to instruct him in their pretended theology and astronomy. He afterwards heard Leucippus, and learned from him the system of atoms and vacuity.

¹² Diog. Laert.

¹³ Laert.

¹ Diod. l. xiii. p. 205.

² Diog. Laert.

³ Plut. adv. Col. p. 136.

⁴ Diog. Laert.

⁵ Diog. Laert.

⁶ Athen. l. xiv. p. 620.

⁷ Laert.

⁸ L. vi. c. 52.

⁹ L. ii. cont. Cels.

¹⁰ De locis affect. l. vi.

¹¹ Deus immortalis haberi

Dum cupit Empedocles ardentem frigidus Ætnam
Insiluit. Horat. de Art. Poet.

¹⁴ Heraclitus quotes prodierat, et tantum circa se malis viventium, imo malis pereuntium viderat, fœbat, miserabatur omnium, qui sibi læti felicesque occurrerant. Democritum contra aium nunquam sine risu in publico fuisse: adeo nihil illi videratur serius eorum, quæ serio agebantur. Senec. de Ira, l. ii. c. 10.

¹⁵ Huic omnia, quæ æquius, miseris; illi ineptiæ videbantur. De Tranq. Anim. c. 15.

¹⁶ Laert.

His extraordinary inclination for the sciences induced him to travel into all the countries of the world, where there was hopes of finding learned men. He visited the priests of Egypt, the Chaldeans, and the Persian philosophers. It is even said that he went as far as Ethiopia and India, to confer with the Gymnosopists. He neglected the care of his estate, and left his lands uncultivated, in order to apply himself with less interruption to the study of wisdom.¹ Some go so far as to say, but with little probability, that he put out his eyes in hopes of meditating more profoundly, when the objects of sight should not divert the intellectual powers of his soul. It was in some measure blinding himself to shut himself up in a tomb, as it is said he did, in order to apply more freely to meditation.

What seems most certain is, that he expended his whole patrimony in his travels, which amounted to above an hundred talents² (an hundred thousand crowns.) At his return he was cited before the judges, for having spent his estate in that manner. By the laws of his country, those who had squandered their patrimony, were not to be interred in the tombs of their family. He pled his cause himself, and produced, as a proof of the just use he had made of his fortune, the most finished of his works, which he read to the judges. They were so charmed with it, that they not only acquitted him, but caused as much money as he had expended in his travels, undoubtedly out of the public treasury, to be repaid him, erected statues in honour of him, and decreed that after his death the public should charge itself with the care of his funeral: which was accordingly executed. He travelled as a great person, for the sake of instruction, not to enrich himself. He went to the remotest parts of India in quest of the riches of erudition, and scarce regarded the treasures which he found almost at his door, in a country abounding with mines of gold and gems.

He passed some time at Athens, the centre of the sciences, and the abode of wit and learning.³ But far from endeavouring to display his merit and curious knowledge there, he affected to remain unknown: a circumstance very remarkable in a man of learning and a philosopher!

A fact singular enough is related concerning him, but with no other foundation than Hippocrates' letters, which the learned believe spurious. The Abderites, seeing Democritus their countryman regard nothing, laugh at, and ridicule every thing, say that the air was full of images, endeavour to know what the birds said in their songs, and inhabit tombs almost perpetually, apprehended that his brain was turned, and that he would entirely run mad, which they considered as the greatest misfortune that could happen to their city. They therefore wrote to Hippocrates, to desire him to visit Democritus. The great concern they expressed for the health of so illustrious a citizen does them honour. The illustrious physician they had sent for, after some conversations with the supposed sick man, judged very differently of him, and dispelled their fears, by declaring that he had never known a wiser man, nor one more in his senses. Diogenes Laertius also mentions this journey of Hippocrates to Abdera.

Nothing certain is said either of his birth, or the time of his death, A. M. 3584. Diodorus Siculus makes him die at the age of ninety, the first year of the 90th Olympiad.

Democritus had a fine genius, with a vast, extensive, penetrating wit, which he applied to the whole circle of curious knowledge.⁴ Physics, ethics, math-

ematics, polite learning, liberal arts, all came within the sphere of his activity.

It is said, that having foreseen a certain year would prove bad for olives, he bought at a very low rate a great quantity of oil, by which he gained immensely. Every body was amazed, with reason, that a man who had never seemed to regard any thing but study, and who had always set so much value upon poverty, should on a sudden throw himself into commerce, and entertain thoughts of amassing such great riches.⁵ He soon explained the mystery himself, in restoring to all the merchants, of whom he had bought oil, and who were in despair on account of the bargain they had made with him, all the surplus he had acquired, contenting himself with showing, that to become rich was at his own option. There is something of a like nature in the history of Thales.

Epicurus is obliged to Democritus for almost his whole system; and, to render the elegant Latin expression, he is the source, from which the streams that water the gardens of Epicurus, flow.⁶ The latter was in the wrong, in not confessing his obligations to Democritus, and in treating him as a dreamer. We shall show in the sequel his opinions concerning the supreme good of man, the world, and the nature of the gods. It was Democritus also that supplied the Sceptics with all they said against the evidence of the senses.⁷ For besides its being his custom to say, that truth lay hid at the bottom of a well, he maintained that there was nothing real except atoms and vacuity, and that all else was only opinion and appearance.

Plato is said to have been the declared enemy of Democritus. He had collected all his books with care, and was going to throw them into the fire, when two Pythagorean philosophers represented, that doing so would signify nothing, because they were then in the hands of many. Plato's hatred for Democritus appears in his having never cited him, even in places where to refute him was the question, though he has mentioned almost all the rest of the ancient philosophers.

SECTION III.—SCEPTIC OR PYRRHONIC SECT.

PYRRHO, a native of Elis in Peloponnesus, was the disciple of Anaxarchus, and accompanied him to India. It was undoubtedly in the train of Alexander the Great, whence we may collect in what time he flourished. He had practised the art of painting before he applied himself to philosophy.

His opinions differed little from those of Arcesilaus, and terminated in the incomprehensibility of all things. He found in all things reasons for affirming, and reasons for denying: and therefore he did assent after having well examined both sides of a question, concluding only that hitherto he saw nothing clear and certain in it, *non liquet*, and that the subject in question required farther discussion. Accordingly he seemed during his whole life in quest of truth; but he took care always to contrive subtleties, to avoid consenting that he had found it: that is to say, in reality he would not find it; and that he concealed so hideous a turn of mind under the specious outside of inquiry and examination. Though he was not the inventor of this method of philosophizing, it however bears his name: the art of disputing upon all things, without ever going farther than to suspend one's judgment, is called *Pyrrhonism*. The disciples of Pyrrho were called also *Sceptics*, from a Greek word *σκηπτικός*, which signifies to consider, to examine, because their whole application terminated in that.

Pyrrho's indifference is astonishing; and if all Diogenes Laertius relates of it be true, it rose even to madness. That historian says, he did not prefer one

¹ Democritus, verè falsòve, dicitur oculis se privasse, ut quàm minimè animus à cogitationibus abduceretur. Patrimonium neglexit, agros deseruit incultos, quid quærens aliud, nisi beatam vitam? De Finib. l. v. n. 87.

² Miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos

Cultaque, dum peregrè est animus sine corpore velax.

Lorat. Epist. xli. lib. i.

³ Laert. Athen. l. iv. p. 168.

⁴ Veni Athenas, inquit Democritus, neque me quisquam ibi agnovit. Constantem nomen et gravem, qui gloriatur à gloria se abfuisse! Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 104.

⁵ Laert.

⁶ Mirantibus qui paupertatem et quietem doctrinarum eis sciebant imprimis cordi esse. Atque, ut apparuit causa, et ingens divitiarum cursus, restituisse mercedem (or rather mercedem) anxietat, avidæ dominorum penitentiæ, contentum ita præbasse, apes sibi in facili, cum vellet, fore. Plin. l. xviii. c. 28.

⁷ Democritus vir magnus in primis, cujus fontibus Epicurus hauritus suos irrigavit. De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 121.

⁸ Laert.

thing to another; that a wagon or a precipice did not oblige him to go a step out of his way; and that his friends who followed him, often saved his life. However, he one day ran away from a dog that flew at him.¹ When he was rallied upon a fear so contrary to his principles, and so unworthy of a philosopher: "It is hard," replied he, "to divest one's self entirely of the man." His master Anaxarchus having fallen into a ditch in his company, he walked on without so much as offering him his hand.² Anaxarchus far from taking it amiss, blamed those who reproached Pyrrho for so inhuman a behaviour, and praised his disciple for his indifference of mind, which argued his loving nothing. What would become of society, and the commerce of life, with such philosophers? Pyrrho maintained that life and death were equally indifferent. "Why don't you die then?" somebody asked him. "For that very reason," replied he, "because life and death are equally indifferent."³

He taught an abominable doctrine, that opens the way for crimes of every kind:⁴ That the honour and infamy, the justice and injustice of actions, depended solely upon human laws and customs: in a word, that there was nothing honest or dishonest, just or unjust, in itself.

His country respected him highly, conferred the dignity of pontiff upon him, and granted all philosophers an exemption from taxes upon his account: a very singular conduct in regard to a man, who merited only punishments, whilst they loaded him with honours.

SECTION IV.—EPICUREAN SECT.

EPICURUS, one of the greatest philosophers of his age, was born at Gargettium in Attica, in the third year of the 109th Olympiad, A. M. 3663.⁵ His father Neocles, and his mother Chærestrata, were of the number of the inhabitants of Attica sent by the Athenians into the island of Samos. This occasioned Epicurus' passing his infancy in that island. He did not return to Athens till the eighteenth year of his age.⁶ It was not to fix there: for some years after he went to his father, who lived at Colophon; and afterwards resided in different places. He did not finally settle at Athens, till about the thirty-sixth year of his age, A. M. 3699. He there erected a school in a fine garden which he had purchased. An incredible throng of hearers soon came thither from all parts of Greece, Asia, and even Egypt, to receive his lessons. If we may believe Torquatus, the warmest assertor of the Epicurean sect, upon this head, the disciples of Epicurus lived in common with their master in the most perfect friendship. Though throughout all antiquity, at least for many ages, scarce three couple of true friends had appeared. Epicurus had known how to unite great numbers of them in one house, and that a small one.⁸ The philosopher Numenius, who lived in the second century, observes that amid the discord and divisions which prevailed among each of the other sects, the disciples of Epicurus had continued in union down to his time.⁹ His school was never divided; but always followed his doctrine like an oracle. His birth-day was celebrated in the time of Pliny the naturalist,¹⁰ that is to say, above four hundred years after his death: they even feasted the whole month in which he was born. His picture was to be seen every where.

Epicurus composed a great number of books, which are made to amount to above three hundred; and piqued himself upon quoting nothing, and deriving every thing from his own fund. Though none of them are come down to us, no philosopher's opinions are better known than his. We are most indebted for them to the poet Lucretius, and Diogenes Laër-

tius, not to mention Cicero in his philosophical works. The learned Gassendi has collected with great exactness all that is to be found in ancient writers concerning the doctrine and person of Epicurus.

He placed the Atomical system in exceeding reputation. We shall see that he was not the inventor of it, but that he only changed some things in it. His doctrine upon the supreme good of man, which he makes to consist in pleasure, contributed very much both to decry his sect, and to make it gain ground: it will also be spoken of in the sequel, as well as his opinions concerning the nature of the gods, providence, and destiny.

The praise given Epicurus by Lucretius, his faithful interpreter, shows what we ought to think of that philosopher's system. He represents him as the first of mortals, who had the courage to rise up against the prejudices that blinded the universe, and to shake off the yoke of religion, which till then had held mankind subjected to its empire; and that without being awed either by respect for the gods, their fame, their thunders, or any other motive.

*Humana ante oculos sædæ cum vita jaceret
In terris oppressa gravi sub religione—
Primum Graius homo mortales tollere contrâ
Est oculos ausus, primusque obistere contrâ
Quem nec fama deum nec fulmina, nec minantia
Murmure compressit cælum.*

Epicurus is praised for having never departed from his zeal for the good of his country.¹¹ He did not quit it when besieged by Demetrius Poliorcetes,¹² and determined to share in the miseries it suffered. He lived upon beans, and gave his disciples the same food. He desired good sovereigns, but submitted to those who governed ill—a maxim of great importance to the tranquillity of states. Tacitus expresses it in these terms: *Bonos Imperatores voto expetere, qualescumque tolerare.*¹³ "To pray for good emperors, and suffer them of whatsoever kind they be."

Epicurus died in the torments of a retention of urine, which he supported with extraordinary patience and constancy, the second year of the 127th Olympiad, A. M. 3733, at the beginning of his seventy-second year.

GENERAL REFLECTION UPON THE SEVERAL SECTS OF PHILOSOPHERS.

I have endeavoured to set the history of the different sects of the heathen philosophers in as clear a light as possible. Before I take my leave of that subject, and proceed to explain the various opinions of these sects. I think it incumbent on me to apprise the reader, that he would be deceived, if he expected any considerable change or reformation in the manners of men from the different instructions of all these philosophers. The wisdom, so much boasted of by the most learned among the many sects into which the universe was divided, could determine no question, and multiplied errors. All human philosophy pretended to, was to instruct men in living in a manner worthy of men; because it discovered in men no qualities but such as were human, and allotted to them only the enjoyment of human things. Its instructions are not useless in this point, as they at least dissuade men from the brutal life that dishonours the excellency of their nature, and makes them seek their happiness in the vilest part of their being, which is the body. But all the reformation they effect extends to very few things. What progress have the sects of philosophers made, though ended with so much eloquence, and supported with so much subtlety? Have they not left mankind where they found them, in the same perplexities, prejudices, and blindness? And indeed how could they labour for the reformation of the human heart, as they neither knew wherein it was irregular, nor the source of its irregularity? Without therevelation of the sin of Adam, what could be known of men, and of his real state? Since his fall he abounds with amazing contrarieties.¹⁵

¹ Aristocles apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. xiv. c. 13.

² Laert. ³ Stobæus, sermo 113. ⁴ Laert.

⁵ Laert. ⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Du Finib. l. i. n. 65.

⁸ Epicurus una in domo, et ea quidem angusta, quam magnos, quantaque amoris conspiratione consentientes tenuit amicorum circuli. Cic.

⁹ Euseb. Præp. Evang. cl. l. xiv. c. 5.

¹⁰ Plin. l. xxiii. c. 2.

¹¹ Laert.

¹² Plut. in Demetr. p. 903.

¹³ Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 8.

¹⁴ Mr. Du Guet. J. C. crucifié, vol. i. c. 5. d'après Mr. Paschal

He retains of his first origin characters of greatness and elevation, which his degradation and meanness have not been able to extinguish. He wills, he aspires at every thing. His desire of glory, immortality, and a happiness that includes all good, is infinite. A nothing employs him, a nothing afflicts or consoles him. On a thousand occasions he is an infant; weak, fearful, and dejected; without mentioning his vices and passions, which dishonour, debase, and sometimes makes him inferior to the beasts of the field, to which he approaches nearer than to man by his unworthy inclinations.

The ignorance of these two conditions threw the philosophers into two equally absurd extremes. The Stoics, who made an idol of their chimerical wisdom, were for inspiring man with sentiments of pure and perfect greatness: which is not his condition.¹ The Epicureans, who had degraded him by reducing him to mere matter, inculcated sentiments of pure and absolute meanness into him; and that is also as little his condition. Philosophy was not capable of discerning things so near, and at the same time so remote from each other: so near, because united in the state of humanity; and so remote, because they belong by their nature to states entirely different. A distinction of this kind was not made before Jesus Christ, or independently of Jesus Christ. Before him man neither knew, nor was capable of knowing himself. He either exalted or debased himself too much. His teachers always deceived him, either in flattering a pride it was necessary to depress, or augmenting a meanness it was necessary to exalt. Hence I comprehend how necessary revelation was to me, and how precious I ought to think the gift of the faith. It is true, the manner in which the sin of Adam extended down to me, is covered with obscurities. But from that very point wrapt up in darkness, issues the light which makes all clear, and dispels all my difficulties. I am, therefore, far from refusing to believe one only thing, of which the belief is rewarded by the understanding of so many others: and choose rather to submit my reason to a single article, which it does not comprehend, but which is revealed, than to make it fly out against an infinity of others, it comprehends as little, and of which divine revelation neither forbids us the examination, nor removes the difficulties.

PART SECOND.

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

INTRODUCTION.

BY the history of philosophy I understand the doctrines taught by each sect of the ancient philosophers.

Philosophy, among the ancients, consisted of three parts: Dialectics or Logic, which directs the operations of the mind, and the formation of argument; Physics (that included also the metaphysics) which considers the structure of the world, the effects of nature, the existence and attributes of the Divinity, and the nature of the soul; and, lastly, Ethics, which lays down the morals, and treats of the duties of life.

This is an ample subject, and the reader must not expect that I should treat it to the bottom. I have already declared, more than once, that I do not write for the learned. Stoics, Peripatetics, and Epicureans, are frequently mentioned in books and conversation. I thought it proper therefore to give the generality, and persons of no great reading, some knowledge of the principal questions discussed by those philosophers, but without entering into an exact detail of their disputes, which are often very knotty and disagreeable.

Before I proceed to my subject, I cannot help observing the wonderful taste that prevailed among the most considerable persons for all the sciences, and in particular for the study of philosophy. I do not speak only of the Greeks. We have seen how much the famous sages of Greece were esteemed in the court of Cæsar; the value Pericles set upon, and the use he made of the lessons of Anaxarchus; what passion the

most illustrious citizens of Athens had for the conversations of Socrates; in what manner Dion, notwithstanding the allurements of a court abandoned to pleasure, devoted himself to Plato; with what taste, even for the most abstracted knowledge, Aristotle inspired his pupil Alexander the Great; and lastly, how highly Pythagoras and his disciples were considered by the princes of that part of Italy called Great Greece. The Romans did not give place in this respect to the Greeks, from the time that learning and the polite arts were introduced among them. Paulus Æmilius, after the conquest of Macedonia, thought one of the most grateful fruits of his victory, the having brought a philosopher from Greece to Rome, to instruct his children, who were then in the army, and to converse with himself at his leisure hours. Scipio Africanus, who destroyed Carthage and Numantia,² those formidable rivals of Rome, in the midst of the most important affairs both of war and peace,³ knew how to procure himself moments of repose and retirement, for enjoying the conversation of Polybius and the philosopher Panætius, whom he had always along with him. Lælius, that model of virtue, more worthy of respect for his mild wisdom than his dignities, the intimate friend of Scipio, shared with him in the pleasure of those learned and agreeable conversations. The friendship of those two great men for Panætius rose to a great degree of familiarity, and Cicero says, the philosopher highly deserved it.⁴ What honours did not Pompey render Posidonius, going expressly to Rhodes, on his return from his glorious campaigns against Mithridates, to see and hear that philosopher! Lucullus, even while in the field, where a general has scarce time to breathe, found moments of leisure for gratifying his taste for polite learning, and in particular for philosophy, and to hear the philosopher Antiochus, who was the companion of all his expeditious.⁵

The Abbé Gedoyne,⁶ in respect to a letter of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, observes upon the use which the great men of the Roman commonwealth made of their leisure. The excellent education of the Romans, says he, made them learned almost from their infancy. They were perfectly instructed in their own and the Greek tongues: to learn these two living languages, cost them little. They were inspired very early with a taste for the most excellent writers. That taste, instilled so soon into their infant minds, grew strong with years, and inclined them to cultivate the society of learned men, whose conversation might supply the place of reading, of which their employments deprived them. Thence it followed that the Romans, whose minds were all improved by letters, lived together in a continual intercourse of erudition. And what must have been the conversation of a great number of Romans, when they happened to meet in the same company! Hortensius, Cicero, Cotta, Cæsar, Pompey, Cato, Brutus, Atticus, Catullus, Lucullus, Varro, and many others!

But never did any one carry the taste and ardour, especially for philosophy, higher than Cicero. It is not easy to conceive how a man so much taken up as he was between the affairs of the bar and those of the state, could find time to make himself master, as he

² Africanus dñus terrores imperii Romani, Carthaginem Numantiamque deleverat. *Pro. Mur.* n. 58.

³ Ille, requiescens à reip. polceretimis muneribus, otium sibi sumebat aliquando, et à certis hominum frequentiaque interdum, quantum in portum se in solitudinem recipiebat. *De Offic.* l. iii. n. 2.

⁴ Scipio tam elegans liberalium studiorum omnisque doctrinæ et auctor et admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellentes ingenio viros, domi militiæque semper secum habuerit. *Vell. Patere.* l. i. c. 13.

⁵ Homo imprimis ingenuus et gravis dignus illa familiaritate Scipionis et Lælii, Panætius. *De Finib.* l. iv. n. 23.

⁶ Maggiore studio Lucullus eum omni literarum generi, tum philosophiæ deditus fuit, quam qui illum ignorabat arbitrabantur. Nec verò incute artem solum, sed et quæstor aliquot annos, et it ipso bello, in quo ita magna rei militaris esse occupatio solet, ut non multum imperatori sub ipsius periculis otio relinquatur. — Antiochum secum habuit. *Academ. Quæst.* l. iv. n. 4.

⁷ Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. v. p. 133.

¹ Principes de la Foi. vol. i. c. 9.

had done, of all the questions discussed in his days among the philosophers. That time, as he tells us himself,¹ in respect to polite learning, was what others bestowed on walking, pleasure, the public shows, and gaming, and which he employed either in his closet, or in familiar conversation with friends of the same taste as himself. He was convinced that such studies and recreation perfectly suited senators and statesmen, when they did not interfere with what they owed the public.² Were it better, says he, that their meetings were in some measure passed in silence, or turned upon trifles and insignificant matters? The philosophical books he has left us, which are not the least estimable part of his works, show how far he had carried his application in that way. Without speaking of all the rest, he lays down excellent rules in them for those who write upon controverted subjects, and who undertake to refute their adversaries. He is for engaging in disputes only from the love of truth, without prejudice, and without desire either of displaying one's wit, or of carrying one's point.³ He banishes all passion, anger, heat, insult, and reproaches, from them. "We are," says he, speaking of himself, "ready to refute our adversaries without tenaciousness in error, and to be refuted by them without resentment."⁴ How amiable is this character! How beautiful is it to seek in disputes, not to overcome our opponents, but solely to make truth triumphant! What advantage would not self-love itself, if it were allowable to hearken to it, find in such a conduct, to which it is not possible to refuse one's esteem, which adds new force to argument, which, while it gains the heart, prepares the mind for conviction, and by politeness and modesty, spares the mortifying confession of being mistaken, the secret pain, with which, through a vicious shame, it is almost always attended. When will this taste for study, and this wise moderation in disputes, revive among us?

We must, however, own for the honour of our times, that we have persons of extraordinary merit, who distinguish themselves particularly by these two qualities. I shall only mention the president Bouhier in this place. His learned remarks upon the text of several of Cicero's books, would alone suffice to show the great extent of that illustrious magistrate's knowledge. The Abbé Olivet, in his preface to the new edition of the Tusculan questions, translated partly by the president Bouhier, and partly by himself, with a success that does equal honour to them both, says very well; "Perhaps the example of a man of his rank and merit may revive the taste for critical learning in France: a taste so common heretofore, that the celebrated Lampinus, when he devoted his labours to Cicero, was assisted by the greatest persons of his times. For, to make a transient observation, the list which he left us of them, and which may be seen at the end of his preface, proves, that this same Cicero, who in our days is banished into the colleges, was two hundred years ago the delight of all the most considerable persons either of the bar or church." But I admire the character of modesty and wisdom, which prevail in the writings of P. Bouhier, still more than his vast erudition. Mr. Davies had made some observations in England upon the same text of Cicero as himself. "The career of us both," says the magistrate, "in

this kind of literary amusement, does not resemble those, in which rivals ought only to aspire at the honour of overcoming. The true glory of critics consists in seeking the truth, and in doing justice to those who have found it. I am therefore charmed with doing it to the learned Englishman." He even thanks him for setting him right in respect to certain mistakes. What a difference there is between so moderate and rational a disposition, and the warmth of those authors who are so jealous of their reputation, as not to be able to suffer the slightest criticism.

To return to my subject. The division of philosophy into three parts, logic, ethics, and physics, supplies me with that I am to follow in the ensuing brief account of them.

CHAPTER I.

OPINIONS OF THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS UPON LOGIC.

DIALECTICS, or Logic, is the science that lays down rules to direct the operations of the mind in inquiries after the true, and to teach us to discern it from the false.⁵ I have observed with sufficient extent in the fourth volume of my treatise upon the study of polite learning, of what advantage this part of philosophy was, and the use to be made of it.

Aristotle, among the ancients, is the most excellent author of logic. Besides several other works, we have his four books *De Analyti*, wherein he lays down all the principles of reasoning. "This genius," says Rapin the Jesuit in his comparison of Aristotle and Plato, "so replete with reason and understanding, fathoms the abyss of the human mind in such a manner, that he penetrates into all its springs by the exact distinction he makes of its operations. The vast fund of the thoughts of man had not before been sounded, in order to know its depth. Aristotle was the first who discovered this new method for attaining knowledge by the evidence of demonstration, and for proceeding geometrically to demonstration by the infallibility of syllogism, the most accomplished work, the greatest effort of human genius." This is a praise, to which nothing can be well added: and, indeed, Aristotle cannot be denied the glory of having carried the force of reasoning very far, and of having traced out the rules and principles of it with much subtlety and discernment. Cicero seems to acknowledge this philosopher to be the author and inventor of logic; he ascribes that honour himself to Zeno of Elea, according to Diogenes Laertius.⁶ Hence it is believed that Zeno was the first who discovered the natural series and dependence of principles and consequences, of which he formed an art, that till then had nothing fixed and regular. But Aristotle, without doubt, improved exceedingly upon him.

This study was the principal occupation of the Stoics, who acknowledged another Zeno for their founder.⁷ They piqued themselves upon excelling in this kind of philosophy. And, indeed, their manner of reasoning was warm, vigorous, close, and proper to dazzle and perplex their opponents; but obscure, dry, and void of all ornament, often degenerating into minuteness, sophism, and captious wrested arguments, to use Cicero's term.⁸ Though the question, Whether there be any thing certain in our knowledge? ought to be considered only as preliminary to logic, it was however made the principal object of it, and what the philosophers disputed with most warmth. Their difference of opinion upon this subject consisted in its being believed by some, that it was possible to know and to judge with certainty; and on the contrary by others, that nothing could be certainly known, nor consequently affirmed, as positive.

Socrates's manner of disputing might have made

¹ Pro Arch. Poet. n. 13.

² Si quodam in libro verè est à nobis philosophia laudata, profectò ejus tractatio optimo atque amplissimo quoque dignissima est: nec quidquam aliud videndum est nobis, quos populus Romanus hoc in gradu collocavit, nisi ne quid privatis studiis de operâ publicâ detrahamus.—Quasi verò clarorum virorum aut tacitos congressus esse oporteat, aut ludicros sermones, aut rerum colloquia leviorum. *Academ. Quæst.* l. iv. n. 6.

³ Ego, si ostentatione aliqua inductus, aut studio certandi, ad hanc potissimum philosophiam me applicavi, non modo stultitiam meam, sed etiam mores et naturam contemnendam puto. *Acad. Quæst.* l. iv. n. 65.

Disserentium inter se reprehensiones non sunt vituperandæ. Maledicta contumelia, tum iracundia, contentiones, concertationesque in disputando pertinacæ, indignæ mihi philosophia videri solent. *De Finib.* l. i. n. 27.

⁴ Nos et refellere sine pertinaciâ, et refelli sine iracundiâ parati sumus. *Acad. Quæst.* l. ii. n. 5.

⁵ Dialectica veri et falsi disceptatrix et judex. *Acad. Quæst.* l. iv. n. 91.

⁶ Aristoteles utriusque partis dialecticæ princeps. *Topic.* n. 6.

⁷ Stoicorum in dialecticis omnis cura consumitur. *Brut.* n. 118.

⁸ Contortulis quibusdam ac minutis conclusionibus effici volunt non esse malum dolorum. *Tusc.* l. ii. n. 42.

way for this latter method of philosophizing.¹ Every body knows that he never expressed his opinion, that he contented himself with refuting that of others without affirming any thing positively, and that he declared, he only knew that he knew nothing; and it was even for this, he believed that he deserved the praise given him by Apollo, of being the wisest of mankind. Many think Plato followed the same method, but authors do not agree about it. But it is certain, that the two most celebrated of Plato's disciples,² Speusippus his nephew, and Aristotle, who formed two famous schools, the first that of the Academics, the other that of the Peripatetics, abandoned Socrates's custom of never speaking but with doubt, and of affirming nothing. Reducing the manner of treating questions to certain rules and a certain method, they composed of these rules and method, an art, a science, known under the name of the dialectics, or logic, which makes one of the three parts of philosophy. Though these two schools had a different name, they had at bottom the same principles, with some very little difference, and are generally confounded under the name of the ancient Academy.

The opinion of the ancient Academy was, that, though our knowledge has its origin in the senses, the senses do not judge of truth, but the mind, which alone deserves to be believed, because the mind alone sees things as they really are in themselves, that is to say, it sees what Plato calls the ideas, which always subsist in the same state, without suffering any change.

Zeno, the founder of the Stoics,³ who was of Citium, a small town of Cyprus, granted something more to the evidence of the senses, which he pretended to be certain and clear, but under certain conditions, that is, if they were perfect and in good health, and without any obstacle to prevent their effect.⁴

Epicurus went still farther. He gave so great a certainty to the evidence of the senses, that he considered them as an infallible rule of truth: so that by his doctrine, objects are precisely what they appear: that the sun, for instance, and the fixed stars, had really no greater magnitude than they seem to have to our eyes.⁵ He admitted another method of discerning truth, that is, the ideas we have of things, without which we can neither form any question, nor pass any judgment. "Antecepta animo quedam informatio, sine qua nec intelligi quicquam, nec queri, nec disputari potest."⁶

Zeno made use of the same principle, and insisted particularly upon the clear, evident, and certain ideas, which we naturally have of certain principles relating to morals and the conduct of life. "The good man," says he, "is determined to suffer every thing, and to perish in the most cruel torments, rather than depart from his duty, and betray his country. I ask, why he imposes upon himself a law so cruel, and so contrary in appearance to his interest, and whether it be possible for him to take such a resolution, if he had not a clear and distinct idea in his mind of justice and fidelity, which evidently show him, that he ought to expose himself to every kind of infiction, rather than act what is contrary to justice and fidelity."⁷ This argument, which Zeno founds upon the certainty of clear and evident ideas, shows the falsehood of the principle generally received in the school of the Peripatetics, "That all our ideas are derived from our senses."⁸ For, as the logic of Port

Roial observes, there is nothing that we conceive more distinctly than our thought itself, nor any proposition more clear than this, *I think, therefore I am*. Now we could have no certainty of this proposition, if we did not conceive distinctly what it is to be, and what it is to think. And we must not be asked to explain these terms, because they are of the number of those, which are so well understood by all the world, that endeavoring to explain them, would render them obscure. If it cannot be denied, that we have in us the ideas of being and thinking, I would know by which of the senses they entered into our minds. It must then be admitted that they do not in any manner derive their origin from the senses.

Zeno showed also the falsehood and ridicule of the opinion of the Academics by another reflection.⁹ In the ordinary conduct of life, said he, it is impossible to make any choice, or determine upon any thing, without first having a fixed and certain principle in the mind, to determine us to choose one thing rather than another: for without that we should continue always in uncertainty and inaction.

The followers of the ancient Academy, and the Stoics, agreed therefore with each other, as both maintained, though upon different principles, that there were certain means for knowing truth, and consequently evident and certain knowledge.

Arcesilaus rose up with great vivacity against this opinion, confining himself particularly to opposing Zeno, and formed a sect, which was called the Middle Academy,¹⁰ and subsisted down to Carneades, the fourth successor of Arcesilaus, who founded the sect called the New Academy. As it deviated only in some small alterations from the Middle one, they are confounded with each other, and both included in the name of the New Academy. This sect was in great reputation. Cicero embraced it openly, and declared himself its defender. If we may believe him,¹¹ it was neither through obstinacy, nor the frivolous desire of overcoming, that Arcesilaus attacked Zeno, but through the obscurity of all knowledge, which had obliged Socrates, as well as Democritus, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, and almost all the ancient philosophers, to confess their ignorance, and to agree, that there was nothing to be known, nothing determined with certainty, not even what Socrates had excepted in saying: "I know only one thing, which is, that I know nothing."

The main point in dispute between Zeno and Arcesilaus was the evidence of the senses. Zeno affirmed, that truth might be certainly known by their aid: Arcesilaus denied it. The latter's principal reason was,¹² that there is no certain mark to distinguish false and delusive objects from such as are not so. There are some, which either are, or appear so perfectly like each other, that it is impossible to discern the difference. Hence, in judging and affirming any thing of them, one is liable to err, and to take the true for the false, and the false for the true, which is entirely unworthy of a wise man. Consequently, to act with prudence, he ought to suspend his judgment, and decide nothing.¹³ And this was what Arcesilaus did: for he passed whole days in disputing with others, and in refuting their opinions, without ever expressing his own.

The Academics, by his example, acted ever after in the same manner. We have seen that Carneades, when he went to Rome with two other deputies, spoke one day for, and the next against justice, with equal force and eloquence. They pretended, that the end of these discourses, wherein they maintained both sides of a question, was, by such inquiries, to discover something true, or at least that came near the truth.¹⁴ The only difference, said they, between us,

¹ Acad. Quest. n. 15.

² Acad. Quest. n. 17.

³ Ibid. l. i. n. 30.

⁴ Ita tamen maxima est in sensibus veritas, si et sani sunt et valentes, et omnia remouentur quæ obstant et impediunt. *Ibid.* l. iv. n. 19.

⁵ Epicurus omnes sensus veri nuncius dixit esse. *Lib. i. De Nat. Deor.* n. 70.

⁶ *Lib. De Nat. Deor.* n. 43.

⁷ Quæro etiam, ille vir bonus, qui statuit omnem cruciatum perferre, intolerabili dolore lacerari potius, quam aut officium prodant fidem, cor has sibi tam graves leges imponerit, cum, quomobrem ita oporteret, nihil haberet comprehendi, percipi, cogniti, constituti? Nullo igitur modo fieri potest, ut quicquam tantæ æstimet æquitatem et fidem, ut rebus conservandæ causa nullum supplicium recuset, nisi ita rebus assensus sit, quæ falsæ esse non possunt. *Acad. Quest.* l. iv. n. 23.

⁸ Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuerit in sensu.

⁹ Si, quid officii aui sit, non occurrit animo, nihil unquam omnino ager, ad nullam rem unquam in pelletur, unquam movebitur. Quid si aliquid aliquando acturus est, necessario est id ei verum, quod occurrit, videri. *Ibid.* n. 24.

¹⁰ Acad. Quest. l. i. n. 44.

¹¹ *Ibid.* n. 44.

¹² *Ibid.* n. 66, &c.

¹³ Ex his illa necessariò nata est *εποχή*, id est assensio- nis retentio. *Acad. Quest.* l. iv. n. 59.

¹⁴ Neque nostræ disputationes quidquam aliud agunt, nisi

and those who believe they know something, is, that these other philosophers boldly advance what they maintain for true and incontestible, and we have the modesty to affirm our positions only as probable and like truth. They added, that their doctrine was accused, without foundation, of reducing mankind to inaction, and of opposing the duties of life; ¹ as probability and the likeness to truth sufficed to determine their choice of one thing rather than another. We have an excellent treatise of Cicero's, entitled *Lucullus*, which is reckoned as the fourth book of the Academic Questions; wherein Cicero makes Lucullus defend the opinion of the ancient Academy, That there are things which a man is capable of knowing and comprehending; and for himself, he maintains the contrary opinion,² which is that of the New Academy, That man's knowledge extends no farther than appearances, and that he can have none but probable opinions. Lucullus, in concluding his dissertation, which is of considerable length, and very eloquent, apostrophizes in these terms to Cicero: "Is it possible, after the magnificent praises you have given philosophy, that you can embrace a sect which confounds the true with the false, which deprives us of the use of reason and judgment, which forbids us to approve any thing, and divests us of all our senses? The Cimmerians themselves, who are said never to see the sun, have some fires, some twilight, to illuminate them. But the philosophers, for whom you declare, in the midst of the profound darkness with which they surround us, leave us no spark of light to guide us. They keep us hampered in chains, which will not suffer us to make the least motion. For, to conclude, to forbid us, as they do, to give our consent to any thing whatsoever, is actually to deprive us entirely of the use of our minds, and at the same time to prohibit us all manner of action." It were hard to refute the doctrine of the New Academy better, which really seems to degrade man, in confining him to a state of absolute ignorance, and in leaving nothing to guide him but doubt and uncertainty.

Father Mallebranche, in his inquiry after truth, lays down with great extent an excellent principle concerning the senses. It is, that the senses were given us by God, not to enable us to know the nature of objects, but their relation to us; not what they are in themselves, but whether they are advantageous or hurtful to our bodies. This principle is highly luminous, and destroys all the little glosses and chicanes of the ancient philosophers. As to objects in themselves, we know them by the ideas we have of them.

I have said that the New Academics contented themselves with denying certainty, and admitting probability.³ The sect of Pyrrho, which was a branch that sprang from the Academics, even denied that probability, and pretended, that every thing was equally obscure and uncertain.

But the truth is, that all these opinions, which have made so much noise in the world, never subsisted except in discourse, disputation, or writing, while nobody ever was seriously convinced by them. They were the diversions and amusements of persons of talent and leisure: but they were never opinions by which these persons were inwardly much affected, and consequently willing to direct their conduct. They pretended that sleeping could not be distinguished from waking, nor madness from reason: but notwithstanding all their arguments, could they doubt whether they slept, or whether they were in their senses? But if there had been any body capable of these doubts, at least no man could doubt whether he is, whether he thinks, or whether he lives. For whether he sleeps or wakes, whether he is in or out of his senses, whether he does, or does not, err, it is at least certain, because he thinks that he is, and that he lives; it being impossible to separate being and

life from thought, and to believe that what thinks is not, and does not live.

CHAPTER II.

OPINIONS OF THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS CONCERNING ETHICS, OR MORALITY.

MORAL philosophy, or Ethics, whose object is the regulation of the manners, is, properly speaking, the science of man. All other knowledge is in some measure external and without him, or at least may be said not to extend to what is more immediately personal and himself, I mean the heart: for it is in that the whole man consists, and is what he is. They may render him more learned, more eloquent, more just in his reasonings, more knowing in the mysteries of nature, more fit to command armies, and to govern states: but they neither make him better, nor wiser. These however are the only things that concern him nearly, in which he is personally interested, and without which all the rest ought to appear next to perfectly indifferent.

It was this induced Socrates to believe, that the regulation of the manners was to be preferred to all other science. Before him the philosophers almost wholly devoted themselves to inquiring into the secrets of nature, to measuring the extent of lands and seas, and in studying the course of the stars. He was the first that placed the Ethics in honour,⁴ and to use the terms of Cicero, brought philosophy down from heaven into cities,⁵ introduced her also into houses, and familiarized her with individuals, in obliging her to give them precepts upon the manners and conduct of life. She did not confine herself to the care of particulars. The government of states was always the principal object of the reflections of the most celebrated philosophers. Aristotle and Plato have left us several tracts of great extent upon this subject, which have always been highly esteemed, and contain excellent principles. This part of moral philosophy is called *Politics*. I shall not treat it separately in this place; and shall content myself in the sequel, where I shall speak of duties, with making some extracts from Plato and Cicero, which will show what noble ideas they had of the manner of governing states.

Moral philosophy ought to instruct mankind principally in two things. It ought, in the first place, to teach them in what that supreme good, or *happiness*, consists, at which they all aspire; then to show them the virtues and duties, by which they may attain it. It is not to be expected that Paganism should lay down the purest and most perfect maxims upon matters of such importance. We shall find a mixture of light and darkness in it, which will amaze us, and is at the same time highly capable of instructing us.

I shall add a short discourse upon civil law to my account of Ethics, or moral philosophy.

ARTICLE I.

OPINIONS OF THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS UPON THE SUPREME GOOD, OR HAPPINESS, OF MAN.

In all moral philosophy there is not a more important subject than that which relates to the supreme good of man. Many questions are discussed in the schools of little importance to the generality of men, and in which they might dispense with instructing themselves, without any great detriment to the manners and conduct of life. But the ignorance of what constitutes his supreme good leads man into infinite error, and occasions his walking always by chance, without having any thing fixed and determinate, and without knowing either where he goes, or what paths

ut, in utramque partem dicendo et audiendo eliciant et tanquam expriment aliquid, quod ut verum sit, aut ad id quod proxime accedat. *Lib. iv. n. 7, 8.*

¹ Academ. *Quæst. n. 108, &c.* ² *Ibid. l. iv. n. 61, 62.*

³ *Logie of Port Royal, Part. iv. c. 1.*

⁴ A Socrate omnis, quæ est de vita et moribus, philosophia manavit. *Tuscul. Quæst. l. iii. n. 8.* The more ancient philosophers, and especially Pythagoras, had given their disciples good precepts of morality: but did not make them their principal doctrine like Socrates.

⁵ Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit à cælo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et eorum de vita et moribus, rebusque bonis et malis querere. *Ibid. l. 5. n. 10.*

he ought to take! whereas that principle once well established, he knows all his duties clearly, and to what he is to adhere in every thing else.

Philosophers are not the only persons that take pains to inquire wherein this supreme good consists; but all men, the learned, the ignorant, the wise, the stupid: there is nobody that does not share in this important question.² And though the head should continue indifferent about it, the heart could not avoid making its choice. It raises this secret cry of itself in regard to some object: Happy is he who possesses that!

Man has the idea and desire of a supreme good implanted in his nature: and that idea and desire are the source of all his other desires, and of all his actions. Since his fall he retains only a confused and general notion of it, which is inseparable from his being. He cannot avoid loving and pursuing this good, which he knows only confusedly; but he knows not where it is, nor wherein it consists, and the pursuit of it precipitates him into an infinity of errors. For finding created good things which satisfy some small part of that infinite avidity which engrosses him, he takes them for the supreme good, directs all his actions to them, and thereby falls into innumerable crimes and errors.

This we shall see evidently in the different opinions of the philosophers upon this head. Cicero has treated it with abundance of extent and erudition in his five books, *De Finibus bonorum et malorum*, in which he examines wherein real good and evil consist. I shall confine myself to the plan he has followed, and shall relate after him what the Epicureans, Stoics, and Peripatetics, the three most celebrated sects of philosophy, thought upon this subject.

The two last will, from time to time, afford us excellent maxims upon different subjects, but often mixed with false principles and gross errors. We are not to expect to find any thing instructive in them concerning future good. Human philosophy does not exalt man above himself, but confines him to the earth. Though many of the philosophers were convinced of the immortality of the soul, and in consequence that this life is but a moment in respect to the eternal duration of our souls, they have however devoted their whole study and attention to this life of a moment. What was to happen hereafter in the other, was only the subject of some barren conversations, from which they deduced no consequence either from their own conduct, or that of others. Thus these pretended sages, who knew all things except themselves, and to what every particular thing was destined except man, may be justly considered as ignorant and senseless. For, not to know what one is, and whither one goes, to be ignorant of one's end, and of the means for attaining it; to be learned in what is superfluous and foreign, and blind to what is personal and necessary, is certainly to be void of sense.

SECTION I.—OPINIONS OF EPICURUS CONCERNING THE SUPREME GOOD.

THE name alone of Epicurus suffices to inform us, that in the present question we are not to expect to be inspired by him with noble and generous sentiments.³

According to all the philosophers, That is called the supreme good, upon which all other good depends, and which depends itself upon no other. Epicurus makes this supreme good consist in pleasure, and by necessary consequence, supreme evil in pain.⁴ Nature herself, says he, teaches us this truth, and prompts us from our birth to pursue whatever gives us pleasure as our supreme good, and to avoid what-

ever gives us pain as our supreme evil. There is no more occasion for studied arguments to establish this truth, than there is to prove that fire is hot, snow white, and honey sweet: which are self-evident. Let us suppose, on the one side, a man enjoying the greatest pleasures both of body and mind, without any fear of their being interrupted; and on the other, a man suffering the sharpest pains, without any hope of relief: can we doubt on which side to place supreme good and supreme evil?

As it does not depend upon man to exempt himself from pain, Epicurus opposes that inconvenience with a remedy founded upon a reasoning, which he believes very persuasive.⁵ "If pain be great," says he, "it will be short; if long, it will be slight." As if a disease did not often happen to be at the same time both long and painful, and reasoning had any power over the sense of feeling. He proposed another remedy, of no greater efficacy, against the sharpness of pain; which was to divert the mind from the evils we suffer, by turning our whole attention upon the pleasures we have formerly enjoyed, and upon those we are in hopes of tasting hereafter.⁶ How! might one reply to him, whilst the violence of pain racks, burns, and agonizes me, without a moment's intermission, do you bid me forget and disregard it? Is it in my power then to dissemble, and forget in that manner? Can I stifle and silence the voice of nature at such a time?⁷

When he was obliged to give up all these false and wretched reasonings, he had no other evasion than to admit, that his wise man might be sensible of pain, but that he would persist in believing himself happy during it; and to this he adhered.⁸ Cicero tells us, that whilst he talks in this manner, he found it scarce possible to forbear laughing. If the sage be tortured, if he be burned, (one would imagine Epicurus was going to say, that he would bear it with constancy, and not sink under it: but that is not enough for him, he goes still farther) if the sage were in the burning bull of Phalaris, he would cry out with joy, "How grateful is this! how little I value it!"⁹ It is surprising to hear such words from the idolater of voluptuousness, the man who makes supreme good consist in pleasure, and supreme evil in pain. But we are still more surprised when we see Epicurus sustain this generous character to the last, and to hear him in the midst of the acutest pangs of the stone, and the excessive torments of the most terrible colic, cry out: "I am happy. This is the last and most fortunate day of my life."¹⁰

Cicero asks, how it is possible to reconcile Epicurus with himself? As for him, who does not deny pain to be pain, he does not carry the virtue of the wise man to so high a pitch. "To me it is enough," says he, "if he supports evils with patience. I do not require that he should suffer them with joy. For undoubtedly pain is a sad, sharp, bitter thing, contrary to nature, and exceedingly hard to undergo."¹¹ This is thinking and speaking reasonably. The language of Epicurus is that of pride and vanity, which seeks to exhibit itself as a spectacle, and whilst it displays a false courage, proves a real weakness. For the rest, these absurd consequences of Epicurus, were inevitably necessary consequences of his erroneous princi-

² De Finib. i. ii. n. 93. Tuscul. Quæst. i. ii. n. 44, 45.

³ De Finib. i. iii. n. 23, &c.

⁴ Id. i. ii. n. 17.

⁵ Non est in nostra potestate, fœdientibus iis rebus quas malas esse opioemur, dissimulatio vel oblivio. Lacerant, vexant, stimulos admovent, ignes adhibent, respirare non sinit; et tu oblivisci jubes, quod contra naturam est? Cicero.

⁶ In Phalaridis tauro si erit, dicet; Quam suave est hoc! Quam hoc non curo! Cicero.

⁷ Quid porro? Non a què incredibile videtur, aliquem in summis cruciatibus positum, dicere: *Beatus sum?* At qui hæc vox in ipsa officina voluptatis est audita: *Beatisimum*, inquit, *hunc et ultimum diem ego*, Epicurus; cum illum hinc urine difficultas torqueret, hinc, insanabilis exulcerati dolor ventris. Seneca, Epist. 92.

⁸ Tullius dolorem, dolorem esse non negat—Ego, inquit, tantum vinum non tribuo sapientie contra dolorem. Sit fortis in perferendo, officio satis est: ut lætetur etiam, non postulo. Tristis enim res est sine dubio, aspera, amara, inimica naturæ, ad patientiam tolerandamque difficilis. Tuscul. Quæst. i. ii. n. 33, et 18.

¹ Summum bonum si ignoretur, vivendi rationem ignorari necesse est. Ex quo tantus error consequitur, ut, quem in portum se recipiant, scire non possit. Cognitis autem rerum finibus cum intelligitur quid sit et bonorum extremum et malorum, inventa viæ via est, conformatioque omnium officiorum.—Hoc constituto, in philosophia, constituta sunt omnia. De Finib. bon. et mal. l. v. n. 15.

² Omnis auctoritas philosophiæ consistit in beata vita comparanda. Beate enim vivendi cupiditate incensi omnes sumus. Ibid. n. 86.

³ Epicurus, in constitutione finis, nihil generosum sapit atque magnificum. De Finib. l. i. n. 23.

⁴ De Finib. l. i. n. 29, 30.

ples. For if the wise man must be happy as long as he is wise, pain, not depriving him of his wisdom, cannot deprive him of his happiness. Thus he is reduced to affirm himself happy in the midst of the most exquisite torments.

It must be owned, that Epicurus has maxims and even actions ascribed to him, which are dazzling and surprising, and which give a quite different idea of his person and doctrine, to what is generally formed of them. And hence many learned and celebrated persons have taken upon them his defence, and written his apology.

He declares loudly, says Cicero,¹ that one cannot live joyously, except with wisdom, honesty, and justice; and that one cannot live with wisdom, honesty, and justice, otherwise than joyously. What does not such a principle include!

Upon moral subjects, and rules of duty, he advances maxims no less noble and severe. Seneca² repeats many of his sayings, which are certainly very laudable. "I was never studious of pleasing the people; for, what I know, the multitude do not approve, and what the multitude do approve, I do not know." Instead of the whole people Epicurus substitutes some man of great virtue and reputation,³ whom he is for having us set perpetually before our eyes, as our guardian and inspector, in order to our acting in all things, as if he were the eyewitness and judge of our actions.⁴ And, indeed, it were to retrench the greater part of one's faults, to give them a witness one respects; of whom the authority and idea only would make our most secret actions more prudent and blameless.

If you would make Pythocles truly rich, said Epicurus, you must add nothing to his estate, but only retrench his desires and appetites.⁵

I should never have done, should I repeat his many other maxims of morality equally just. Does Socrates himself talk better than Epicurus? And some pretend that his life suited his doctrine.

Though the gardens of Epicurus had this inscription, "Pleasure is here the supreme good," the master of them, though very courteous and polite, received his guests with bread and water.⁶ Himself, this teacher of voluptuousness, had certain days, when he satisfied his hunger with great sobriety.⁷ He says in a letter, that he did not spend quite an as, or penny, upon a meal; and that Metrodorus, his companion, who was not so old, spent a whole as. We have seen with what courage he suffered the sharpest and most cruel pains in his last moments. What can be said of these facts, and many of the like nature? for many such are related of him. What shall we say also, on the other side, of facts in great number directly the reverse, and of his being reproached with abandoning himself to drunkenness and the most shameful debauches, as Diogenes Laertius informs us?

But Cicero cuts the question short in one word, and reduces it to a single point.⁸ "Do you believe," says somebody to him, "that Epicurus was the man some are for having him pass for, and that his design was to inculcate irregularity and debauchery?" "No," replies Cicero: "for I find he also advances very fine maxims, and most severe morality. But here, not his life and manners, but his doctrine and opinions are the question. Now he explains himself upon what he understands by pleasure and happiness in a manner by no means obscure. I understand by that word, says Epicurus, the pleasures of the taste,

the pleasures of love, the view of such objects as delight the eye, diversions and music.⁹ Do I add to his words? Have I annexed any thing false to them? If so, pray correct me; for I have no view but to clear up the truth."¹⁰ The same Epicurus declares, "he cannot so much as conceive that there is any other good, except what consists in drinking, eating, harmonious sounds that delight the ear, and obscene pleasures."¹¹ Aren't of these his own terms, says Cicero? *An hæc ab eo non dicuntur?*¹² If we suppose that he maintained such a maxim, what regard is to be had for his finest discourses elsewhere upon virtue and purity of manners? The same judgment was passed on them as on the books he wrote upon the Divinity.¹³ People were convinced, that in reality he believed there were no gods. He however spoke of the veneration due to them in the most magnificent terms, in order to screen his real sentiments and person, and to avoid drawing the Athenians upon him. He had the same interest in covering so shocking a doctrine, as that which makes the supreme good consist in voluptuousness.

Torquatus urged extremely in favour of Epicurus, whose doctrine he defended,¹⁴ the passage where that philosopher said, that without wisdom, honesty, and justice, it was impossible to lead a happy life: *non posse jucundè vivi, nisi honestè, et sapienter et iustè vivatur*. Cicero does not suffer himself to be dazzled by an empty glitter of words, with which Epicurus took pains to cover the turpitude of his maxims. He proves at large that wisdom, honesty, and justice, were irreconcilable with pleasure, in the sense that Epicurus gives it, which is a disgrace to philosophy, and a dishonour to nature itself. He asks Torquatus,¹⁵ if, when he should be elected consul, which was soon to happen, he would venture in his speech to the people or senate, to declare, that he entered upon office fully resolved to propose to himself no other view or end in all his actions but voluptuousness? And wherefore would he not venture it, except because he well knows that such language is infamous?

I shall conclude this article with a fine contrast made here by Cicero.¹⁶ On the one side he represents L. Thorius Balbus Lanuvinus, one of those men so expert and delicate in voluptuousness, that make it their business and merit to refine upon every thing which bears the name of pleasure: who, void of all chagrin for the present, and all uneasiness about the future, did not abandon himself brutally to the excesses of eating and drinking, nor to other gross diversions; but, attentive to his health and certain rules of decency, led an easy life of softness and delight, entertained a company of chosen friends every day at his house, had his table always covered with the finest and most exquisite dishes, denied himself nothing that could flatter his senses agreeably, nor any of those pleasures, without which Epicurus did not conceive how the supreme good could exist; in a word, who was industrious in culling every where, to use the expression, the quintessence of joy and delight, and whose rosy complexion argued the extraordinary fund of health and good plight which he enjoyed. This is the man, says Cicero, addressing himself to Torquatus, who according to your estimate, is supremely happy. I am afraid to name the person I design to oppose to him; but virtue itself will do it for me: it is M. Regulus, who of his own accord, with no other force than his word given the enemy, returned from Rome to Carthage, where he knew what torments were prepared for him, and where he was actually put to death by hunger and

¹ Clamat Epicurus, non posse jucundè vivi, nisi sapienter, honestè justeq. vivatur: nec sapienter, honestè, justè, nisi jucundè. *De Finib. l. i. n. 57.*

² Senec. Ep. xxix.

³ Id. Epist. xi.

⁴ Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus est, ac semper ante oculos habendus, ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus, et omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus. Hoc mi Lucili, Epicurus præcepit, custodem nobis et pedagogum dedi: nec immerito. Magna pars peccatorum tollitur, si peccatoris testis adsistat. Aliquem habeat animus, quem vereatur, cujus auctoritate etiam secretum suum sanctius faciat.

⁵ Si vis, inquit, Pythoclea divitem facere, non pecuniam adjicere, sed cupiditatibus detrahendum. *Senec. Ep. xxi.*

⁶ Senec. Ep. 21.

⁷ Senec. Ep. 18.

⁸ Tuscul. Quæst. l. iii. n. 46, 47.

⁹ Non verbo solum posuit voluptatem, sed explanavit quid diceret. *Saporem, inquit, et corporum complexum, et ludos, atque cantus, et formas eas quibus oculi jucundè moveantur.*

¹⁰ Testificatur, ne intelligere quidem se posse, ubi sit aut quid sit ullum, bonum, præter illud, quod cibo, aut potione, et aurium delectatione, et obscena voluptate capiatur. *De Finib. l. ii. n. 7.*

¹¹ De Finib. l. ii. n. 7. *De Nat. Deor. l. xi. n. 111.*

¹² De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 116. 123.

¹³ De Finib. l. ii. n. 51, &c.

¹⁴ Ibid. n. 74.

¹⁵ De Finib. l. ii. n. 63. 65.

being kept perpetually awake. It is in those very torments that virtue itself loudly declares him infinitely more happy than your Thorius on his bed of roses and wallowing in voluptuousness.¹ Regulus had commanded in great wars, had been twice consul, and received the honour of a triumph: but he deemed all those advantages nothing in comparison with this last event of his life, which his fidelity to his word and his constancy had drawn upon him: an event, of which the mere repetition afflicts and frightens us, though the reality was matter of joy and pleasure to Regulus.

Put but a Christian suffering for the truth in the place of Regulus, and nothing can be more conclusive than Cicero's reasoning. Without which it is only refuting one absurdity by another, and opposing a false idea of happiness to an infamous happiness.

SECTION II.—OPINIONS OF THE STOICS CONCERNING THE SUPREME GOOD.

WE now quit the school of least repute among the ancient philosophers for its doctrine and manners, but which however had abundance of authority, and whose dogmas were almost universally followed in practice, the attraction of pleasure being far more efficacious than the finest reasonings; and proceed to another school much extolled by the Pagan world, from which it derived much honour, and in which it pretended that virtue was taught and practised in all its purity and perfection. It is plain that I speak of the Stoics.

It was a common principle with all the philosophers, that the supreme good consisted in living according to nature: *secundum naturam vivere, summum bonum esse*.² The different manner in which they explained this conformity to nature, occasioned the diversity of their opinions. Epicurus placed it in pleasure: others in exemption from pain: and some in other objects. Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, made it consist solely in virtue. According to him, to live according to nature, in which alone happiness consists, is to live honestly and virtuously. Behold what nature inspires, to what she inclines us, honesty, decency, and virtue: and she inspires us at the same time with a supreme horror for all that is contrary to honesty, decency, and virtue. This truth is evidently seen in children, in whom we admire candour, simplicity, tenderness, gratitude, compassion, purity, and ignorance of all evil and artifice.³ Whence do they derive such excellent virtues, if not from nature herself, who paints and shows herself in infants as in a mirror? In a more advanced age,⁴ who can forget the man so much as to refuse his esteem to wise, sober, and modest youth: and with what eye, on the contrary, do we look on young persons abandoned to vice and depravity? When we read in history, on the one side, of goodness, generosity, clemency, and gratitude; and on the other, of violence, injustice, ingratitude, and cruelty: however remote in time we

are from the persons spoken of, are we masters of our opinions, can we forbear loving the one and detesting the other? Observe, says Zeno, the voice of nature, which cries aloud, that there is no real good but virtue, no real evil but vice.

The Stoics could not reason either more justly or with apter consequence in their principles, which were however the source of their errors and mistakes. On the one side, convinced that man is made for happiness, as the ultimate end to which he is destined; and on the other, confining the whole being and duration of man to this life, and finding nothing in so short a space, more great, more estimable, and more worthy of a man than virtue; it is not to be wondered that they should place man's ultimate end and happiness in it. As they had no knowledge either of another life, or of the promises of eternity, they could not do better in the narrow sphere wherein they confined themselves through the ignorance of revelation. They rose as high as it was possible for them to rise. They were under the necessity of taking the means for the end, the way thither for being there. For want of knowing better, they took nature for their guide: they applied themselves to the consideration of it, by what it has of great and sublime, while the Epicurean considered it only by what it has of earthly, animal, and corrupt. Hence they necessarily made man's happiness to consist in virtue.

As to what regards health, riches, reputation, and the like advantages; or diseases, poverty, ignominy, and the other inconveniences of this kind; Zeno did not place them in the number either of goods or evils, nor make the happiness or misery of mankind depend upon them. He therefore maintained, that virtue alone, and of itself, sufficed to their happiness; and that all the wise, in whatsoever condition they might happen to be, were happy.⁵ He, however, set some, though small value, upon those external goods and evils, which he defined in a manner different, as to the terms, from that of other philosophers, but which at bottom came very near the same opinions. We may judge of all the rest by a single example.⁶ The other philosophers considered pain as real and solid evil, which extremely incommoded the wise man, but which he endeavoured to support with patience; which did not hinder him from being happy, but rendered his happiness less complete. Hence, according to them, a good action exempt from pain, was preferable to one united with it. The Stoics believed that such an opinion degraded and dishonoured virtue, to which all external goods joined together added no more than the stars to the lustre of the sun, a drop of water to the vast extent of the ocean, or a nite to the innumerable millions of Cræsus; to use their own comparisons. A wise Stoic, therefore, reckoned pain as nothing, and however violent it might be, he was very far from calling it an evil.

Pompey, in his return from Syria, passed expressly by the way of Rhodes⁷ to see the celebrated Stoic Posidonius. When he arrived at the house of that philosopher, he forbade his licitor to strike the door with his wand, as was the custom. The person, says Pliny, to whose power the East and West were in subjection, was pleased that the *fascies* of his licitor should pay homage to the dwelling of a philosopher.⁸ He found him in bed very ill of the gout, which tormented him cruelly. He expressed his concern to see him in that condition, and that he could not hear him as he had promised himself. That, replied the philosopher, depends upon yourself; it shall never be said that my illness occasioned so great a person to come to my house in vain. He then began a long

¹ Ego, huic quem antepnam, non audeo dicere: dicit pro me ipsa virtus, nec dubitabit isti vestro beato M. Regulum antepnere. Quem quidem, cum sua voluntate, nulla vi coactus preter fidem quam dederat hosti, ex patria Carthagine revertisset, tum ipsum, cum vigilis et fame cruciaretur, clamavit virtus beatiorum fuisse, quam potantem in rosa Thorium. Bella magna gesserat, bis consul fuerat, triumpharat: nec tamen sua illa superiora tam magna nec tam preclara dusebat, quam illum ultimum casum, quem propter fidem constantiamque susceperat; qui nobis miserabilia videtur audientibus, illi perpetienti erat voluptarius. *De Finib. l. ii.*

² *De Finib. l. iv. n. 14.*

³ Id indicant pueri, in quibus, ut in speculis, natura cernitur. — Quæ memoria est in his bene merentium! quæ referendæ gratiæ cupiditas! Atque ea in optima quaque indole maximè apparent. *De Finib. l. v. n. 61.*

⁴ In his vero ætatis quæ jam confirmatæ sunt, quis est tam dissimili homini, qui non moveatur et offensione turpitudinis, et comprobatione honestatis? Quis est qui non oderit libidinosam, proterviam adolescentiam? Quis contra illa ætate pudorem, constantiam, etiam sua nihil interest, non tamen diligit? — Cui Tubuli nomen odio non est? Quis Aristidem mortuum non diligit? An obliviscamur, quæ potius in audiendo legendoque moveamur, cum piæ, cum amicæ, cum magno animo aliquid factum cognoscimus? *Ibid. n. 62.*

⁵ Virtutis tantam vim esse, ut ad beatè vivendum se ipsa contenta sit. — Sapientes omnes esse semper beatos. *De Finib. l. v. n. 77.*

⁶ *De Finib. l. iii. n. 43, 45.*

⁷ Tuse. Quæst. l. iii. n. 61.

⁸ Pompeius, confecto Mithridatico bello, intraturus Posidonii sapientiæ professione clari domum, fores percuti de more à licitore venit; et fascies licitoris januæ submisit is, cui se Oriens Occideneque submiserat. *Plin. l. vii. c. 30.*

and grave discourse, wherein he undertook to prove, that there was nothing good but what was honest: and as he was in excessive pain all over while he spoke, he often repeated: "Pain, you do nothing; though you are troublesome, you shall never make me own you an evil."¹

Another Stoic was of a better faith.² This was Dionysius of Heraclea, Zeno's disciple, whose doctrine he had long and warily maintained. In the torments of the stone, which made him cry out terribly, he discovered the falsehood of all he had taught in respect to pain.³ "I have devoted many years," said he, "to the study of philosophy, and cannot bear pain. Pain is therefore an evil."

It is not necessary to ask the reader's judgment of these two philosophers. The character of these false sages of the Pagan world is painted in the most lively colours, in the words and actions of the first. They exhibited themselves as spectacles, and fed themselves up with the attention of others, and the admiration which they believed they occasioned. They bore up against their inward sense through the shame of appearing weak, while they concealed their real despair under the appearance of a false tranquillity.

It must be confessed that pain is the most dreadful proof of virtue. It plunges its sharpness into the inmost soul: it racks, it torments it, without its being possible to suspend the sense of it: it keeps it in spite of it employed by a secret and deep wound, that engrosses its whole attention, and renders time insupportable to it, while every moment seems whole years. In vain does human philosophy endeavour in this condition, to make her wise man appear invulnerable and insensible: she only blows him up with vain presumption, and fills him with a force, which is indeed but cruelty. True religion does not instruct her disciples in this manner. She does not disguise virtue under fine but chimerical appearances. She raises mankind to a state of real greatness; but that is by making them discern and confess their own weakness.

Let us hear Job, the man put to the rudest trial that ever was. He was told by messenger after messenger, almost without any interval, that his flocks and herds were destroyed, his slaves killed or taken, and at last that all his children were crushed to death and buried under the ruins of a house where they were eating together. In the midst of so many heavy unforeseen strokes, so suddenly reiterated, and so capable of shaking a soul of the greatest fortitude, no complaint escaped him. Solely intent upon the duty of that precious moment, he submits to the decrees of providence: "Naked came I into the world, and naked shall I go out of it: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord." He shows the same submission and constancy after Satan had struck him with biles all over his body, and ulcers to his very marrow, whilst he suffers the most acute pains. Does Job, in this condition, exhibit himself as a sight, or seek to attract admirers by a vain ostentation of courage? He is far from it. He confesses that his flesh is weak, and himself nothing but weakness. He does not dispute strength with God, and owns that of himself he has neither strength, counsel, nor resource. "Is my strength the strength of stones, or is my flesh of brass? Is there help in me? and is not wisdom driven quite from me?"⁴ This is not the language of Pagan philosophy, which is nothing but pride and vanity.

The Stoics made their sage a man absolutely perfect and void of passion, trouble, and defect. It was a vice with them to give the least sense of pity and compassion entrance into the heart. They deemed it the sign of a weak and even bad mind: "Misericordia est vitium pusilli animi, ad speciem alienorum malo-

rum succidentis: itaque pessimo cuque familiarissima est."⁵ Compassion, continues the same Seneca, is a trouble and sadness of mind, occasioned by the miseries of others: now the wise man is susceptible neither of trouble nor sadness.⁶ His soul enjoys always a calm serenity, which no cloud can ever discompose. How can he be moved with the miseries of others, when he is not moved with his own? The Stoics reasoned in this manner, because they did not know what man is. They destroyed nature, while they pretended to reform it. They reduced their sage to an idol of brass or marble, in hopes to render him firm and constant in his own misfortunes and those of others. For they were for having him equally insensible in both, and that compassion should not make him consider that as a misfortune in his neighbour, which he ought to regard as indifferent in respect to himself. They did not know, that the sentiments they strove to extinguish, were part of the nature of man, and that to root out of his heart the compassion, tenderness, and warm concern with which nature itself inspires us for what happens to our neighbour, was to destroy all the ties of human and civil society.

The chimerical idea which they formed of the supreme perfection of their wise man, was the source whence flowed the ridiculous opinion they laid down, that all faults were equal. I have shown the absurdity of that maxim elsewhere.

They maintained another no less absurd, but much more dangerous, and which was a consequence of their opinion upon what constituted the supreme good of man; a just and solid opinion in some sense, but from which they made a bad inference. They pretended, that the supreme good of man ought not to be made to consist in any of those things of which he is capable of being divested against his will, and which are not in his power; but in virtue alone, which depends solely upon himself, and of which no foreign violence can deprive him.⁷ It was very clear, that mankind could neither procure for themselves, nor preserve health, riches, and the other advantages of that nature: accordingly they implored the gods for the attainment and preservation of them. These advantages, therefore, could not compose part of the supreme good. Virtue alone had that privilege, because man is absolutely master of that, and derives it solely from himself. He gives it to himself, according to them, he preserves it himself, and has no occasion to have recourse to the gods for that, as for other good things. "Hoc quidem omnes mortales sic habent, externas commoditates—ad diis se habere: virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam deo retulit."⁸ Never, said they, did any man take it into his head to thank the gods, that he was a good man, as he thanks them for riches, honours, and the health he enjoys. "Num quis, quid bonus vir esset, gratias diis egit unquam? at quid dives, quid honoratus, quid incolumis." In a word, it is the opinion of all men, that we ought to ask God for the goods of fortune; but as to wisdom, we derive that only from ourselves. "Judicium hoc omnium mortalium est fortunam a deo petendam, a se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam." They carried their frantic pride so high as to set their sage in this view above God; because God is virtuous and exempt from passion by the necessity of his nature, whereas their wise man is so by his own choice and will.⁹

I shall not stop here to observe to the reader, from what I have now said, and what preceded it, into what

¹ Senec. de Clement. l. ii. c. 5.

² Misericordia est ergitudo animi, ob alienarum miserationum sensum. Aegritudo autem in sapientem virum non cadit. Serena ejus mens est, nec, quidquam incidere potest quid illam obducat.—Hoc sapienti ne in suis quidem accidit calamitatibus, sed omnem fortune iram reverberabit, et ante se franget.

³ Hoc dñitatis, ut opinor, si modo sit aliquid esse hant, id oportere totum poni in potestate sapientis. Nam si amitti via beata potest, beata esse non potest. De Finit. l. ii. n. 86.

⁴ De Nat. Deor. l. iii. n. 86—89.

⁵ Est aliquid quo sapiens antecedit Deum. Ille naturæ beneficio non timet, suo sapiens. Senec. Epist. liii.

¹ Cumque ei quasi faces doloris admoventur, sæpe dixit: "Nihil ægis, dolor; quamvis sis molestus, nunquam te esse confitebor malum."

² Ibid. n. 60.

³ Cum ex rebus laboraret, ipso in ejulatu clamabat, falsa esse illa, quæ antea de dolore ipse sensisset.—"Plurimos annos in philosophia consumpsi, nec ferre possum (dolorum) malum est igitur dolor."

⁴ Job vi. 12, 13.

absurdities the most esteemed and respected sect among the ancients, and indeed in some sense the most worthy of esteem and respect, gave into. Behold what human wisdom is capable of, when abandoned to its own strength and lights, or rather its own impotence and darkness.

It remains for me to relate the opinions of the Peripatetics, concerning the supreme good of man.

SECTION III.—OPINION OF THE PERIPATETICS CONCERNING THE SUPREME GOOD.

If we may believe Cicero upon this head, the difference between the Stoics and the Peripatetics upon the question of the supreme good, consists less in things than words, and that the opinions of both amounted to the same sense at bottom. He often reproaches the Stoics with having introduced rather a new language, than new doctrines, into philosophy, that they might seem to vary from those who had preceded them; which reproach appears to have sufficient foundation.

Both the one and the other agreed as to the principle, upon which the supreme good of man ought to be founded, that is, to live according, or conformably, to nature: *Secundum naturam vivere*. The Peripatetics began by examining what the nature of man is, in order to laying down their principle well. Man, said they, is composed of body and soul: such is his nature. To render him perfectly happy it is necessary to procure him all the goods both of the body and the soul: that is, to live according to nature, in which both sects agree the supreme good consists. In consequence, they reckoned health, riches, reputation, and the other advantages of that kind, in the number of goods; and in that of evils, sickness, poverty, ignominy, &c., leaving, however, an infinite distance between virtue and all other goods, and vice and all other evils. These goods which we place among those of the body, said they, make the felicity of man perfect, and render his life completely happy; but in such a manner, that he is capable of being happy, though not so entirely without them.¹

The Stoics thought very nearly the same, and gave these advantages and inconveniences of the body some weight, but they could not bear that they should be called goods and evils. If once, said they,² pain were to be admitted an evil, it would follow that the wise man, when in pain, is not happy: for felicity is incompatible with a life wherein there is any evil. People do not reason so, replied the Peripatetics, in any other respect. An estate covered with fine corn in abundance does not cease to be deemed fertile, because it produces some few bad weeds. Some small losses with considerable gains, do not hinder commerce from being reckoned very advantageous. In every thing, the greater outweighs the less, and is the rule of judging. It is thus in respect to virtue. Put it into one scale, and the whole world into the other, virtue will always be infinitely the most weighty: a magnificent idea of virtue this!³

I should think it abusing the reader's patience, if I bestowed more time in refuting these subtleties, and bad chicanery of the Stoics. I only desire him to remember what I have observed from the beginning, that in this question concerning the supreme good of man, the philosophers, of whatever sect they were, considered that good only in respect to this life. The goods of eternity were either unknown, or indifferent to them.

ARTICLE II.

OPINIONS OF THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS UPON THE VIRTUES AND DUTIES OF LIFE.

"THOUGHT philosophy," says Cicero,⁴ "be a region wherein there are no uncultivated lands, and though

it is fertile and abundant from one end to the other, there is no part of it more rich than that which treats of the duties of life, and lays down rules and precepts for giving our manners a certain and constant tenor, and making us live according to the laws of reason and virtue."⁵ It is true that excellent maxims, and such as might make us blush, are to be found upon this head amongst the Pagans. I shall repeat some of them from Plato and Cicero, confining myself more to the thoughts than expressions of the former,

The End of Government is to make the Governed Happy, in making them Virtuous.

The first care of every man charged with the government of others, (which includes all persons in general, whose function it is to command, kings, princes, generals, ministers, governors of provinces, magistrates, judges, and fathers of families:) the first care, I say, of whoever is in any kind of authority, is to lay down well the end he ought to propose to himself in the use of that authority.⁶ What is the end of a man charged with the government of a state?⁶ It is not, says Plato in more than one place, to render it rich, opulent, and powerful; to make it abound with gold and silver; to extend its dominion far and wide; to keep up great fleets and armies in it, and thereby render it superior to all others by sea and land. It is easy to perceive that Athens is intended here. He proposes something much greater and more solid to himself; that is, to make it happy by making it virtuous; and it can only be so by sincere piety and profound submission in regard to God.

When we speak, says he elsewhere,⁷ of a happy city or republic, we do not pretend to confine that felicity only to some individuals, its principal persons, nobility and magistrates: we understand, that all the members of such city or republic are happy, each in their several conditions and degrees; and in this the essential duty of a person charged with the government of it consists. It is the same with a city or state, as with the human body.⁸ This comparison is entirely just, and abounds with consequences. The body consists of the head and the members, among which members some are more noble, more conspicuous, and more necessary than others. Can the body be said to be in health, and good condition, when the least and meanest of the members is diseased and out of order? Between all the inhabitants of a city, there is a mutual relation of wants and assistance, that forms an admirable tie of dependence among them.⁹ The prince, the magistrates, and the rich, have occasion for food, clothes, and lodging. What would they do, if there were not an inferior order of people to supply them with all these necessities? This providence has taken care of, says Plato, in establishing the different orders and conditions of men by the means of necessity. If all were rich, there would be neither husbandmen, masons, nor artificers: and if all poor, there would be no princes, magistrates, and generals of armies, to govern and defend the rest. It was this mutual dependence that formed states, and within the compass of the same walls assembled and united a multitude of men of different trades and occupations, all necessary to the public good, and of whom in consequence none ought to be neglected, and still less despised by him who governs. From this multiplicity of talents, conditions, trades, and employments, reduced in some measure to unity by this mutual communication and tendency to the same end, results an order, harmony, and concert of wonderful beauty, but which always supposes, that, for the perfection of the whole, it is necessary that each part should have its perfection and ornament. To return to the comparison of a city or state to the human body, the prince is as the head or soul of it;¹⁰ the ministers, magistrates, generals of armies, and other officers appointed to execute his orders, are his eyes,

¹ Illa, quæ sunt à nobis bona corporis numerata, complent ea quidem beatissimam vitam, sed ita, ut sine illis possit bona vita existere. De Finib. l. v. n. 71.

² De Finib. l. v. n. 91, 92.

³ Audet—virtutis amplitudinem quasi in altera lance ponere. Terrain, nihil crede, ea laxe et maria deprimet. ⁴ Offic. l. iii. n. 5.

⁵ Plat. de Leg. l. xii. pp. 961, 963.

⁶ In Aleib. p. 134. De Legib. l. v. p. 742.

⁷ In Aleib. p. 420.

⁸ De Legib. l. v. p. 964.

⁹ De Repub. l. ii. pp. 369, 374. ¹⁰ Ib. l. ii. p. 361—364.

arms, and feet. It is the prince who is to animate them, put them in motion, and direct their actions. The head is the seat of the understanding; and it is the understanding that regulates the use of the senses, moves the members, and is watchful for their preservation, well-being, and health. Plato uses here the comparison of a pilot, in whose head alone lies the knowledge of steering the vessel, and to whose ability the safety of all on board is confided. How happy is a state, whose prince speaks and acts in this manner!

Whoever is charged with the care of others, ought to be firmly convinced, that he is designed for inferiors, and not inferiors for him.

To be convinced of this principle, we have only, in my opinion, to consult good sense, right reason, and even common experience. It, however, seldom happens that superiors are truly convinced of it, and make it the rule of their conduct. Plato, to set this principle in full light, begins by introducing one Thrasymachus into the dialogue, who pleads the cause, or rather makes the apology, of a corrupt government. This man pretends, that in every government, that ought to be considered as just, which is for the advantage of the government: that he who commands, and is in office, is not so for others, but for himself: that his will ought to be the rule of all under him; that if strict justice were to be observed, superiors of all men were the most to be pitied, having for their lot only the cares and anxieties of government, without being in a condition to advance their families, serve their friends, or comply with any recommendation, as they would be bound to act in all things according to the principles of exact and severe justice. There are few, or rather none, who talk in this manner: but too many reduce it to practice, and make it the rule of their conduct. Plato refutes at large all this wretched reasoning, and, according to his custom, makes use of comparisons taken from the common usages of life: I shall content myself here with the following single proof, to show that those who command are designed for their inferiors, and not their inferiors for those who command. A pilot takes upon himself the care of a ship with a great number of persons on board, whom different views and interests induce to go to a foreign country. Did it ever enter into the thoughts of any reasonable man to imagine, that the passengers were for the pilot, and not the pilot for the passengers? Would any one venture to say, that the sick whom a physician takes care of are for him? And is it not evident that physicians, as well as the art of physic, are intended solely for restoring health to the sick? Princes are often represented by the ancients under the idea of ποιμένες λαόν, *the shepherds of the people*. The shepherd is certainly for his flock, and nobody is so unreasonable to pretend, that the flock is for the shepherd.

It is from this doctrine of Plato, that the Roman orator borrowed the important maxim, which he strongly inculcates on Quintus Cicero, his brother, in the admirable letter wherein he gives him advice for his good conduct in the government of Asia, which had been confided to his care. "As for me," says he, "I am convinced that the sole end and attention of those in authority ought to be, to render all under them as happy as possible.—And not only," adds he, "those who govern citizens and allies, but whoever has the care of slaves, and even of beasts, ought to procure them all the good and convenience they can, and make their advantage their whole care."²

The natural consequence of this principle, that all superiors, without exception, are established for the

good of those under them, is, that their sole view in the use of their power and authority ought to be the public good.³ Hence also it follows, that only persons of worth should have great employments; that they should even enter upon them against their will; and that it should be necessary to use a kind of violence to oblige them to accept such offices. And indeed places, wherein nothing is to be seen but pains, labour, and difficulty, are not so desirable as to be sought or solicited. However, says Plato, nothing is more common in our days than to make interest for posts, and to pretend to the highest employments, without any other merit, than an ambition that knows no bounds, and a blind esteem for one's self: and this abuse it is, that occasions the misfortunes of states and kingdoms, and terminates at length in their ruin.

Justice and the faith of engagements are the foundations of society. Sanctity of oaths.

The firmest tie of society is justice, and the foundation of justice is fidelity to engagements, which faith consists in the inviolable observance of promises given, and treaties made.⁴

Injustice can assume only two different forms, of which the one resembles the fox, and is that of artifice and fraud; and the other the lion, which is that of violence.⁵ Both the one and the other are equally unworthy of man, and contrary to his nature: but the most odious and detestable is that of fraud and perfidy, especially when it covers the blackest practices with the appearance of probity.

All kinds of fraud and artifice should be banished from the intercourse of mankind, with that malignant cunning of address,⁶ that covers and adorns itself with the name of prudence, but which in reality is infinitely remote from it, and suits only double-dealing, dark, knavish, malicious, artificial, perfidious people: for all these odious and detestable names scarce suffice to express the character of such as renounce sincerity and truth, in the intercourse of life.⁷ By what name then must we call those, who make a jest of the sanctity of oaths, which are solemn and religious affirmations, made in the presence, and before the eyes of God, whom we call to witness to them,⁸ whom we render in some measure the guarantee for their truth, and who will undoubtedly avenge the sacrilegious abuse of his name? The regard due to the divinity, could not, according to Plato,⁹ be carried too far in this respect. It was from this principle he desired that, in trials wherein only temporal interests were concerned, the judges should not require any oath from the parties, in order that they might not be tempted to take false ones, as it happens, says he, with more than half those who are obliged to swear; it being very uncommon and difficult for a man, when his estate, reputation, or life are at stake, to have so great a reverence for the name of God, as not to venture to take it in vain. This delicacy is remarkable in a Pagan, and well worthy our serious reflection. Plato goes still farther. He declares,¹⁰ that not only to swear slightly, and without any important reason, but to use the name of God in familiar discourse and conversation, is to dishonour and to be wanting in the respect due to the divine Majesty. He would therefore have been far from reproving a custom, now very common even among persons of worth, of calling frequently upon the name of God, when nothing less is in question than religion.

Different duties of civil life. Fine maxims upon virtue.

Every one ought to consider the common good as the great end of his actions.¹¹ For should men know

² Plat. de Rep. l. i. p. 347. Ibid. l. vii. p. 520, 521.

³ Cic. Offic. l. i. n. 20, 21.

⁴ Offic. l. i. n. 41.

⁵ Quocirca astutiæ tollendæ sunt, eaque malitia, quæ vult illa quidem se esse prudentiam, sed abest ab ea, distatque plurimum. Lib. iii. n. 71.

⁶ Hoc genus est nominis versuti, obsecuti, astuti fallacis, malitiosè callidi, veteratoris, vafri. Ibid. n. 57.

⁷ Est jurandum affirmatio religiosa. Quod autem affirmat, quasi Deo teste, promissis, id tenendum est. Ibid. n. 104.

⁸ De Leg. l. xii. p. 948, 949.

⁹ Ib. n. 917.

¹⁰ Offic. l. iii. n. 25.

¹ De Rep. l. ii. p. 338, &c.

² Ac mihi quidem videtur huc omnia esse referenda ab illis qui præsentibus aliis, ut illi qui eorum in imperiis erunt sint quam beatissimis.—Est autem, non modo ejus qui sociis et civibus, sed etiam ejus qui servis, qui multis pseudibus præsit, eorum quibus præsit commodi utilitatisque servire. Cic. Epist. i. ad Q. Frat.

no good but private interest, and be for engrossing every thing to themselves, no kind of society could subsist among them. Every thing upon earth was created for the use of man, and men themselves were formed for one another, and for the aid of each other by reciprocal services. Hence we are not to believe, that we were born only for ourselves. Our country, our fathers, mothers, and friends, have a right to whatever we are, and it is our duty to procure them all the advantages in our power.

It is upon these principles of our duty to justice and society, that the Stoics determine many questions of moral philosophy in a manner, that condemns many Christian casuists.

At the time of a famine, a merchant arrives first in a port laden with corn, followed by many others with the same freight.¹ Ought he to declare, that the rest will soon be there; or is it allowable for him to be silent about them, in order to make the better market for himself? The decision is, that he ought to declare it; because so the good of human society for which he is born requires.—A man receives bad money in payments.² May he give it to others for good, knowing it to be counterfeit? He cannot, as an honest man.—Another sells an ingot of gold, taking it for brass.³ Is the buyer obliged to tell the seller that it is gold, or may he take advantage of the other's ignorance, and buy that for a crown which is perhaps worth a thousand? He cannot in conscience.

It is an indisputable maxim, says Plato, which ought to serve as a foundation for the whole conduct of civil life, that it is never allowable to hurt any one, nor consequently to return evil for evil, injury for injury, or to take revenge of our enemies, and to make the same misfortunes fall upon them, which they have made us to suffer.⁴ And this is what reason teaches us. But the Pagans are not steady upon this refined point of morality. "He is a good man," says Cicero, "who does all the good in his power, and hurts nobody, unless provoked by injury." *Virum bonum esse, qui prosit quibus possit; noceat nemini, nisi lacessitus injuria.*⁵

One of the laws of Plato's commonwealth is, that money should never be lent with usury.⁶ The goods of another are never to be appropriated to one's own use. "If I had found a treasure," says Plato, "I would not touch it, though the augurs upon being consulted should assure me that I might apply it to my own use. That treasure in our coffers, is not of so much value as the progress we make in virtue and justice, when we have the courage to despise it. Besides, if we appropriate it to our own use, it is a source of curses to our family." He judges in the same manner of a thing found in one's way.⁷

All other good things without virtue, ought to be regarded as real evils.⁸ And this virtue is neither the gift of nature, the fruit of study, nor the growth of human wit, but an inestimable blessing, which God confers on whom he pleases.⁹

Contrast between a good man under a load of evils, and a wicked man in the highest affluence and good fortune.

Plato supposes two men, very different in the world's thoughts and treatment of them. The one consummately wicked, without either faith, probity, or honour, but wearing the mask of all these virtues; the other a perfectly good man, (according to the idea of the Pagans) who has no thoughts but to be, not to seem, just. The first, for the attainment of his ends, spares neither fraud, injustice, nor calumny, and reckons the greatest crimes as nothing, provided he can but conceal them.¹⁰ With an appearance of religion,

he affects to adore the gods with pomp and splendour, offering presents and sacrifices to them in greater number, and with more magnificence than any body. By this means deceiving the dim sight of men, that cannot pierce into the heart, he succeeds in heaping up riches, honours, esteem, reputation, powerful establishments, and multiplying advantageous marriages for himself and his children; in a word, whatever the most splendid fortune includes of most soothing and beneficial. The second, in a supreme degree the good man, simple, modest, reserved, solely intent upon his duty, inviolably attached to justice, far from being honoured and rewarded as he would deserve, (in which case, says Plato, it could not be discerned whether virtue itself, or the honours and rewards consequent upon it, were his motives) is universally in disgrace, blackened with the most odious calumnies, looked upon as the vilest of wretches, abandoned to the most cruel and ignominious treatment, "thrown into prison, scourged, wounded, and at last nailed to the cross;" while he chooses rather to undergo the most cruel torments, than to renounce justice and innocence.¹¹ Is there any one, cries Cicero, so stupid as to hesitate one moment, which of these two he would rather choose to resemble?

We are surprised to find sentiments so noble, so exalted, and so conformable to right reason and justice, among the Pagans. We should remember, that notwithstanding the general corruption and darkness which had overspread the Pagan world, the light of the eternal Word did not fail to shine out to a certain degree in their minds: "and the light shineth in darkness."¹² It is that light, which discovers and makes known to them various truths, and the principles of the law of nature. It is that light, which writes it in their hearts, and gives them the discernment of many things just and unjust: which makes St. Augustine¹³ say, "Let the wicked see in the book of the light, in what manner they ought to live." Now, when we see in Greece crowds of learned men, a people of philosophers, who succeed one another during four entire ages; who employ themselves solely in inquiring after truth; who, most of them, for succeeding the better therein, renounce their fortunes, country, settlement, and all other employments except that of applying to the study of wisdom: can we believe so singular and unexampled an event, which never happened in any other part or time of the world, the effect of chance, and that Providence had neither any share in it, nor intended it for any end? It had not destined the philosophers to reform the errors of mankind. Those great men disputed four hundred years almost without agreeing upon, and concluding any thing. None of their schools undertook to prove the unity of the Godhead, none of them ever so much as thought of advancing the necessity of a Mediator. But how useful were their moral precepts upon the virtues and duties, in preventing the inundation of vice? What horrid disorders had taken place, had the Epicureans been the prevailing and only sect? How much did their inquiries contribute to the preservation of the important doctrines of the distinction between matter and mind, of the immortality of the soul, and the existence of a Supreme Being? Many of them had admirable principles upon all these points, "which God had made known unto them,"¹⁴

mus, summa justitia, singulari fide; alter insignis scelere et audacia: et, si in eo errore sit civitas, aut bonum illum virum, scelerosum, facinorosum, nefarium putet: contra autem qui sit improbius, existimet esse summa probitate ac fide; proque hac opinione omnium civium, bonus ille vir vexitur rapiatur, manus ei denique auferantur, effodiatur oculi, damnetur, vinciatur, uratur, exterminetur, egeat, postremo jure etiam optimo omnibus miserimus esse videatur; contra autem, ille improbus laudetur, colatur, ab omnibus diligatur; omnes ad eum honores, omnia imperia, omnes opes, omnes denique copię conferantur; vir denique optimus omniū existimatione, et digni-ssimus omni fortuna judicetur: quis tandem erit tam demens, qui dubitet utrum se esse mali? Cic. apud Lactant. divin. Instit. l. v. c. 12.

¹¹ Οὗτο δίκαιος ὁ δίκαιος μαρτυρεῖται, σφετέρωσται, δόξασται, ἐκκαλεῖται τὸ ἀδίκον τέλειον, πάντα κακὰ παύει, ἀνασχέει, λυθίσσεται. Id est, suspenditur.

¹² John i. 5.

¹³ In libro lucis.

¹⁴ Rom. i. 19.

¹ Offic. i. 50, &c.

² Ib. n. 91.

³ Ib. n. 92.

⁴ Ἀρχαίμιστα ἐντέθεν βουλευόμενοι ὥς οὐδέποτε ὀφείδεις ἔχοντας οὐτε τοῦ ἀδικεῖν, οὐτε κακῆς πάσχοντα ἀμυνέειν ἐντιδόντες κακῶς. Plat. in Criton. p. 49.

⁵ Offic. l. iii. p. 76.

⁶ De Legib. l. v. p. 742. l. xi. p. 913.

⁷ Ib. p. 914.

⁸ In Menex. p. 246. In Menon. p. 99.

⁹ Εἰ καλῶς ἔστι σοφίαν, ἀρετὴν ἂν εἴη οὕτε φύσει ἔσται δόξα, οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ θεῶν μοῖρα παρέχ' ἵνα κείνη ᾖεν νοῦ, οἷς ἂν παρέρχεται.

¹⁰ Quero, si duo sint, quorum alter optimus vir, æquisei-

preferable to so many other people whom he left in barbarity and ignorance.

As this knowledge of theirs, and the virtuous actions consequent upon it, may be considered under a double point of view, it ought also to produce two quite different effects in us. If we consider it as an emanation of that eternal light, "which shineth even in darkness," who can doubt whether or not it be worthy of our esteem and admiration? But if we consider it in the principle from whence it proceeded, and the abuse made of it by the Pagans, it cannot be praised without reserve and exception. It is by the same rule we are to judge of all that we read in profane history. The most shining actions of virtue which it relates, are always infinitely remote from pure and real virtue, because not directed to their principle, and having their root in cupidity, or pride and self-love. *Radicata est cupiditas: species potest esse bonorum factorum, verè opera bona esse non possunt.*¹ The root is not judged by the branches, but the branches by the root. The blossoms and even fruit may seem like; but their root is highly different. *Noli attendere quod floret foris, sed quæ radix est interna.* Not what these actions have of real, but what is defective in them, ought to be condemned. It is not what they want, that makes them vicious. And what they want is charity, that inestimable gift, of which the want cannot be supplied by any other, and which is not to be found out of the Christian church and the true religion. Accordingly we see, that none of the Pagans, who in other respects, have laid down very fine rules of duty between man and man, have made the love of God the fundamental principle of their morality: none of them have taught the necessity of directing the actions of human probity to Him. They knew the branches, but not the stem and trunk of moral perfection.

ARTICLE III.

OF JURISPRUDENCE, OR THE CIVIL LAW.

I ANNEX the knowledge of laws to moral philosophy, of which it is a part, or at least to which it has a great relation. It is a subject of great extent, but I shall treat it very succinctly. The memoirs with which an able professor of law, Mr. Lorry, one of my very good friends, has supplied me, have been of great use to me.

By the knowledge of the law, I mean the knowledge of right, of laws in general. Every people have had their particular laws and legislators. Moses is the most ancient of them all: God himself dictated the laws it was his will that his people should observe. Mercurius Trismegistus among the Egyptians, Minos among the inhabitants of the island of Crete, Pythagoras among the cities of Great Greece, Charondas and Zaleucus in the same country, Lycurgus at Sparta, and Draco and Solon at Athens, are the most celebrated legislators of Pagan antiquity. As I have spoken of them with sufficient extent in the course of this history, I proceed directly to the Romans.

The beginnings of the Roman civil law were confined. Under the kings, Rome had only a small number of laws, which were proposed at first by the senate, and afterwards confirmed in the assembly of the people. Papirius, who lived in the time of Tarquinus Priscus, was the first who collected the laws made by the kings into one body. That collection was called from the name of its author, *Jus Papirianum*, the *Papirian law*.

The commonwealth, after having abolished the power of kings, retained their laws for some time: but they were afterwards expressly abolished by the Tribunitian law, in hatred to the name of kings. From that time it used an uncertain kind of Right till the twelve tables, which were prepared by the Decemviri, and composed out of the laws of Athens and the principal cities of Greece, into which deputies had been sent to collect such as they should judge the wisest and best adapted to a republican government. These laws were the foundation and source of the

whole Roman civil law:² and Cicero is not afraid to prefer them to all the writings and books of the philosophers, as well in respect to the weight of their authority, as the extent of the utility deducible from them.³

The brevity, and at the same time the severity, of the law of the twelve tables, made way for the interpretation of the learned, and the praetor's edicts. The first employed themselves in explaining their spirit and intention: the second in softening their rigour, and supplying what might have been omitted.

The laws, in process of time, having multiplied greatly, the study of them became absolutely necessary, and at the same time very difficult. Persons of birth, capacity, learning, and love for the public good, distinguished by the name of civilians, applied wholly to this study. The young Romans, who designed to open themselves a way to the great offices of the commonwealth by the talent of eloquence, which was the first step to them, went to the houses of these civilians in order to acquire their first knowledge of the law, without which it was not possible for them to succeed at the bar. Private persons in all their affairs had recourse to them, and their houses were regarded as the oracles of the whole city, whence answers were brought which determined doubts, calmed disquiets, and directed the methods it was necessary to take in the prosecution of all suits.⁴ These answers were no more than opinions, which might inform the judges, but imposed no necessity upon them of following them. Augustus was the first who gave them more authority, in appointing civilians himself, who were no longer limited to serve as counsel to individuals, but were held the emperor's officers. From that period, their opinions, reduced to writing, and sealed with the public authority, had the force of laws, to which the emperors obliged the judges to conform. These civilians published various works under different titles, which have contributed exceedingly towards reducing the knowledge of the civil law into art and method.

These laws, in their turn, multiplied extremely, and made way for doubts and difficulties by contradictions, supposed or real. In such cases recourse was had to the prince, who gave the solution of them. He adjudged also by decrees the causes referred to him by appeal, and answered by rescripts all the consultations addressed to him by petition or memorial. And thence partly came the Constitutions of the Emperors, so full of wisdom and equity, from which the body of the Roman or civil law has been formed.

To form these decisions with the greater maturity, they called in the assistance of the most learned civilians, and did not give their answers, till after having concerted them well with all the persons in the empire who were best versed in the laws and rights of the public.

I shall say a few words in this place upon the most celebrated civil lawyers of the latter times.

Papinian (*Æmilius*) was held in great estimation by the emperor Severus, whom he had succeeded in the office of fiscal advocate. He was looked upon as the asylum of the laws, and the repository of the whole knowledge of them. The emperor Valentinian III. raised him above all the civilians, in ordaining by his law of the 7th of November 426,⁵ that when they were divided upon any point, they should follow the opinion espoused by that eminent genius, as he calls him. And, indeed, Cujas judges him to be the most profound civilian that ever was, or ever

¹ St. Augustin.

² Qui nunc quoque in hoc immenso aliarum super aliis acervatarum legum cumulo, sensus omnis publici privatiq[ue] est juris. *Liv. l. iii. n. 34.*

³ Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod sentio. Bibliothecis mehercule omnium philosophorum undis mihi videtur XII tabularum libellus si quis legum fontes et capita viderit, et auctoritatis pondere, et utilitatis ubertate superare. *De Orat. l. i. n. 125.*

⁴ Est sine dubio domus jurisconsulti totius oraculum civitatis, "unde cives sibi consilium expetant suarum rerum incerti: quos ego (it is Crasus that speaks) mea opo ex incertis certos impotentesq[ue] consilii dimitto, ut ne res temere tractent turbidas." *Jic Orat. l. i. n. 199, 200.*

⁵ Cod. Th. l. i. t. 4. l. i.

⁶ Cuj. in Cod. Th.

will be. The emperor Severus, being willing to raise his great merit to equal dignity, made him *præfectus prætorio*, of which one of the principal functions was to judge causes jointly with the emperor, or in his name. Papinian, to acquit himself the better in that office, took Paulus and Ulpian for his counsellors and judges assistant, whose names are also very famous among the civilians.

Severus, at his death, left two sons, Caracalla and Geta. Though they had both the name, Dion¹ assures us that only Caracalla had the power of emperor, who soon rid himself of his colleague in the most cruel and barbarous manner conceivable; for he caused him to be assassinated in the arms of their common mother, and, according to some, killed him with his own hands.

Caracalla murdered all whom his brother had loved, and who had either served or retained to him, without distinction of age, sex, or quality; and Dion says, that he began with twenty thousand of his domestics and soldiers.² To mention or write the name of Geta sufficed for being immediately butchered; so that the poets dared not use it even in comedies, where it was commonly given to slaves.

Papinian could not escape his cruelty. It is said, that Caracalla would have obliged him to compose a discourse to excuse the death of Geta either to the senate or people, and that he generously replied: "It is not so easy to excuse, as to commit parricide;" and, "to accuse an innocent person, after having deprived him of his life, is a second parricide." He remembered, without doubt, that Seneca had been very much blamed, for having composed a letter for Nero to the senate, to justify the assassination of his mother.³ The son of Papinian, who was then *questor*, and had three days before exhibited magnificent games, was also killed.

Fabius Sabinus. The emperor Heliogabalus (A. D. 218,) having ordered a centurion to go and kill Sabinus, that officer, who was a little deaf, believed that he had bade him make Sabinus quit the city. The centurion's error saved the life of Sabinus, who passed for the Cato of his times. The emperor Alexander, who succeeded Heliogabalus, A. D. 222, placed him in the number of those next his person, and whose counsel he took for governing wisely.

Ulpian (*Domitius Ulpianus*) descended originally from the city of Tyre. He had been counsellor, and judge assistant to Papinian, in the time of Severus. When Alexander came to the empire, he placed him near his person, in quality of counsellor of state, and to take care of all things referred to his judgment,⁴ which employment is evidently that since called great referendary. He afterwards made him *præfectus prætorio*.

Lampridius⁵ places him at the head of those wise, learned, and faithful persons, who composed Alexander's council, and assures us that prince paid him greater deference than any body else, upon account of his extraordinary love of justice; that he conversed only with him in private; that he looked upon him as his tutor: and that he proved an excellent emperor, from making great use of Ulpian's counsels in the government of the empire.

As Ulpian endeavoured to re-establish discipline amongst the prætorian soldiers, they rose against him, and demanded his death of Alexander. Instead of granting their request, he often covered him with his purple robe, to defend him against the effects of their fury. At length, having attacked him in the night, he was obliged to fly to the palace to implore the aid of Alexander and Mammæa. But all the awe of the imperial authority could not save him, and he was killed by the soldiers even in the sight of Alexander. Several of Ulpian's works are still extant.

Paulus (*Julius Paulus*) was of Padua, where his statue is still to be seen.⁶ He was nominated consul under Alexander, and then *præfectus prætorio*. He, as well as Sabinus and Ulpian, was of the council

formed by Mammæa the mother, and Mæsa the grandmother, of Alexander, to administer the public affairs during the minority of that prince. Every body knows the great services they did, and the reputation they acquired him. The Roman empire had at that time every thing that could render a state happy, a very good prince, and excellent ministers: for the one is of small utility without the other; and perhaps it is even more dangerous to the people, to have a prince good of himself, but who suffers himself to be deceived by bad men, than to have one more wicked, who however inspects into the conduct of his officers, and obliges them to do their duty. Alexander always set great value upon the merit of Paulus, who is said to have written more than any other civilian.

Pomponius was also of Alexander's court and council. How happy was this reign! As he lived to the age of seventy-eight, he composed a great number of works. Among the rest, he made a collection of all the famous civilians down to the time of the emperor Julian.

Modestinus (*Hermianus*) lived also in the reign of Alexander, who raised him to the consulship. He, as well as the four preceding lawyers, was Papinian's disciple, whose care formed them all in the knowledge of the civil law. What services does a single man sometimes render a state by his learning and pupils!

Tribonian was of Pamphilia. He was honoured with the first employments at Constantinople by the emperor Justinian. It was under that prince, and by his care, that the civil law took a new form, and was reduced into an order, that still exists, and will for ever do him honour.

Before him, there were many *Codes*, which were either compiled from, or abridgments of, the Roman laws. Gregorius and Hermogenes, two civilians, made a collection of laws, which from their names was called *The Gregorian and Hermogenian Code*. It was a collection of the Constitutions of the emperors, from Adrian down to Dioclesian and Maximin in 306. This work was of no use, for want of authority to cause it to be observed. The emperor Theodosius the younger was the first who composed a *Code* in sixteen books, consisting of the Constitutions of the emperors from Constantine the Great down to him; and he abrogated all laws not comprised in this system. This is called *The Theodosian Code*, and was published in 438. And lastly, the emperor Justinian, seeing the authority of the Roman law much weakened in the West, from the decline of the empire, resolved to cause the whole body of the Roman law to be compiled anew. He charged Tribonian with this commission, who called in the aid of the most learned civilians then in being. He chose the finest of the Imperial Constitutions from Adrian down to his own time, and published this new *Code* in 529.

He afterwards undertook a new work by order of the emperor: this was to extract the best decisions from the two thousand volumes of the ancient civilians, and to reduce them into one body, which was published in 533, under the name of *The Digest*. The emperor gave this collection the force of law by the letter which he placed in front of the work, and which serves it for a preface. It is called also *the Pandect*. The Digest consists of fifty books. The same year appeared the *Institutes* of Justinian, a book which contains the elements and principles of the Roman or civil law. The year following, that is to say in 534, the emperor made some alterations in his first *Code*, which he abolished, and substituted a new one in its stead, to which alone he gave the authority of law. And lastly, after this revision, Justinian published a hundred and sixty-five constitutions, and thirteen edicts, which are called *Novellæ*, the *Novels*, either because they make a considerable change in the ancient law; or, according to Cujas, because they were made upon new cases, and compiled after the revival of the *Code* by the order of that emperor. Most of the *Novels* were written in Greek, and were translated into Latin.

The body of the civil law therefore consists of four parts, the *Code*, the *Digest*, the *Institutes*, and the

¹ Djo. l. lxxvii. p. 870, &c.

² Cæsariani.

³ Tacit. Annal. l. xiv. c. 11.

⁴ Scriniorum magister.

⁵ In Alex. vit.

⁶ Ibid.

Novels. By the *Civil Law*, the Institutes understand the laws peculiar to each city or people. But at present it is properly the Roman law, contained in the Institutes, the Digest, and the Code. It is otherwise called the *Written Law*.

From all that I have now said may be seen, what services a prince may render his people, who applies himself seriously to the cares of government, and who is well convinced of the extent and importance of his duties. Justinian had been very successful in the wars he had undertaken, and had the wisdom to ascribe that success neither to the number of his troops, the courage of his soldiers, the experience of his generals, nor his own talents and abilities; but solely to the protection with which God had vouchsafed to favour his arms.¹ But, had he contented himself with this military glory, he would have thought, that he had only half discharged the functions of sovereignty, which was principally established for rendering justice to the people in the name and place of God himself. Accordingly he declares expressly in a public edict, that the Imperial Majesty ought not to be adorned with arms only, but armed also with laws, for the good government of the people, as well in peace as in war.²

After, therefore, having restored peace to the provinces of the empire as a warrior, he turned his thoughts to the regulation of its polity as a legislator, by instituting a universal body of law, to serve as the rule of all tribunals: a work which had been much the object of the wishes of his predecessors, as he observes in more than one place, but which seemed attended with so many difficulties that they had always believed it impracticable. He surmounted them all with a constancy, that nothing was capable of discouraging. For succeeding in this important enterprise he employed all the most learned civilians in the whole extent of the empire, presiding himself in the work, and revising exactly all they composed.³ Far from ascribing the honour of it to himself, as is usual enough, he does them all justice; he mentions them with praises, he extols their erudition, he treats them almost as his colleagues, and recommends it as a duty, to thank the Divine Providence for having supplied him with such aids, and for having honoured his reign by the composition of a work so long desired, and so useful and necessary for the due administration of justice. An emperor, of less zeal for the public good, and less liberality, than Justinian, would have left all those civilians in obscurity and inaction. How many excellent talents of all kinds remain buried, for want of patrons to produce them! The learned are not wanting to princes, but princes to the learned. The great qualities and actions of Justinian would have recommended him for ever to the veneration of mankind, if his conduct in respect to ecclesiastical affairs had not sullied his glory.

I shall conclude this article upon the knowledge of civil law, with some extracts from laws, that may give the reader an idea of the beauty and solidity of the different institutions of which I have been speaking.

"Digna vox est majestate regnantis, legibus alligatum se Principem profiteri: adeo de auctoritate juris nostra pendet auctoritas. Et, re vera, majus imperio est submittere legibus principatum; et oraculo præsentis Edicti, quod nobis licere non patimur, aliis indicamus." "It is worthy of the majesty of a prince to declare himself bound and limited by the laws: so much does our authority depend on right and justice. And, indeed, to submit the sovereign

power to the laws, is greater than to exercise it: wherefore we are well satisfied to make known to others by the present edict, what we do not think lawful for us to do." It is an emperor, master of almost the universe, who speaks thus, and who is not afraid of hurting his authority, by declaring the just bounds by which it is limited.

"Rescripta contra jus elicitæ, ab omnibus Judicibus refutari præcipimus; nisi forte sit aliquid, quod non lædat alium, et prosit petenti, vel crimen supplicantis indulgeat." "We ordain, that no judge shall have any regard to rescripts obtained from us contrary to justice, unless they tend towards granting some grace to petitioners not to the hurt of others, or towards remitting some punishment to suppliants." It is very uncommon for princes either to own that they have deceived themselves, or been deceived by others, and to retract in consequence what they have once decreed. Nothing, however, does them more honour than such an acknowledgment, as we see in the example of Artaxerxes, who publicly revoked the unjust decree he had been misled into passing against the Jews.

"Scire leges, non hoc est verba earum tenere, sed vim ac potestatem." "To know the laws, is not only to understand the words of which they are composed, but their force and efficacy."

"Non dubium est in legem committere eum, qui verba legis amplexus, contra legis nititur voluntatem; nec pœnas insertas legibus evitabit, qui se contra juris sententiam sua prerogativa verborum fraudulentè excusat." "It is not to be doubted, but that he acts contrary to the law, who, confining himself to the letter, acts contrary to the spirit and intent of it; and whoever, to excuse himself, endeavours fraudulently to elude the true sense of a law by a rigorous attachment to the words of it, shall not escape its penalties by such prevarication."

"Nulla juris ratio, aut æquitatis benignitas patitur, ut, quæ salubriter pro utilitate hominum introducuntur, ea nos duriorè interpretatione contra ipsorum commodum producamus ad severitatem." "It is contrary to all justice and equity, that those things which have been wisely instituted for the good of mankind, should be wrested to their prejudice by a mistaken severity and a too rigid interpretation."

"Observandum est jus reddenti, ut, in adeundo quidem facili se præbeat, sed contemnere non patitur. Unde mandatis adicitur, ne in ulteriorem familiaritatem provinciales admittant: nam ex conversatione equali contemptio dignitatis nascitur. Sed et incog noscendo, neque exandescere adversus eos quos malos putat, neque precibus calamitosorum illachrymari oportet. Id enim non est constantis et recti Judicis, cujus animi motum vultus detegit; et summam ita jus reddi debet, ut auctoritatem dignitatis ingenio suo augeat." "The person who administers justice ought indeed to be easy of access, but should not suffer himself to be despised by making himself too cheap. Hence it is, that in the instructions given to provincial governors and magistrates, it is recommended to them, not to admit the people of their provinces into too great a degree of familiarity, because conversing as equals induces contempt of dignity. In rendering justice, he ought also neither to express great indignation against such as he believes criminal, nor suffer himself to be softened too much by the prayers of the unfortunate. For it does not become the constancy and gravity of an upright judge, to discover the sentiments of his heart in his countenance: in a word, he ought to dispense justice in such a manner, as to exalt the authority of his office by the wisdom and moderation of his conduct."

"Quæ sub conditione jurisjurandi relinquuntur, à Prætoribus reprobantur." "Providit enim is qui sub jurisjurandi conditione quæ accepit, aut omittebat conditionem perderet hereditatem legatamve, aut cogere turpiter, accipiendo conditionem, jurare. Voluit ergo eum, cui sub jurisjurandi conditione quid relictum est, ita capere, ut capiant hi, quibus nulla talis jurisjurandi conditio inseritur: et rectè. Cum

¹ Ita nostros animos Dei omnipotentis erigimus adiutorium, ut neque armis confidamus, quæ nostris militibus, neque bellorum ducibus, vel nostro ingenio; sed omnem apud ad solam referamus summæ providentiæ triunitatis. *Epist. ad Trebon.*

² Imperatorum majestatem non solum armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam, ut utrumque tempus, et bellorum et pacis, rectè possit gubernari. *Epist. ad cupientem legum juventutem.*

³ Nostra quoque majestas semper investigando et perseverando ea quæ ab his componantur, quæque dabitur et inierit inveniebatur—emendabat, et in completentem formam redigebat. *Epist. ad senat. et omnes populos.*

⁴ Ulpianus.

enim faciles sint nonnulli hominum ad jurandum contentu religionis, alii perquam timidi metu divini Numinis usque ad superstitionem: ne vel hi, vel illi, aut consequenter, aut perderent quod relictum est, Prætor consultissime intervenit." The tendency of this law is admirable. It dispenses with a person's taking an oath, to whom an estate or legacy has been left upon condition of taking such oath; and ordains, that he shall enjoy such estate or legacy, as if such condition had not been inserted, lest it should occasion him either to swear contrary to his conscience, or to renounce his right through an over-scrupulous, or superstitious delicacy of conscience. It were to be wished, that the spirit of this law should occasion the number of useless oaths to be abolished, which bad custom has introduced into all the trading societies and companies of France.

"Advocati, qui dirimunt ambigua fata causarum, suæque defensionis viribus in rebus sæpe publicis ac privatis lapsa erigunt, fatigata reparant, non minus provident humano generi, quàm si præliis atque vulneribus patriam parentesque salvarent. Nec enim eos nostro imperio militare credimus illos, qui gladiis, clypeis, et thoracibus nituntur, sed etiam advocatos. Militant namque patroni causarum, qui gloriose vocis confisi munimine, laborantium spem, vitam, ac posteros defendunt." "Advocates, who terminate causes, of which the events are always uncertain, and who by the force of their eloquence, whether in respect to the public, which often happens, or private persons, reinstate ruinous affairs, render no less service to mankind, than if they defended their country and parents in battle at the expense of their blood and wounds. For we rank in the number of those who fight for our empire, not only such as act for it with sword, harness, and shield, but those also who lend our subjects the noble aid of eloquence, in defence of their lives, interests, and posterity."

It is with reason that the prince bestows such fine praises on a profession, which makes so salutary a use of the talents of the mind, and that he equals it with whatever is greatest in the state. But at the same time he recommends to advocates the exercise of so illustrious a profession with a noble disinterestedness, and not to disgrace it by a base devotion to sordid interest. "Ut non ad turpe compendium stipemque deformem hæc arripiatur occasio, sed laudis per eam augmenta querantur. Nam si lucro pecunieque capiantur, veluti abjecti atque degeneres inter vilissimos numerabuntur." He also exhorts them not to abandon themselves to the inhuman itch and pleasure of bitter railery and gross invective, which only lessen the weight of the advocate's discourse in the esteem of his hearers; but to confine themselves strictly to what the necessity and success of causes require. "Ante omnia autem universi advocati ita præbeant patrocinia jurgantibus, ut non ultra quàm litium possit utilitas, in licentiam convitiandi et maledicendi temeritate prorumpant. Agant quod causa desiderat, temperent ab injuria. Nam si quis adeo procax fuerit, ut non ratione sed probris putet esse certandum, opiniois suæ imminutionem patietur."

CHAPTER III.

OPINIONS OF THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS CONCERNING THE METAPHYSICS AND PHYSICS.

I HAVE already observed that the Metaphysics were included in the Physics of the ancients. I shall examine four points in them. The existence and attributes of the Divinity; the formation of the world; the nature of the soul; and the effects of nature.

ARTICLE I.

OF THE EXISTENCE AND ATTRIBUTES OF THE DIVINITY.

THE opinions of the ancient philosophers concerning the Divinity may be reduced to three principal points or questions. 1. Whether the Divinity exists? 2. What is his nature? 3. Whether he presides over the government of the world, and makes the affairs of mankind his care?

Before I enter into the chaos of philosophical opin-

ions, it will not be improper to explain in few words the state of the belief of the whole world in respect to the Divinity, as the philosophers found it, when they first began to introduce their maxims upon this point by the sole method of *reasoning*; and to slight the common and popular belief of all the nations of the universe, even to the most barbarous, which had supported itself in a constant and uniform manner by *tradition* alone.

Before the philosophers, the whole world agreed in believing in a Supreme Being, omnipresent, and attentive to the prayers of all who invoked his name in whatsoever condition they might be, in the midst of deserts, in the violence of storms at sea, and in the gloom of dungeons; so good as to concern himself for the misfortunes of men, with power to deliver them out of them, the dispenser of victory, success, abundance, and every kind of prosperity: the arbiter of the seasons, and of the fecundity of man and beast: presiding at the conventions and treaties made either between kings or private persons: receiving their oaths, exacting the execution, and punishing with inexorable severity the least violation of them: giving or taking away courage, presence of mind, expedients, good counsel, and attention and docility to wise advice: protecting the innocent, the weak, and the injured, and declaring himself the avenger of oppression, violence, and injustice: judging kings and nations, deciding their lot and destiny, and assigning with absolute power the extent and duration of kingdoms and empires. Such were part of the thoughts which men generally had of the Divinity, even in the midst of the darkness of paganism, which may serve as a summary of the ideas they had derived from a universal and perpetual tradition, undoubtedly as ancient as the world, upon this head. That this is true, we have incontestable proofs in the poems of Homer, the most venerable monument of Pagan antiquity, and which may be considered as the archives of the religion of those remote times.

SECTION I.—OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE DIVINITY.

THE philosophers were much divided concerning different points of philosophy, but they all agreed in respect to the existence of the Divinity, except a very small number, of whom I shall soon speak. Though these philosophers, by their inquiries and disputes, added nothing fundamentally to what all nations believed before them upon this head, those inquiries and disputes cannot, however, be said to have been useless. They served to confirm mankind in their ancient belief, and to obviate the pernicious subtleties of those, who would attack it. The union of so many persons generally esteemed for the solidity of their sense, their indefatigable application to study, and the vast extent of their knowledge, added new weight to the common and anciently received opinion concerning the existence of the Divinity. The philosophers supported this opinion with many proofs, some more subtle and abstract, and others more popular and obvious to the understanding of the vulgar. I shall content myself with pointing out some few of the latter kind.

The constant and general concurrence of men of all ages and countries in the firm belief of the existence of the Divinity, seemed to them an argument to which it was impossible to object any thing with sense or reason. The opinions that have no other foundation but vulgar error and credulous prejudice, may indeed continue for some time, and prevail in certain countries: but sooner or later they give way, and lose all belief. Epicurus¹ founded the proof of

¹ Epicurus solus vidit primum esse deos, quòd in omnium animis eorum notionem impressisset ipsa natura. Quoniam etenim gens, aut quod genus hominum, quod non habeat sine doctrina anticipationem quandam deorum? quam appellat *πρόληψιν*. Epicurus, id est antecipiæ animo quandam informationem, sine qua nec intelligi quidquam, nec queri, nec disputari possit—cùm ergo non institutio aliquæ, aut more, aut lege sit opinio constituta, maneatque ad usum omnium firma consensio, intelligi necesse est esse deos: quoniam insitas eorum, vel potius innatas cognitiones habem.

the existence of the gods, upon nature's having stamped the idea of them on every mind. Without the idea of a thing, said he, we can neither conceive, speak of, nor dispute about it. Now what people, what kind of men, have not an idea, a notion of gods, independently of all learning? That is not an opinion derived from education, custom, or any human law; but the firm and unanimous belief of all mankind: it is therefore from notions implanted in our souls, or rather innate, that we conceive there are gods. Now, all judgments of nature, when universal, are necessarily true.

Another argument, which the philosophers more frequently used, because evident to the most simple, is the contemplation of nature. The least practised in reasoning may at a single view discover Him, who paints himself in all his works. The wisdom and power he has shown in all he has done, show themselves, as in a glass, to such as cannot contemplate him in his proper idea. This is an obvious and popular philosophy of which every man void of passion and prejudice is capable. The heavens, earth, stars, plants, animals, our bodies, our minds, all argue a mind superior to us that exists as the soul of the whole world. When we consider with some attention the frame and architecture of the universe, and the just proportion of all its parts, we discover at the first glance the traces of the divinity, or, in better terms, the seal of God himself impressed upon all things called the works of nature. "Can one," said Balbus,¹ in the name of the Stoics, "behold heaven, and contemplate what passes there, without discerning with all possible evidence, that it is governed by a supreme divine intelligence? Whoever should doubt it, might as well doubt whether there be a sun. The former is more visible than the latter. This conviction, without the evidence that attends it, would never have been so fixed and permanent: it would not have acquired new force by length of time; it would not have been able to resist the torrent of years, and to have passed through all ages down to us." "If there be," said Chrysippus,² "things in the universe, that the wit, reason, strength, and power of man, are not capable of effecting, the Being that produces them is certainly better than man. Now, man could not form the heavens, nor any thing of what we see invariably regular. There is, however, nothing better than man, because he alone possesses reason, which is the most excellent thing he can possess. In consequence, the Being that made the universe is better than man. Wherefore then should we not say, that Being is a God?" To what blindness, or more properly, to what excess of stupidity must men have been abandoned, who could choose to attribute such stupendous and inconceivable effects to mere chance, and a fortuitous concurrence of atoms, rather than to the infinite wisdom and power of God? "Is it not amazing," cries Balbus,³ in speaking of Democritus, "that there ever should be a man, who could persuade himself, that certain solid and individual bodies set themselves in motion by their natural weight, and that from their fortuitous concurrence a world of such great beauty was formed? Whoever believes this possible, might as well believe, that if a great number of characters of gold, or any other substances, representing the twenty-one letters,⁴ were thrown upon the ground, they might fall disposed in such order, as to form the annals of Ennius legibly." The same thing may be said of Homer's Iliad. Who could believe, says the Archbishop of Cambray, in his admirable treatise upon the existence of God, that a poem so perfect was not

composed by the efforts of a great poet's genius; but that the characters of the alphabet having been thrown in confusion, a cast of mere chance, like one of dice, disposed all the letters exactly in the order necessary for describing so many great events in verses full of harmony and variety; for placing and connecting them all so well together; for painting each object in the most graceful, most noble, and most affecting colours conceivable; and, lastly, for making each person speak according to his character in so natural and pathetic a manner? Let a man reason and subtilize ever so long, he will never persuade a person of sense, that the Iliad had no other author but chance. Wherefore then should this man of sense believe of the universe, which, without doubt, is still more wonderful than the Iliad, what his reason would never permit him to believe of that poem?

In this manner all the most famous sects explained themselves. Some philosophers, as I have said before, but very few, undertook to distinguish themselves from the rest by peculiar opinions upon this subject. Abandoned to the feeble force of reason, in their attempts to fathom the nature and essence of the Divinity, and to explain his attributes, and without doubt dazzled with the lustre of an object, of which the human eye cannot sustain the radiance, they lost themselves in their inquiries, and from doubting at first the existence of the Divinity, proceeded so far by degrees as to deny it. But the people, who did not enter into these philosophical subtilties and refinements, and adhered solely to immemorial tradition, and the natural notion implanted in the hearts of all men, rose up vigorously against these teachers of atheism, and treated them as the enemies of mankind.

PROTAGORAS⁵ having begun one of his books with these words: "I neither know whether there are gods, nor what they are;" the Athenians banished him not only from their city, but their territory, and caused his works to be publicly burned.

DIAGORAS did not confine himself to doubting; he plainly denied that there were gods; which occasioned his being surnamed the *Atheist*. He lived in the 91st Olympiad, A. M. 3583. It is said that the fondness of an author, and excessive tenderness for one of his productions, drew him into impiety.⁶ He had prosecuted a poet for stealing a composition of his in verse. The latter swore he had robbed him of nothing; and soon after published that work in his own name, which acquired him great reputation. Diagoras seeing his adversary's crime not only unpunished, but honoured and rewarded, concluded that there was no providence and no gods, and wrote books to prove it. The Athenians cited him to give an account of his doctrine; but he fled, upon which they set a price upon his head. They caused a talent (about 150*l.* sterling) to be promised by sound of trumpet, to whoever should kill him, and two to such as should bring him alive, and caused that decree to be engraved upon a pillar of brass.

THEODORAS of Cyrene denied also the existence of gods without restriction, A. M. 3684.⁷ He would have been brought to the tribunal of the Areopagus, if Demetrius Phalereus, who at that time ruled every thing at Athens, had not favoured his escape. His moral tenets were worthy of an *Atheist*. He taught that all things are indifferent, and that there is nothing in its own nature either vice or virtue. His impiety drew him into trouble wherever he went, and he was at last condemned to poison himself.

The just severity of the Athenians, who punished even doubting upon this head, as we have seen in the case of Protagoras, highly contributed to put a stop to the licentiousness of opinions, and the progress of impiety.⁸ The Stoics carried their respect for religion so far in this point, that they treated the custom of disputing against the existence of the gods as criminal and impious, whether it was done seriously, or

De quo autem omnium natura consentit, id verum esse necesse est. *I. c.* l. i. n. 43, 44.

¹ De Nat. Deor. l. ii. n. 4, 5.

² Ibid. l. ii. n. 16.

³ Ibid. l. ii. n. 93.

⁴ The President Boublier, in his learned dissertation, *De priscis Græcor. et Latin. literis*, printed at the end of Montfaucon's *Antiquities*, has shown, that the ancient Romans had only these sixteen letters: A, B, C, D, E, F, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T. The five others, added in the time of Cicero, were G, Q, U, X, Z, without reckoning H, which was less a letter than a note of aspiration.

⁵ De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 63.

⁶ Hesych. in *Διαγόρας*.

⁷ Diog. Laert. l. ii. in Aristip.

⁸ Ex quo equidem existimo, tardiores ad hanc sententiam profitendum multos esse factos, quippe cum penam no dubitatio quidem effugere potuisset. *De Nat. Deor.* l. i. n. 63.

merely for the sake of conversation, and against one's opinion.¹

SECTION II.—OF THE NATURE OF THE DIVINITY.

A BRIEF enumeration of all the chimeras advanced by the philosophers upon this subject, will convince us better than any other arguments of the incapacity of human reason to attain to such sublime truths by its own strength. I shall extract this detail from Cicero's books *upon the nature of the gods*. The remarks and reflections with which the Abbé Olivet of the French Academy has interspersed his excellent translation of these books of Cicero, will be great helps to me, and I shall scarce do more than copy and abridge them.

As the ancient philosophers studied the nature of the gods only with relation to sensible things, whose origin and formation they endeavoured to comprehend, and as the different manners in which they disposed the system of the universe, occasioned their different beliefs concerning the Divinity, we must not be surprised to find these two subjects often united and confounded in this place.

THALES of Miletus said, "That water was the principle of all things, and that God is that intelligence, by whom all things are formed out of water."² He spoke of an intelligence, that making only one whole with matter, directed its operations; in the same manner as the soul, which united with the body makes only one and the same man, is said to direct the actions of man.

ANAXIMANDER believed, "That the gods receive being, that they are born and die at remote periods of time, and that they are innumerable worlds." These gods of Anaximander were the stars.³

ANAXIMENES affirmed, "That the air is god, that it is produced, that it is immense and infinite, and that it is always in motion."⁴ This opinion of Anaximenes, at bottom, differs in nothing from those that precede it. He retained the idea of a sole, and infinitely extended, substance from his master Anaximander: but he called it air, as Thales had called it water.

ANAXAGORAS, the pupil of Anaximenes, was the author of this opinion, "That the system and order of the universe were to be attributed to the power and wisdom of an infinite mind."⁵ Anaxagoras lived only in an age after Thales. The notions of philosophy began to clear up. The necessity of an efficient cause, substantially distinct from the material one, was perceived. But to this infinite mind he attributes only the order and motion, not the creation, of the universe. The co-eternity of the two principles independent of each other, as to their existence, is the rock, on which he with all the ancient philosophers split.

PYTHAGORAS believed, "That God is a soul diffused throughout all the beings of nature, and from which the souls of men are derived."⁶ Virgil has admirably described the doctrine of this philosopher,—

Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, et haustus
Æthereos dixere: deum namque ipse per omnes
Terrasque, tractusque maris, eolumque profundum.
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum
Quemque sibi tenues nascertem arcessere vitas.

Georg. l. iv.

Pythagoras lived at least fifty years before Anaxagoras. The latter, therefore, is not the first who had the idea of a pure spirit; or Pythagoras must be said to have confounded it with matter.

XENOPHANES said, "That God is an infinite whole, to which he adds an intelligence."⁷ The same philosopher says elsewhere, "That God is an eternal substance—and of a round figure," by which he understands the world.⁸ He, therefore, believed this God material.

PARMENIDES did not differ in his opinions with his

master Xenophanes, though he expressed himself in different terms.⁹

EMPEDOCLE. According to him, "The four elements, of which he affirms all things to be composed, are divine," that is to say, gods.¹⁰ It is, however, manifest, that they are mixed, that they have a beginning and perish, and that they are void of thought.

DEMOCRITUS "gives the quality of gods as well to the images of sensible objects, as to nature which supplies these images, and to our knowledge and understanding."¹¹ What he called gods were atoms. To speak properly, he believed nothing. "I deny," said he, "that we either know any thing, or nothing. I deny that we know even whether we know that."¹² I deny that we know whether any thing exists, or whether nothing exists." A worthy member of the Eleatic sect, whose favourite maxim was the *Acatalapsy*, or the absolute incomprehensibility of all things. This sect, which acknowledged Xenophanes for its founder, formed the unbelieving Protagoras, and gave birth to that of Pyrrho.

PLATO. It appears from all his works, that he had very just thoughts of the Divinity, but that he was afraid to explain himself freely in a city, and at a time, wherein it was dangerous to clash with the prevailing opinions. In the *Timæus* he says, "that the Father of the world could not be named;" and in his books *de Legibus*, "that we should not be curious to know properly what God is."¹³ He supposes him incorporeal. He attributes the formation of the universe to him:¹⁴ *Opifice modificatoreque mundi*. He says also, "that the world, the heavens, the stars, the earth, souls, and those to whom the religion of our forefathers ascribes Divinity; all this," he says, "is God."¹⁵ Plato's opinion at bottom, notwithstanding the appearance of Polytheism, is, that there is but one most good and most perfect God, who made all things according to the idea of the best work possible.

ANTISTHENES says, "That there are many gods adored by the nations of the earth, but that there is but one natural God," that is to say, as Lactantius explains it, author of all nature.¹⁶

ARISTOTLE differs exceedingly with himself. Sometimes he affirms that the whole Divinity resides in intelligence,¹⁷ that is to say, in the intelligent principle, by which all thinking beings think. Sometimes, that the world is God. He afterwards discovers some other being, who is above the world, and who takes care to direct and preserve its motion. He elsewhere teaches that God is nothing else, but the fire that shines in the heavens.

XENOCRATES says, "that there are eight gods. The planets are five of them, and all the fixed stars together so many scattered members of the same body, make but one. The sun is the seventh; and last of all, the moon the eighth."¹⁸

THEOPHRASTUS in one passage attributes supreme Divinity to intelligence; in another to the heavens in general; and afterwards to the planets in particular.¹⁹

STRATO says, "that there is no other God but nature: and that nature is the principle of all productions and all mutations."²⁰

ZENO, the founder of the famous sect of the Stoics. We ought to expect something great concerning the Divinity from him. The following is the sum of his theology, extracted principally from Cicero's second book *De Natura Deorum*, in which his opinions are explained with great extent:—"That the four elements alone compose the whole universe: that these four elements make but one continued nature, without division: that absolutely no other substance exists besides these four elements: that the source of intelligence, and of all souls, is the fire united in the ether, where its purity suffers no alteration, because the other elements do not mingle with it: that this intelli-

¹ Mala et impia consuetudo est contra deos disputandi, sine animo id fit sive simulatè. *Ibid.* l. ii. n. 168.

² De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 25.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* n. 26.

⁵ De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 26.

⁶ De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 27.

⁷ *Ibid.* n. 28.

⁸ Acad. Quæst. l. iv. n. 118.

⁹ De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 28.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 30.

¹² *Ibid.* n. 30.

¹³ *Ibid.* n. 30.

¹⁴ Instit. Divin. l. i. n. 33.

¹⁵ De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 34.

¹⁶ De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 35.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* n. 29.

¹⁸ Acad. Quæst. l. iv. n. 73.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* n. 18.

²⁰ *Ibid.* n. 32.

²¹ *Ibid.* n. 33.

²² *Ibid.* n. 35.

gence, active, vital fire penetrates the whole universe: that as intelligence is its property distinctly from the other elements, it is deemed to operate all things: that it proceeds methodically to generation, that is to say, it produces all things, not blindly and by chance, but according to certain rules always the same: that being the soul of the universe, it causes it to subsist, and governs it with wisdom, because it is the principle of all wisdom: that consequently it is God: that he gives the same denomination to Nature, with which it is one and the same, and to the Universe, of which it is part: that the sun, moon, and all the stars, as they are bodies of fire, are gods: that all things, wherein any singular efficacy resides, and wherein this active principle manifests itself clearly, deserve the name of divinities: that the same title ought also to be given to great men, in whose souls this divine fire brightens with uncommon lustre: and lastly, that in whatsoever manner this soul of the universe is represented to us, and whatever names custom has given it in respect to the different parts it animates, religious worship is due to it.

I am tired with repeating so many absurdities, and the reader no doubt as much as me, if he has had patience enough to read them to the end. He ought not to expect to see living lights shine out from the darkness of paganism, upon a subject so infinitely superior to the weakness of human intellect, as the nature of the Divinity. The philosophers might indeed, by the pure strength of reason, have convinced themselves of the necessity and existence of a divine Being. Some of them, however, as Epicurus, have been suspected of concealing real atheism under the veil of specious words: at least they dishonoured the Divinity almost as much by the mean ideas they conceived of him, as they would have done, had they absolutely denied him.¹ As to what regards the essence of the divine nature, they were all widely mistaken. And how should it have been otherwise, as men know no more of God, than he is pleased to reveal to them? The Abbé Olivet, in his dissertation upon the theology of the philosophers, reduces their sentiments to three general systems, which include all the particular opinions given us by Cicero in his books upon the nature of the gods. The different manner in which these philosophers disposed the system of the universe, occasioned their different beliefs concerning the Divinity.

Some of them believed, that mere matter alone, without thought or reason, was capable of forming the world: whether one of the elements produced all the rest by different degrees of rarefaction and condensation, as it appears Anaximenes believed; or that matter, being divided into an infinity of moving corpuscles, those corpuscles assumed regular forms in consequence of fluttering accidentally to and fro in the void, as Epicurus believed; or that all the parts of matter had an intrinsic gravity, which gave them a necessary direction, according to Strato's opinion. Now, the atheism of these philosophers is manifestly of the greatest kind, because they acknowledge no other first cause but inanimate matter.

Others rose to this notion; that the order of the world was too exquisite not to be the effect of an Intelligent Cause.² But not conceiving any thing immaterial, they believed Intelligence a part of matter, and ascribed that perfection to the fire of the ether, which they considered as the ocean of all souls. This was the opinion of the Stoics; with whom may be joined Thales, and even Pythagoras, Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Democritus, who admitted, as well as they, an universal intelligent matter.

And lastly, others comprehended, that intelligence could not be material, and that it was necessary to distinguish it absolutely from whatever is corporeal. But at the same time they believed, that bodies existed independently of that intelligence, and that its power extended no farther than to dispose them into order, and to animate them. This was the opinion:

of Anaxagoras and Plato: an opinion much less imperfect than that of the others, as it includes the idea of spirit, and really distinguishes the cause from the effect, the agent from matter; but still infinitely remote from truth.

As to the two other classes of philosophers, who admitted no principles but such as were material, they are absolutely inexcusable, and differ only in their blindness, as being more or less blind. What we read in the book of Wisdom may be well applied to them:—"Vain are all men by nature, who are ignorant of God, and could not out of the good things that are seen, know him that is: neither by considering the works, did they acknowledge the Workmaster. But deemed either fire, or wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the violent water, or the lights of heaven, to be the gods which govern the world."³

I speak here only of the gods peculiarly acknowledged as such by the philosophers. Varro distinguished three kinds of theologies. The fabulous, which was that of the poets: the natural, taught by the philosophers: and the civil or political, which was that established by the state, and in use among the people.⁴ The first and the last either ascribed, or suffered to be ascribed to the gods, all the passions and vices of men, and the most abominable crimes. The second seemed less void of reason, but at bottom was scarce any thing more religious, and included absurdities that disgrace human understanding.

Cicero⁵, in his third book upon the nature of the gods, sets all these absurdities in their full light. He did not know enough to establish true religion; but he knew enough to refute the Stoics and Epicureans, the only persons that rose up against St. Paul, when he preached at Athens. The mere light of nature might suffice him for subverting falsehood, but could not guide him to the discovery of the truth. We here discern the weakness of human reason, and the vain efforts that it makes alone, to raise itself up to the exact knowledge of a God truly hidden, and who dwells in inaccessible light.⁶ What progress in this respect has this proud reason been capable of making, during above four ages, in the best heads of Greece, in the most illustrious of the pagans for their learning, and the chiefs of their most famous schools? There is nothing so absurd, that has not been advanced by some philosopher.⁷

And farther. Such of them as professed a higher degree of wisdom, and to whom God had manifested his unity, did they not keep this knowledge a secret through an ungrateful and abject cowardice? Did one of them rise up against the impiety which had substituted mute idols, and figures not only of men, but of beasts and reptiles, to the true and living God? Did one of them refrain from going to the temples, though he did not approve in his heart of the superstitious worship, which he authorized by his presence and example?⁸ The only one, whose religion was put to the trial, did he not treat those, who accused him of not adoring the gods worshipped by the Athenians, as false accusers?⁹ His apologist,¹⁰ who was also his disciple and friend, does he defend him in any other manner, than by affirming that he always acknowledged the same divinities as the people? And is not Plato himself obliged to own, that this mean prevaricator ordered an inupious sacrifice, even when certain of immediate death? A small extract from one of Plato's letters¹¹ shows us how much he was

¹ Wisd. xiii. l. 2.

² S. August. de Civit. Dei, l. vi. c. 5.

³ Tullius, tertio de natura deorum libro, dissolvit publicas religiones: Sed tamen veram, quam ignorabat, nec ipse, nec alius quiquam potuit inducere. Adeo et ipse testatus est falsum quidem apparere, veritatem tamen latere. *Lactant. de ira Dei*, c. 11.

⁴ Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel the Saviour, Isa. lxv. 15. Dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto, 1 Tim. vi. 15.

⁵ Nescio quomodo nihil tam absurdè dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo philosophorum. *Cic. Divin.* l. ii. n. 19.

⁶ Scholast habebant privatas, et templa communia. *S. August.*

⁷ Socrates. ¹⁰ Xenophon. ¹¹ Epist. Plat. ad Dion.

¹ Nonnullis videtur Epicurus, ne in offensionem Atheniensium caderet, verbis reliquisse deos, re sustulisse. *De Nat. Deor.* lib. i. n. 85.

² *De Nat. Deor.* l. ii. n. 23.

afraid to explain himself upon the nature and unity of God, and in consequence how far he was from rendering him thanks, from confessing him before men, and from exposing himself to the least danger in bearing witness of him. The shameful actions attributed to the false gods made him blush: but he contented himself with saying, that either they were not guilty of those crimes, or were not gods if they had committed them; without daring to say, that there was but one God, and without having the courage to rise up against the public worship, founded upon the very crimes he considered with horror.¹

It must be said, to the shame of paganism, and the glory of the gospel, that a child among us, with the least instruction in the catechism, is more certain and more knowing in respect to every thing necessary for us to know of the Divinity, than all the philosophers together.

SECTION III.—WHETHER THE DIVINITY PRESIDES OVER THE GOVERNMENT OF THE WORLD? WHETHER MANKIND BE HIS PECULIAR CARE?

THE dispute of the ancient philosophers concerning providence was, whether the gods presided in the government of the world in general, and whether they descended to a particular care of every individual of mankind. Epicurus was almost the only one who denied this truth.

"It is asked,"² said he, "in what manner do the gods live, and how do they employ themselves? Their life is the most happy, and the most delicious imaginable. A god does nothing: he disturbs himself with no kind of care: he undertakes nothing. His wisdom and virtue form his joy. The pleasures he tastes, pleasures that can admit of no increase, he is sure of enjoying for ever." "This," continues he, addressing himself to Balbus, who sustained the opinion of the Stoics, "this is a happy god. But as for yours, he is overwhelmed with cares and labour. For, if you believe that this god is the world itself, turning incessantly as it does round the axis of the heavens, and that too with surprising rapidity, is it possible for him to have a moment's rest?"³ Now, without rest, there is no felicity. To pretend that there is a God in the world who governs it, who presides over the course of the stars, and the revolutions of the seasons, who regulates and disposes all things, who has his eye upon the land and sea, who makes the lives of men his concern, and who provides for their wants; all this is certainly giving him very severe and laborious employments.⁴ Now, to be happy, according to us, it is necessary to possess tranquillity of mind, and to be entirely at leisure. Besides, you set an eternal master over our heads, of whom we are to be day and night continually in dread.⁵ For how is it possible not to fear a God who foresees all things, whose thoughts extend to all things, who observes all things, who believes all things relate to him, who interferes in all things, and who is never without employment?" The great maxim of Epicurus was, therefore, "That a happy and immortal being had neither any thing to do himself, nor occasioned employment for others."⁶ So impious a doctrine, which openly denies providence, deserved an Epicurus for its advocate and defender. And it must be owned, that what he says of a god who sees and knows all things, and who in consequence must punish whatever is contrary to the law of heaven, is the sole reason which to this day induces some persons to believe there is no providence that watches over all the actions of man, or rather to desire it.

"It is not without reason that this doctrine occasioned Epicurus to be considered as a declared ene-

my of the gods, who undermined all religion, and who by his reasonings, as Xerxes by his troops, levelled their temples and altars."⁷ "For, after all, what reason," says Cotta, "should oblige us to have any thoughts of the gods, since they have none of us, and absolutely neither take care of, nor do, any thing.—To be bound to express piety for them, would it not be necessary to have received graces from them? For wherein is a person obliged to those who have done nothing for him? Piety is a justice paid by man to the gods. Now, as your gods have no relation to us, what can they require from us?"

The prayers made to the Divinity in distress and danger, the vows made to him for the attainment of certain graces, the promises and oaths of which he is taken for witness, uses common to all nations and practised in all times, show that mankind had always Providence in their thoughts. To consult only our own reason, such as sin has left it, that is to say, our pride and darkness, we should be tempted to believe that it is not treating the Divinity with sufficient respect to make him descend thus to little circumstances, in representing to him all our wants; to stipulate conditions with him, if he vouchsafes to bear them; and to make him intervene in our transactions and engagements. God has thought fit by these different methods to preserve in the minds of all people a clear idea of his providence, of the care he takes of all mankind in particular, of the supreme authority that he retains over all the events of their lives, of his attention in examining whether they have faithfully kept their promises, and of the punishment he will inflict for the violation of them. And indeed we see that these truths have always been considered as the firmest foundations of human society. "Above all," says Cicero, in laying down rules for a wise government, "we ought to be fully convinced, that the gods are the supreme lords and rulers of all things: that whatever passes in the universe, is directed by their will and power: that they delight in doing good to mankind: that they attentively examine what every one is, what he thinks, how he acts, and with what piety, and what sentiments, he practises the duties of religion: and lastly, that they make a great difference between the good and the wicked."⁸

This passage shows us, that the Pagans not only attributed the universal government of the world to the Divinity,⁹ but were convinced, that he descended to the most minute particulars, and that not any of mankind, not an action, or even a thought, escaped his attention and knowledge. The Epicureans could not support the idea of a God so near, so attentive to them, and of such piercing sight. He is supremely happy, said they, and consequently enjoys infinite tranquillity. He is void of anger and passion. Every thing is indifferent to him, except repose. This is what persons abandoned to their pleasures are still fond of persuading themselves, in order to avoid the importunate reproaches of conscience. They are willing to allow in God a general care of his creatures, and a goodness like that of princes, who govern their dominions with wisdom, but who do not enter into particulars, nor descend to love their subjects, and distinguish any of them by their peculiar regard. David did not think in this manner. "The Lord looketh from heaven: he beholdeth all the sons of men. From the place of his habitation, he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He fashioneth their hearts alike: he considereth all their works."¹⁰ In beholding all mankind from heaven, he does not examine them with a general and confused view.¹¹ Every individual is as present to him as if he were

¹ De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 115, 116.

² Sit igitur hoc jam à principio persuasum civibus, dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos; eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri judicio ac numine: eosdemque optimè de genere hominum mereri; et, qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religionis colat, intueri; piorumque et impiorum habere rationem.—De Leg. i. ii. n. 15.

³ Nec verò universo generi hominum solùm, sed etiam singulis à diis immortaliibus consuli et providi solet. De Nat. Deor. l. ii. n. 163.

¹⁰ Ps. xxxiii. 13, 14.

¹¹ Mr. Du Guet.

¹ Plat. de Repub. l. iii.

² De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 51, 54.

³ The system of the Stoics.

⁴ Plato's system.

⁵ Itaque imposuistis in cervicibus nostris semperiternum dominum, quem dies et noctes timeremus. Quis enim non timeat omnia providentem, et cogitantem et animadvertentem, et omnia ad se pertinere putantem, curiosum et plenum negotii deum?

⁶ Quod æternum beatumque sit, id nec habere ipsum negotii quidquam, nec exhibere alteri. De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 45.

attentive to no other object. He does not see him as from a great distance, but as immediately before his eyes. He does not consider only his outside, but penetrates into whatever is most secret and retired within him. He does not only interrogate his heart, but dwells in it, and is more present and intimate there, than the heart itself. In the infinite multitude of men, that have been, and now are, nothing escapes either his sight or his remembrance. This knowledge and attention, which are as incomprehensible as his being, are natural effects of his being the Creator of all things, and of the heart as well as all the rest. "Who fashioneth their hearts,—who considereth all their works."

ARTICLE II.

OF THE FORMATION OF THE WORLD.

I SHALL not tire the reader a second time with a particular account in this place of the various systems of the ancient philosophers concerning the formation of the world, which vary infinitely, and are some more absurd than others. I shall scarce speak of any of them, except those of the Stoics and Epicureans, whose systems upon this subject are most known and celebrated. It is not my design to enter very deeply into them, but to give only a general idea of them.

SECTION I.—SYSTEM OF THE STOICS CONCERNING THE FORMATION OF THE WORLD.

ACCORDING to the Stoics, the intelligent part of nature only set the material and nonintelligent part of it in motion, which as well as itself had existed from all eternity. This appears very clearly from one passage of Cicero, not to mention many more. To obviate and remove the objections, that might be made against Providence, in respect to several things either useless or pernicious, with which the world abounds, the Stoics replied: "Nature has made the best use she could of the elements that existed."¹ Could the pre-existence of matter be more expressly implied? Aristotle² and many other philosophers, were also of the same opinion. What the Stoics called "the soul of the world,"³ was that intelligence, that reason, which they believed diffused throughout nature. And what was this intelligent, sensitive, rational principle? Why, nothing but the ethereal fire which penetrates all bodies: or rather, nothing but mechanical laws, which they ascribed principally to the celestial fire, and according to which every thing was formed, and every thing acted necessarily. Accordingly Zeno defined nature, "a fire of subtle art, which proceeded methodically to generation."⁴ For he believed the action of creating and generating peculiar to art. Cicero uses the term create in this place, which might give reason to believe, that he knew and admitted the action of producing out of nothing, which is creation in the strict sense of the term. But he uses the same word in many other places to express a simple production; and none of his works give the least room to believe, that he had so singular a notion, as that of creation properly so called.⁵ As much may be said of all the ancients who have treated the physics, as Cicero expressly shows: *Erit aliquid quod ex nihilo oriatur, aut in nihilum subito occidat? Quis hoc physicus dixit unquam?*⁶ It was a received principle with all the philosophers, that matter neither could be produced from, nor reduced to, nothing.

¹ Ex his naturis quæ erant, quod effici potuit optimum, effectum est. *De Nat. Deor.* l. ii. n. 86.

² Arist. *Physic.* l. viii.

³ In natura sentiente ratio perfecta inest, quam vim animi dicunt esse mundi. *Acad. Quæst.* l. i. n. 23, 29.

⁴ Zeno ita naturam definiit, at eam dicit "ignem esse artificiosum ad gignendum progredientem via." Censet enim artis maximè proprium esse creare et gignere. *De Nat. Deor.* l. ii. n. 57.

⁵ Natura fingit homines et creat imitatores et narratores facetus. 2. *De Orat.* n. 219.

Omnium rerum quas et creat natura et tuetur, summum bonum est in corpore. *De Finib.* l. v. n. 38.

Quæ in terris gignuntur, omnia ad usum hominum creantur. *Offic.* l. i. n. 22.

⁶ *Lib.* 2. de Divinit.

De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti.

Pers. Sat. 3.

Epicurus in express terms denies this power to the Divinity:

Nullam rem è nihilo gigni divinitus unquam.

Lactantius⁷ has preserved a fragment of Cicero's books *De Natura Deorum*, which cannot be applied with certainty to the system of the Stoics: because, as it is detached, it does not entirely appear of which sect of philosophers it is to be understood. However, it seems very proper to explain what they thought concerning the formation of the world. I shall insert it here at length. "It is not probable," says the speaker, "that matter, from which all things derived their origin, was itself formed by the divine Providence; but rather, that it has, and always had an intrinsic and natural force, which renders all its modifications possible to it."⁸ "As a workman, therefore, when he works upon a building, does not produce the matter for it himself, but uses that which he finds ready made; and as he who forms a figure of wax finds the wax produced to his hand: so the divine Providence must have had a matter, not that it had produced itself, but which it found in a manner at hand," and prepared for its designs. "That if God did not produce the first matter, it cannot be said that he produced either earth, air, fire, or water."

The comparison of the architect and the statuary is entirely proper for explaining the system of the Stoics. Their god, (whom Cicero calls the divine Providence in this place,) and which is only the ether, as we have observed, did not create, or produce the matter of which the world is formed out of nothing; but he modified it, and, in disposing the parts of matter, before in confusion, he made earth, air, water, and that gross fire which we know: that is to say, he gave them the form and disposition in which we see them.

The workman, says Lactantius in the passage I have just cited, cannot build without wood, because he is not capable of producing it of himself; and of that he is incapable because he is man, or weakness itself.⁹ But God produces all that he pleases out of nothing, because he is God, or power itself, that knows neither measure nor bounds. For if he is not omnipotent, he is not God.

SECTION II.—SYSTEM OF THE EPICUREANS CONCERNING THE FORMATION OF THE WORLD.

IN the system of the Epicureans (and the Stoics were of the same opinion in this point) these two words, *world* and *universe*, had a different signification.¹⁰ By the world they understood the heavens and the earth, and all they contained; and by the universe, not only the heavens and the earth with all they contain, but also the infinite void, which they supposed beyond the world. For they believed the world full and limited, (or a limited plenum:) but they supposed it surrounded on all sides with an infinite, and absolutely void, space. Accordingly they divided all nature, the whole universe, into two parts: bodies and space, or void.¹¹

⁷ Lact. *Div. Inst.* l. ii. c. 8.

⁸ Non est probabile, eam materiam rerum, unde orta sunt omnia, esse divina providentia effectam; sed habere et habuisse vim et naturam suam. Ut igitur faber, cum quid ædificaturus est, non ipse facit materiam, sed ea utitur quæ sit parata, fictorque item cæra: sic isti providentiæ divinæ materiam præsto esse oportuit, non quam ipse faceret, sed quam laberetur paratam. Quod si non est à Deo materia facta, ne terra quidem, et aqua, et aer, et ignis à Deo factus est.

⁹ Faber sine ligno nihil ædificabit, quia lignum ipsum facere non potest: non posse autem, imbecillitatis est humanae. Deus verò facit sibi ipse materiam, quia potest; posse enim, Dei est: nam, si non potest, Deus non est. Homo facit ex eo quod est, quia per mortalitatem imbecillis est; per imbecillitatem, definitur ac modicæ potestatis. Deus autem facit ex eo quod non est, quia per æternitatem fortis est, per fortitudinem potestatis immensa, quæ fine ac modo caret sicut via factoris. *Lactant.* ibid. c. 10.

¹⁰ Plut. de Placit. Philos. l. ii. c. 1.

¹¹ Sunt qui omnia Naturæ nomine appellent, ut Epicurus, qui ita dividit: Omnia, quæ secundum Naturam, esse Corpora et Inane. 2. *De Nat. Deor.* n. 83.

Omnia ut est igitur per se Natura duobus
Consistit rebus, quæ Corpora sunt et Inane.

Lucret. l. ii.

This distinction is necessary for understanding the system of the Epicureans. For they supposed, as a certain principle, that without the *vacuum*, there could not have been any motion or even production in the world.

Quæ, si non esset Inane,
Non tam sollicito motu privata carerent,
Quam genita omnino nulla ratione fuissent:
Undique materies quoniam stipata fuisset.—*Ib. l. i.*

According to the Epicureans, the fortuitous concourse of atoms formed the world.

Atom is a Greek word, which signifies indivisible. It is a corpuscle of every kind of figure, from numbers of which all other bodies are formed. Atoms are not objects of the senses, through their extreme smallness, which makes them imperceptible.

Moschus the Phœnician, Leucippus, and Democritus, were the first philosophers who advanced the doctrine of atoms.¹ They suppose that of these little corpuscles, some are smooth, some rough, some round, some angular, and others curved, and in a manner hooked; and that heaven and earth were formed by the fortuitous concourse of these atoms.

But Epicurus particularly insisted upon this doctrine, which he placed in honour, introducing however some alterations in it, by which Cicero affirms, that he only spoiled the doctrine of Democritus, instead of correcting and improving it.²

Democritus places atoms in an infinite space, without either middle or extremities.³ There, in motion from all eternity, they unite and adhere to each other, and by such meeting and concourse, form the world as we see it. Cicero cannot bear that a philosopher, in explaining the formation of the world, should speak only of the material, without saying a word of the efficient cause. And indeed, what an absurdity is it to suppose, that certain solid and indivisible bodies move of themselves from all eternity by their natural weight! This Democritus holds as well as Epicurus: for the latter also gave his atoms a natural and intrinsic activity, which sufficed to put them in motion: but he differed from the former in other points.

Epicurus pretends, indeed, that atoms tend of themselves directly downwards, which motion he says is that of all bodies.⁴ Afterwards coming to reflect, that, if all atoms tended continually downwards in a direct line, and by a perpendicular motion, it would never be possible for one of them to touch another, he subtly imagined a declination or obliquity in their motion, by the means of which the atoms striking against each other, blend and hook themselves together, and form the world, with all the parts that compose it. Thus, by a mere fiction, he gives them, at the same time, a slight declination or obliquity of motion, without alleging any cause for it, which is shameful to a natural philosopher; and deprives them also without any cause of the direct motion downwards, which he had advanced as the law or tendency of all bodies. However, with all the suppositions he invents, he does not effect what he pretends. For if all atoms have an equal declination or obliquity of motion, they will never adhere to each other. And if some have it, and not others, to give these a direct, and those an oblique motion, is giving them different employments upon trust and at a venture. With all this, it would not cease to be impossible for such a fortuitous clash or concourse of atoms ever to produce the order and beauty of the universe. "If the fortuitous concourse of atoms," says Cicero, elsewhere,⁵ "is capable of forming the world, why will it not as well form a portico, a temple, a house, or

a city; works of much less difficulty? To reason in so absurd a manner, one would think, that these philosophers had never once looked up towards the heavens, nor beheld all their wondrous and various beauties."⁶

The doctrine of void had induced Epicurus, as well as some other philosophers, to suppose a plurality of worlds, formed, as well as this we inhabit, by the fortuitous concourse of atoms.

Quare etiam atque etiam tales fateare necesse est,
Esse alios alibi congressus materiai,
Qualis hic est, avido complexu quem tenet æther.

Lucret. l. ii.

Gassendi considers this opinion as contrary not only to the holy Scriptures, which mention no plurality of worlds, and seem to suppose only one, but also to that of the greatest philosophers, as Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno the Stoic, and many others. He owns however it cannot be demonstrated, that there are not other worlds besides this, because it is in the power of God to create as many as he pleases: but that it would be contrary to reason, to affirm actually that there are more, because God has not revealed that to us.

SECTION III.—PLATO'S FINE THOUGHT OF THE FORMATION OF THE WORLD.

I DO NOT undertake to examine what Plato's opinions were concerning the formation of the world, which would require great discussion. He sometimes calls matter eternal; by which he does not understand that it subsisted visibly from all eternity, but that it subsisted intellectually in the eternal idea of God. This is what he means, when he says, "the exemplar or model of the world is from all eternity."⁷

Some lines before he has the thought of which I speak in this place: "God considering his work, and finding it perfectly conformable to his idea and original, rejoiced, and in some measure applauded himself."⁸ What Plato says here, that God formed the world according to the exemplar he had conceived of it in himself, is very remarkable. As a skilful workman has the whole disposition and form of his work in his head before he begins it, and works according to those ideas, so that what he executes, may be said to be only a copy of the original he has before imagined, every work that subsists, being pure imitation; in like manner God, in creating the world, only executed the idea he had conceived of it from all eternity. For the world, and all that it contains, existed intellectually in God, before it existed really in nature. These are Plato's ideas, which he might very possibly have extracted from the Scriptures,⁹ where we find that God gives Moses models of all the works, it is his will that prophets should execute. What is said in Genesis of God's first approbation of his works as they came from his hands, and afterwards of them all in general, when he had finished them, might more immediately have supplied Plato with that sublime idea of the eternal exemplars upon which the world was formed. For these words, "and God saw every thing that he had made: and behold it was very good,"¹⁰ signify, as the new interpreter of Genesis observes, "that God considering all his works at one view, and comparing them with each other, and with the eternal model of which they are the expression, found their beauty and perfection most excellent."¹¹

In the little I have now said of Plato's opinions concerning the formation of the world, may be seen how much he rose upon the physical principles, which he might before have taken from Heraclitus.

The design of God, in setting before our eyes the infinite wonders of the world, was to make us discern,

¹ Ista flagitia Democriti, sive etiam antè Leucippi, esse corpuscula quædam lævia, alia aspera, rotunda alia partim autem angulata, curvata quædam et quasi adnata: ex his effectum esse cælum quod terram, nulla cogente natura, sed concursu quodam fortuito. *De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 66.*

² Democritus adiecit, perperca mutans, sed ita ut ea, quæ corrigere vult, mihi quidem depravare videatur. *De Finib. l. i. n. 17.*

³ *De Finib. l. ii. n. 17, 18.*

⁴ *De Nat. Deor. l. ii. n. 94.*

⁵ *Ib. a. 72—20.*

⁶ *Vol. II.—74*

⁷ Certe ita temerè de mundo effutiant, ut mihi quidem nunquam hunc admirabilem cæli ornatum, qui locus est proximus, suspexisse videantur.

⁸ τὸ περὶ οὐρανὸν, πάντα δι' αὐτὸν ἐστὶν ὅν. *Plat. in Timæo, p. 35.*

⁹ Ἡ γὰρ αἰτία τοῦ καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς τοῦ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁμοίου πρὸς τὸ περὶ οὐρανὸν ἐπενοήσαν ἐπεγείνατο. *Ibid. p. 37.*

¹⁰ Some have believed, that he had seen them during his travels.

¹¹ *Gen. i. 31.*

¹² *Mr. du Gues.*

in the motion of all the parts of the universe, their relation to each other, and the concert between them, Him who has created, and who governs them. He has every where placed footsteps of himself. He has concealed and veiled himself under the objects of nature; but these objects are so beautiful and grand, that they reveal the wisdom which formed, and directs them in a thousand different manners. How therefore could it possibly happen, that men considered as the sole sages of the earth, should be so blind and stupid as to attribute such wonderful effects to chance, destiny, matter, and the simple combination of the laws of motion, without God's having any other part in them than to obey those laws? What is the intellect of man abandoned to its own darkness? The first words in the most ancient book in the world reveal to us this great truth: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." These few words fix plainly, by the authority of revelation, all the doubts, and dispel all the difficulties, which so long perplexed the philosophers upon one of the most essential points of religion. They were not capable of knowing it perhaps with entire certainty by the sole light of reason, but they at least might and ought to have had some idea of it. For either God must necessarily have created the heavens, the earth, and mankind; or they must have been eternal, which is far more inconceivable. Can a rational and unprejudiced mind ever be convinced in earnest, that matter, brute and void of intelligence in itself, could form beings that wear the stamp of perfect wisdom? The faith shortens the way very much, and spares us abundance of pains. There are subjects, in which reason, unaided by that light, can make no progress with any certainty.

ARTICLE III.

OF THE NATURE OF THE SOUL.

THERE is hardly any question, about which the philosophers are more divided, than that which relates to the nature of the soul; and there is hardly one, which shows more sensibly, of what human weakness is capable, when guided solely by its own lights. They dispute much with each other about what the soul is, where it resides, whence it derives its origin, and what becomes of it after death.¹ Some believe the heart itself to be the soul. Empedocles says, it is the blood which is mingled in the heart: and others that it is a certain part of the brain. Many affirm, that neither the heart, nor the brain, are the soul itself, but only the seat of the soul; and that it is a breath, or else a fire. This last is the opinion of Zeno the Stoic. Aristoxenus the musician, who was also a philosopher, makes it consist in a certain harmony of the different parts of the body. Xenocrates places it in numbers, as Pythagoras had thought before him. Plato distinguishes three parts in the soul. He places the principal, which is reason, in the head: and makes the two others, choler and cupidity, reside, the first in the breast, and the other under the heart. Aristotle perceiving, that not one of the four principles, of which, according to him, all things are made, was susceptible of the properties of the soul, as thinking, knowing, loving, hating, &c. supposes a fifth, to which he gives no name; calling the soul by a new term, that, according to Cicero, signifies a continued and uninterrupted motion, but a term in effect, of which the most learned neither understand nor can explain the force.²

This is the enumeration Cicero gives us of the various opinions of the philosophers concerning the nature of the soul. For as to that of Democritus, who makes it consist of atoms, he does not think it worth repeating. He concludes this detail with these words, which seem to express a great indifference for so important a subject: "Which of all these opinions is true, some god may know; we content our-

selves with inquiring which is the most probable."³ The system of the Academy, which he espoused, was, that the false is universally mingled in such a manner with the true, and resembles it so much, that there is no certain mark to distinguish them from each other. Accordingly Cicero, in the places where he mentions the immortality of the soul, speaks of it almost always with doubt, and as one who supposes the systems for and against it equally possible and rational. And would to God that only the ancient philosophers were to be reproached with this way of thinking! It certainly argues a deplorable blindness in them, and a renunciation of all light and reason. But this doubt, when voluntary and confirmed, is absolutely monstrous and inconceivable in a Christian. "The immortality of the soul," says M. Pascal in his Thoughts, "is a thing of such importance to us, and concerns us so highly, that one must have lost all reason to be indifferent about it. All our actions and thoughts must have so different a bent according to our belief, that there are or are not eternal good things to be hoped, that it is impossible to take any step with sense and judgment, without regulating it with a view to this point, which ought to be our final object."⁴ Is there any stupidity, I could almost say brutality, like that of daring to risk an eternity of happiness, or misery, upon a mere doubt?

Many of the philosophers, of whom I have been speaking, admitted only bodies, and no pure spirits distinct from matter; even the Stoics, whose moral doctrine in other respects included such fine principles, were of this number. They did not believe, that the soul was absolutely immortal, but only made it live a great while, like crows, says Cicero.⁵ Vossius,⁶ in his treatise upon idolatry, believes, that by that great while, they understood the whole duration of the world, till the general conflagration. For, according to the Stoics, by an ultimate revolution, the whole world was to become only fire.⁷ Particular souls were then, with all the rest, to be resolved into, and blended with the universal soul, their first principle. Till then they were to inhabit the upper region, where they would have nothing to do but to philosophize at their ease, supremely happy, in the clear vision of the universe. Cicero describes this philosophical beatitude with a kind of enthusiasm.⁸ "Certainly," says he, "we shall be happy, when, with our bodies, we shall have thrown off all passion and disquiet. What now constitutes our joy, when free from all care we apply ourselves ardently to some object that engages and delights us, we shall then do with far greater liberty; abandoning ourselves entirely to the contemplation of all things, which it will be given us to know perfectly. The situation itself of the places which we shall have attained, in facilitating to us the view of celestial objects, and in kindling in us the desire of penetrating their beauties, will enable us fully to satisfy the insatiable ardour natural to us for knowing truth.—— And it will discover itself more or less to us, in proportion as we shall have been more or less solicitous to nourish ourselves with it during our abode upon earth."⁹——What a sight will it be, when we shall be able at one view to behold the whole earth, its situation, figure, limits, and all its regions, whether inhabited, or desert and void through excess of heat and cold!" Behold here then the extent of philosophic beatitude! What blindness and misery! We see, however, through this darkness, an admirable and very instructive principle: that in the other life, truth will reveal itself to us in proportion as we have sought after and loved it in this.

The philosophers, who admit the immortality of

³ *Harum sententiarum quæ vera sit, deus aliquis viderit: quæ verisimillima, magna questio est.*

⁴ Chap. i.

⁵ Stoici usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus: diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant. *Tusc. Quest.* l. i. n. 77.

⁶ Lib. i. c. 10.

⁷ *De Nat. Deor.* l. ii. n. 118.

⁸ *Tusc. Quest.* l. i. n. 44, 45.

⁹ Principè verò fruenter æd, qui tum etiam, cum has terras incolentes circumfusi erant caligine, tamen acie mentis dispicere cupiebant.

¹ Cic. *Tusc. Quest.* l. i. n. 13, 22.

² Quintum genus adhibet, vacans nomine; et sic ipsum animum *ψυχή* appellat novo nomine, quasi quandam continuatam motionem, et perennem. Cic. *ibid.*

the soul, give it a more noble employment after death. I do not examine whether Aristotle is to be ranked in that number. That question has exercised and divided the learned, and is not for his honour, from only continuing dubious. As to Plato, we see in all his works, that, as well as Socrates his master, and Pythagoras who preceded them, he believed the soul to be immortal. Cicero, after having repeated many of his proofs, adds, that Plato seems to endeavour to persuade others of this truth, and to be fully convinced of it himself.¹

Plato, treading in the steps of Socrates, opens two ways for souls after death:² one of these lead such as have sullied themselves with crimes and violence upon earth to the place of torments; and by the other ascend to the august assembly of the gods, the pure and innocent souls, that, during their abode in bodies, have had as little intercourse as possible with them, and have industriously imitated the life of the gods, from whom they derive their origin, by practising every kind of virtue. Right reason alone made these great philosophers perceive, that, to justify Providence, it was necessary that there were rewards for the good, and punishments for the wicked, after this life.

ARTICLE IV.

OF THE EFFECTS OF NATURE.

THIS is properly the place where I should treat the Physics at large, and enumerate the principal questions it considers, in order to show the origin and progress of this science, and the different opinions of the ancients and moderns concerning it. But this subject, besides exceeding my ability, is too vast and extensive to be contained within the narrow limits of an abridgment. The reader may find it treated with great perspicuity in the work of F. Reynault the Jesuit, entitled, *The ancient origin of the modern physics*, of which I have made great use. He retains a very extraordinary moderation in it, whilst he does equal justice to the ancients and moderns. I shall content myself, therefore, with some general reflections.

The physics alone, or almost alone, were for many ages the employment and delight of the learned of Greece. They were the reigning science there during about four hundred years.³ The philosophers were divided into two famous schools: the Ionic, of which Thales was the founder; and the Italic, who followed Pythagoras, as I have observed before. But the philosophers, who acquired most fame in respect to physics, were Democritus and Leucippus, because Epicurus adopted their system, which we have extensively from Lucretius.

This system, as I have already observed, admitted no principles but matter and void; two points, of which the one, namely, vacuity, is scarce conceivable; and the other repugnant to reason, especially in respect to the *inclination* or obliquity, which Epicurus gives his atoms. Notwithstanding the absurdities of this system, the Epicureans, properly speaking, were the only natural philosophers of antiquity. They at least saw, that the causes of what happens to bodies were to be sought only in bodies, as well as their properties, motion, rest, and figure: and, with this principle, they do not explain certain particular effects amiss, though they err grossly in respect to first causes.

Aristotle treated the physics, or rather spoiled them, in explaining corporeal effects by terms that can relate only to mind, as *sympathy*, *antipathy*, *horror*, &c. and in defining things only by some of their effects, often ill chosen, expressed in an obscure manner, and almost always without showing their causes.

It was not till an age before the birth of Jesus Christ, that the physics began to appear at Rome, and to speak the Roman language there by the mouth of Lucretius. "At length," says that philosophical poet, "the secrets of nature are no longer mysteries; and I can boast of being the first that taught them to speak the language of our country."

Denique natura hæc rerum ratioque reperta est
Nuper; et hanc primus cum primis ipse repetitus
Nunc ego sum, in patrias qui possim vertere voces.

Lucr. l. v.

Seneca says,⁴ that the causes of the eclipses of the moon, and of many other phenomena in nature, were but lately known at Rome; with what reason I cannot say. Long before Pliny's time, the day and hour of eclipses were foretold:⁵ and Cicero assures us, that in his time the hour and magnitude of all eclipses, either of sun or moon, had been calculated for all succeeding ages.⁶ Sulpitius Gallus, the evening before Paulus Æmilius was to give Perseus battle, foretold an eclipse of the moon, that was to happen the same night, and gave the army the reasons of it.⁷ The eclipse began exactly at the hour he had mentioned, which made the troops consider him as a person of more than human knowledge. "Edita hora luna cum defecisset, Romanis militibus Galli sapientia prope divina videri." This last example proves, that this kind of knowledge was very rare among the Romans in those days, who never applied themselves very much either to the study of physics, or the other superior sciences.

The Greeks differed much from them in this point. They cultivated them during a great length of time, and if the honour of inventing them be not their due, nobody can deny them that of having exceedingly improved them. It is not easy to find a system of the world applauded in our days, of which the ancients have not at least had some knowledge. If we fix the earth with Tycho Brahe, in order to make the sun, circled with Mercury and Venus, turn round it, that system was known to Vitruvius.⁸ Some fix the sun and stars, to make the earth turn round from west to east exactly upon its centre: and this is the system, at least in part, of Epicharmus the Pythagorean, and of Nicetas the Syracusan. The system now in vogue, is that which places the sun in the centre of a vortex, and the earth in the number of the planets: and which makes the planets turn round the sun in the following order: Mercury, nearest the sun; Venus; the Earth turning upon its centre, with the Moon revolving round it; Mars; Jupiter; and Saturn last of all. This system of Copernicus is not new: it is that of Aristarchus,⁹ and part of the mathematicians of antiquity; of Cleanthes of Samos;¹⁰ of Philolaus;¹¹ of the Pythagoreans,¹² and very probably of Pythagoras himself.

And, indeed, it had been a wonder if this system of Copernicus, which seems so rational, had never entered into the thoughts of any of the ancient philosophers. This system, I say, appears very rational. For, if the earth did not move, the sun and all the stars, which are very great bodies, must make an immense revolution round the earth in twenty-four hours; and the fixed stars, which would be in the

¹ Plato pro immortalitate animæ tot rationes attulit, ut velle cæteris, sibi certè persuasisse, videatur. *Tusc. Quæst.* l. i. n. 49.

² Ita censebat (Socrates) duas esse vias duplicesque cursus animorum (ex corpore excedentium). Nam qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent, et se totos libidinis dedissent, quibus cæcati velut domestici vitiis atque flagitiis se inquinassent, vel in rep. violanda fraudes inexplabiles concepissent, iis demum quoddam iter esse, seclusum à concilio deorum. Qui autem se integros castosque servassent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab his semper secessassent, essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum; his ad illos, à quibus essent profecti, reditu facilem patere. *Tusc. Quæst.* l. i. n. 72.

³ From Thales to Hipparchus, with whom the natural philosophers of antiquity end, very near that number of years are computed.

⁴ Cur luna deficiat, hoc apud nos quoque nuper ratio ad certum perduxit. *Senec. Nat. Quæst.* l. vii. c. 25.

⁵ Inventa est jampridem ratio prænuntians horas, non modò dies ac noctes, solis lunæque defectuum. *Plin.* l. xx. c. 2.

⁶ Defectiones solis et lunæ cognite præ dietæ in omne posterum tempus, quæ, quantæ, quando futuræ sint. *Cic. De Nat. Deor.* l. ii. n. 135.

⁷ Liv. l. xlv. n. 37.

⁸ Vitruv. de Archit. l. ix. p. 284, et 287. Plut. de Placit. Philos. l. iii. p. 896. Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. iv.

⁹ Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 54, et 56.

¹⁰ Plut. de Facie in Orbe Lunæ, p. 923.

¹¹ Plut. de Placit. Philos. p. 896.

¹² Aristot. de Cælo, l. ii. c. 13. p. 653.

greatest circle, where the motion is always the strongest, would in one day take a compass of three hundred millions of leagues, and go farther than from Paris to China in the time one could pronounce these words, *Go to China*. For all this must happen, if the earth does not turn round upon its own axis every twenty-four hours. It is not difficult to conceive, that it does turn round in this manner, which at most is not above nine thousand leagues, a trifle in comparison with three hundred millions.

Among the moderns, rational physics had made little progress, till the times of Descartes. He took from the Epicureans the principle, That to explain the effects of bodies, recourse was to be had only to bodies. But religion taught him to reject their impious principles of necessity and chance. For the principle of his physics he lays down a God the Creator and First Mover. He also proscribed the *Vacuum* as inconceivable, and *atoms*, admitting matter to be divisible *ad infinitum*, or, as he terms it himself, *ad indefinitum*. With matter and motion, which, he owns, could proceed only from the hands of God, he had the boldness to create a world: and instead of tracing effects to their causes, he pretended to establish causes, and to deduce effects from them. From thence flows his hypothesis of *Vortices*, which is the most probable opinion hitherto advanced upon the causes of the universe, though in a great number of particular consequences, Descartes, in effect of the weakness inseparable from human nature, is frequently enough mistaken.

His physics reigned in peace, when Newton undertook to dethrone them. He set the vacuum on foot again, and pretended to demonstrate the impossibility of vortices; in a word, to subvert entirely the Cartesian physics. Hence ensued a great war in the learned world, which has been carried on with abundance of warmth and vigour on both sides. Whether the learned Englishman has succeeded or not, is a question that does not concern me, and will not soon be decided. He has at least been more circumspect than Descartes, in having proposed to himself to proceed from known effects to the discovery of their causes.

It must be owned in general, that in respect to physics, the moderns have very much improved the learning of the ancients, and have added many new discoveries to them of great importance. And it could not have happened otherwise. Could it be possible, for so many fine geniuses, as successively applied themselves to the observation of Nature, during the course of so many ages, not to have enriched physics, especially since they have discovered extraordinary aids which the ancients had not? Nature is an inexhaustible fund, and curiosity has scarce any bounds. Hence it was no illusion, when Seneca foresaw, that posterity would discover abundance of secrets in nature unknown in his time. "Nature," said that great man, "does not disclose all her mysteries at once. The time will come, when much that is now hid will appear in full light. Posterity will wonder how such evident things escaped us; and even the vulgar know what we are ignorant of."¹ This opinion is entirely reasonable, and rich in sense. Many things have conduced to the considerable progress of the physics among the moderns. They may be said to have entirely changed face, and soared to new heights, since the learned have made it a law to themselves to study nature in nature itself, to make use of their own eyes and reason for discovering its mysteries, and no longer subject themselves blindly and without examination to the judgment of others; in a word, since they have thrown off the yoke of authority, which in physical matters ought not to enslave our minds, and is only proper to keep them, through weak respect, in a state of idle and presumptuous ignorance. What progress did physics make during the course of the fourteen or fifteen ages, in which the authorities of

Aristotle and Plato were alternately the law? That method served only to excite vain disputes, to prevent generous efforts, and to extinguish all curiosity and emulation; whilst the lives of philosophers most capable of improving the physics, passed in knowing what had already been thought, rather than what one ought to think.

I always disliked a maxim of Cicero's, which, however, pleased him much, and which he repeats more than once. It is, that he had rather err with Plato, than think aright with the other philosophers. "*Errare meliusculum malo cum Platone—quam cum istis vera sentire.*"² I do not see how this thought can consist with good sense. Is it ever just to prefer error to truth, under whatever fine name or specious form it may conceal itself? We see here the tendency of this kind of idolatry for great men. Only religion has a right to captivate our minds in this manner, because it has God himself for its voucher, and there is no fear of erring with it.

Every body knows how much nature seems to affect concealing her secrets from us. To discover her mysteries, it is necessary to follow her step by step; we must, to use the expression, surprise her in her operations; we must make observations and experiments; we must have a due number of phenomena, in order to establish a just principle for explaining them; and experiments must verify conjectures. The ancients practised all I have now said to a certain degree, and not without success. But the certainty of the moderns, assisted by the invention of many new instruments, has rose exceedingly upon their knowledge. The principal of their new inventions are the telescope, the microscope, the Torricellian tube, or the barometer, and the air-pump.

One Zachariah Jansen invented the telescope and microscope about the end of the sixteenth century; Torricelli the tube, which bears his name, otherwise called the barometer, about the middle of the seventeenth century; and Otho Guericke the air-pump, some time after.

Zachariah Jansen was a Hollander of Middleburg in Zeland, by trade a spectacle-maker. Chance, by which a great number of the finest discoveries are made, and under which divine Providence delights to conceal itself, had a great share in this of Jansen. Without any premeditated design, he placed two spectacle-glasses at a certain distance opposite to each other, and perceived, that the two glasses in that situation magnified objects considerably. In consequence, he fixed glasses in that manner, and from the year 1590 made one of the length of twelve inches. Such was the origin of the telescope, which was afterwards greatly improved. The inventor of the telescope did in little almost what he had done in large; and from thence came the microscope. To the former of these instruments we are indebted for the knowledge of the heavens, at least in part; and to the latter for that of a new little world. For we must not believe that we see every thing that inhabits the earth. There are as many species of invisible as visible animals. We see them from the elephant to the mite. And there our sight ends. But at the mite begins an infinite multitude of animals, of which that insect is the elephant, and which our eyes cannot discern without aid. By the help of the microscope we see thousands of insects, swimming and darting to and fro, in the hundredth part of a drop of water. Lewenhoeck says, that he has seen fifty thousand in a very small drop of liquor. These glasses may be said to be a new organ of sight, which one could not have presumed to expect from the hands of art. How much would the ancients have been surprised, if it had been foretold to them, that, by the means of certain instruments, their posterity should one day see an infinity of objects not seen by them: a heaven unknown to them, and plants and animals, of which they did not so much as suspect the possibility.

Toricelli was mathematician to the duke of Florence, and Galileo's successor. Galileo explained the rise of water in pumps to about thirty-two feet,

¹ *Rerum natura, sacra sua non simul tradit—Veniet tempus, quo ista, quæ nunc latent, in lucem dies extrahat—quo posteri nostri tam aperta necesse nos mirentur—Multa venientis ævi populus ignota nobis sciet.*

² *Tuscul. l. i. n. 39.*

by saying that nature abhorred a vacuum, and he fixed that height as the limit of its efficacy. In 1643, Torricelli tried the efficacy of this imaginary horror in quicksilver. He caused a glass tube of three or four feet to be made and sealed at the end hermetically. This he filled with quicksilver, and turned it upside down as is still practised. The quicksilver came down: but stopped, as of itself, at the depth of between twenty-seven and twenty-eight inches.

Otho Guericke, consul of Magdeburg, formed the design of trying a much greater kind of vacuum than that of the tube of Torricelli. Accordingly, he caused a large round vessel of glass to be made, with a sufficiently small opening at bottom, and a pump and sucker to draw the air out of the vessel. And this was the origin of the air-pump. Wonders came from his hands, that amazed philosophers, no less than other people. With what astonishment, for instance, did they not see two brass basins, made exactly in the form of hemispheres, and applied to each other at their edges, that could not be separated by eight horses on a side made fast to each of them, and drawing different ways.

It is easy to conceive how much these machines, and others of a like nature, invented by the moderns, and much improved by use itself, and length of time, must have conduced to the progress of physical observations.

But what has contributed most to it, is the establishment of academies. The last age gave birth to four of the most famous, almost at the same time. *The Academy del Cimento*, at Florence; *the Royal Society*, at London; *the Royal Academy of Sciences*, at Paris; and *the Academy of the Curious in the secrets of nature*, in Germany. The desire of supporting the reputation of a body of which one is a member, and of distinguishing one's self by important works, is a powerful incentive with the learned, which keeps them almost continually in action. Besides which, only societies, and societies protected by the prince, are capable of making the necessary collection of observations and well-attested facts, for establishing a future system. Neither the learning, pains, life, nor faculties of a single person suffice for that. Too great a number of experiments, of too many different kinds, all too frequently repeated in too many various manners, and pursued with the same spirit for too great a length of time, are necessary to that effect.

I admire the wisdom and modesty of the Academy of Sciences, that, notwithstanding the many learned works with which it has enriched the public, and the many useful discoveries that are the fruits of its labours and observations, considers the sciences, at least the physics, as still in their cradle. But I admire still more the religious use it makes of such curious knowledge, which, according to it, ought to inspire us with a high regard for the Author of nature, from the admiration of his works. "One can scarce help repeating often," say its memoirs, "that in respect to the physics, the most common objects become so many miracles, as soon as we consider them with certain eyes." And in another place, "The sublime reflections into which the physics lead us upon the Author of the universe, are not to be ranked among its simple curiosities. That great work, always the more wonderful the more it is known, gives us so high an idea of the Artificer, that we find ourselves lost in admiration and reverence of him, as often as we look into it. True physics rise so high as to become a kind of theology." Before I proceed to the mathematics, I shall touch lightly upon Physic or Medicine, Anatomy, Botany, and Chemistry, all which are either parts of, or relate to, physics in general or natural philosophy. Tertullian calls the physician's art *the sister of philosophy*; and every body knows the three others depend on physic.

CHAPTER IV.

I TREAT what relates to Physic in a separate chapter, to which I add Botany, Chemistry, and Anatomy, which are parts of it, but of which I shall say very little.

SECTION I.—OF PHYSIC.

PHYSIC is undoubtedly of the same date with diseases, for men have endeavoured to rid themselves of them, ever since they knew them; and diseases are almost as ancient as the world itself, because they were the effect and punishment of sin. Men were long each his own physician, and it is hard to fix the time when physic was first made an art and profession. Necessity and experience made way for them. In certain countries, those who had been cured of some disease, wrote down how, and by what remedies it had been effected, and deposited these accounts in the temples, for the instruction of others in like cases.¹ In other places, as in Egypt and Babylonia, the sick were exposed in public, in order that such as passed by, who might have been sick and cured of the same distemper, might give them advice.²

The Egyptians considered their god Hermes, or Mercury, as the inventor of medicine. It is certain that they cultivated it both earlier and with greater success than any other people. The Greeks disputed that glory with them, or at least followed them very close in it. They will supply us with all the physicians, of whom I shall speak: for the Romans applied themselves little to this science. Before the Trojan war, Chiron the Thessalian, surnamed the Centaur, who was Achilles's governor, made himself famous in physic, by the cure of wounds, and the knowledge of simples, which he imparted to that hero, and his friend Patroclus.

Æsculapius, Chiron's disciple, did not give place to his master. Pindar represents him as extremely versed in all the parts of physic.³ Fable tells us, Jupiter, enraged that he had restored Hippolitus the son of Theseus to life, killed him with thunder; which intimates, that by his skill he cured such desperate diseases that he was said to restore the dead to life. Having been placed in the number of the immortals, temples were erected to him in different places as the god of health. The most famous was that of Epidaurus. It was from thence, in consequence of a famous disputation, at the head of which was Q. Ogulnius, that he is pretended to have come to Rome in the form of a serpent, and to have delivered the city from the plague, in the year 461 from its foundation. A temple was afterwards built for him without the walls. That of Cos, the country of Hippocrates, was also very famous. In it were several tables or paintings, on which were written down the remedies the god had directed many sick persons to take, who had been cured in effect.

Homer makes mention in the *Iliad* of Æsculapius' two sons, both famous physicians, the one called Machaon, very expert in chirurgical operations, which in those times, as well as in the succeeding ages, was not distinct from the practice of physic; the other Podalirius, more versed in the kind of physic called afterwards *λογική*, that is to say, founded upon principles and reasonings.⁴ On his return from the Trojan war, Podalirius was driven by a tempest upon the coasts of Caria, where he cured a daughter of king Damæthus, by bleeding her in both arms. The father, by way of reward, gave her to him in marriage. Among other children, he had one called Hippolochus, from whom Hippocrates says he was descended.

Pliny⁵ supposes an interval of six or seven hundred years between the siege of Troy and the Peloponnesian war, that is to say, the time of Hippocrates; which is not quite exact. Celsus⁶ places Pythagoras, who lived in the time of Cyrus and his two successors, and some other philosophers, as Empedocles and Democritus, in the number of celebrated physicians.

Physicians are distinguished into different classes and sects. Some are called *Empirics*, because they followed experience almost entirely in their practice. Others, of whom Hippocrates was the chief, joined

¹ Plin. l. xix. in Proem.

² Her. l. i. c. 197. Strab. l. i. p. 155. et l. xvi. p. 746.

³ Pindar. Pythior. Od. 3.

⁴ Steph. Byzant. in voce *Sgrna*.

⁵ Plin. l. 29. c. 1.

⁶ Cels. in Præf.

reason with experience, which kind of physic took the name of *Dogmatic* or *Rational* from them. Some affected to depart from all other physicians, and to follow a peculiar method of their own: these were called the *Methodists*. I shall not confine myself scrupulously to this division. I shall only follow the order of time, and speak of such physicians as were most known. All the different sects of physicians, for there is a great number of them, are learnedly treated in Mr. Daniel le Clerc's History of Physic, a work of profound erudition.

DEMOCEDES of Crotona gave proofs of his skill, in restoring sleep and health to king Darius, (Ant. J. C. 519,) whom a sprain of the foot, occasioned by a fall from his horse, kept perpetually awake, and in excessive pain, which the physicians of the country were not able to remove. He afterwards cured the queen Atossa of an ulcer, which she had long concealed out of modesty. I have related this physician's history, with that of Darius.

HEROPHILUS acquired also great fame by physic, A. M. 3704, Ant. J. C. 300. He made much use of botany, and still more of anatomy, in which he made great improvements.¹ The princes permitted him to dissect the living bodies of condemned criminals, of whom a great number passed through his hands. This made Tertullian call him an executioner rather than a physician.²

HERODICUS of Sicily, flourished under Artaxerxes Longimanus, A. M. 3540, Ant. J. C. 464. The sect called Διατριβη, from using scarce any remedy except diet and a regimen of life, acknowledged him their chief; as well as that called the *Gymnastic* sect, from making great use of the exercise of the body for restoring and confirming health.³ He was the brother of the famous rhetorician Gorgias; but is best known by one of his disciples.

HIPPOCRATES, of the island of Cos, is that illustrious disciple. His birth is dated the first year of the 80th Olympiad, A. M. 3544, Ant. J. C. 460. He is said to have descended from Æsculapius by Heraclides his father, and from Hercules by his mother Praxitea. He first applied himself to the study of natural things in general, and afterwards to that of the human body in particular. His own father was his first master. He also received lessons from another celebrated physician, Herodicus, of whom I spoke last. He made a great proficiency in all the parts of physic, and carried the knowledge of it as high as was possible in those days.

I have already said that he was born at Cos. That island was consecrated to the god Æsculapius, who was adored there in a particular manner. It was a custom for all, who had been cured of any distemper, to make an exact memorandum of the symptoms that had attended it, and the remedies by which they had been relieved. Hippocrates had caused all these accounts to be copied, which were of no small advantage to him, and served him instead of a great length of experience.

His vast capacity appeared in a peculiar manner during the plague, that raged particularly in the city of Athens and throughout Attica during the Peloponnesian war, A. M. 3574, Ant. J. C. 430. I have related elsewhere his great zeal and devotion for the preservation of his country, the noble disinterestedness which induced him to refuse the advantageous offers of the king of Persia, and the extraordinary honours with which Greece thought it incumbent upon itself to reward the important services he had rendered it.

The people of Abera are said to have wrote to Hippocrates, desiring him to come thither and visit Democritus. They saw that philosopher regardless of every thing, laugh at every thing, say that the air was full of images, and boast that he made voyages into the vast immense of things. Considering all this as so many symptoms and beginnings of frenzy, they

were afraid he would run mad, and that his great learning would entirely turn his brain. Hippocrates set them right, and judged very differently of Democritus' condition. It is not certain that the letters ascribed to Hippocrates, whence this fact is taken, are genuine.

The writings which he left behind him in great number, have always been and still are considered, as a very excellent and proper foundation for the study of physic. He has preserved the remembrance of an event in them, which says much for his ingenuousness. It is the sincere confession of an error, which he had committed in dressing a wound in the head: for anciently, as we have observed, physic, surgery, and pharmacy, were not distinct professions. He is not ashamed to own, at the expense in some measure of his glory, that he was mistaken; lest others, after him and by his example, should fall into the same error.⁴ Little minds, says Celsus, and men of vulgar abilities, do not act in this manner, but are much more careful of the small reputation they have, because they can lose nothing without impoverishing themselves. Only great geniuses, conscious themselves of the abundance they otherwise possess, are capable of such a confession, and of neglecting the little losses, that diminish nothing of their riches and opulence. He makes also another confession, that argues an admirable spirit of candour and ingenuity. Of forty-two patients, whose distempers he describes in his first and third books upon *epidemic diseases*, he owns that he cured only seventeen, that the rest died under his hands. In the second book of the same work, speaking of a kind of quinsy attended with dangerous symptoms, he says, that all his patients recovered. "Had they died," adds he, "I should have said so with the same freedom." In another place,⁵ he complains modestly of the injustice of those who cry down physic, under the pretence, that many people die in the hands of physicians—as if, says he, the death of the patient might not be imputed to the insurmountable violence of the distemper, as much, or rather more, than to the fault of the physician. He declares,⁶ that it is no dishonour to a physician, when he is at a loss how to act in certain difficult cases, to call in other physicians, in order to consult with them upon what is necessary to be done for the patient's good. Whence we see that such consultations are an ancient custom.

The character of a truly honest man and one of the greatest probity, appears in the oath of Hippocrates, with which he introduces his works. He calls the gods, who preside over physic, to witness the sincere desire he has to discharge exactly all the duties of his station. He expresses a warm and respectful gratitude for him who taught him the art of physic, and declares that he shall always consider him as his father, and his children as his own brothers, whom he shall make it his duty to assist upon all occasions, both with his fortune and advice. He protests, that in the regimen which he shall prescribe for the sick, he shall take great care to consult what may be best for them, and to avoid whatever may be to their prejudice. He proposes to himself the leading of a pure and irreproachable life, and not to dishonour his profession by any action worthy of blame. He says that, he shall never undertake to cut for the stone, and shall leave that operation to persons whom long experience has rendered dexterous at it. He protests that, if in visiting his patients or otherwise, he shall discover any thing which ought to be concealed, that he would never reveal it, but will inviolably observe the sacred law of secrecy. And lastly, he hopes, by his punctual attachment to all these rules, that he shall acquire the esteem of posterity, and consents to forfeit the good opinion of the world for ever, if he is so unfortunate as to depart from them.

⁴ De futuris se deceptum esse Hippocrates memoriæ prodidit, more magnorum virorum, et fiduciam magnarum rerum habentium. Nam levia ingenia, quia nihil habent, nihil sibi detrahunt. Magno ingenio, multaque nihilominus habilitate, convenit etiam veri erroris confessio, præcipue in eo ministerio, quod utilitatis causa posteris traditur, ne qui decipiantur, quædam ratione quia qui deceptus est. Cels. l. viii. c. 4. ⁵ Lib. de Arte. ⁶ Lib. præreptionum.

¹ Galen. Comment. ii. in lib. Hippoc.

² Herophilus ille medicus, aut lunius, qui sexcentos cruciatus, ut patrum scrutaretur: qui homines odit, ut nosset. Tertul. lib. de anima, c. 10.

³ Eustath. in Iliad.

He is highly praised for his disinterestedness, a most estimable virtue in a physician. What he says upon this subject, is worthy of remark. He is for having the physician act, in respect to his fees, with honour and humanity, and regulate them by the patient's power to reward them more or less liberally.¹ There are even occasions, says he, in which the physician ought neither to ask nor to expect reward; as in the cases of strangers and the poor, whom all the world are obliged to assist. He appears to have been full of respect for the Divinity.² "Those," says he, "who first discovered the manner of curing diseases, believed it an art, of which the invention ought to be attributed to God." I have already observed elsewhere, that Cicero was of the same opinion. *Deorum immortalium inventioni consecrata est ars medica.*³

Nothing is particularly known of the death of Hippocrates. He died at a very advanced age, and left two sons, Thessalus and Draco, who acquired great reputation among the physicians, as well as Polybius his son-in-law and successor.

I have spoken, in the history of Philip, of the ridiculous vanity of a physician called Menecrates, whom that prince treated as he deserved.

PHILIP of Acarnania is known from the salutary draught he gave Alexander the Great, which saved his life, at a time when endeavours had been used to render that physician suspected, A. M. 3671, Ant. J. C. 333.

ERASISTRATUS made himself known and esteemed by his address in discovering the cause of the sickness of Antiochus Soter,⁴ the son of Seleucus king of Syria. I have related the fact in its place. If Pliny⁵ may be believed, that wonderful cure which restored a tenderly beloved son to his father, was rewarded with a hundred talents, that is to say, a hundred thousand crowns.

APOLLOPHANES, physician to Antiochus surnamed the Great, was very learned in his profession; but became still more famous by the important service which he rendered his master, A. M. 3785, Ant. J. C. 219. Hermias, the first minister of that prince, committed unheard of extortions and oppressions, and had rendered himself so terrible, that nobody dared lay their complaints before the court. Apolophanes had so much love for the public good, as not to fear risking his fortune for it. He discovered the general discontent of the kingdom to the king, and left that lesson to physicians, upon the use they ought to make of their freedom of access to princes.

MITHRIDATES, who was so long the terror of the Romans, distinguished himself highly in physic, A. M. 3880, Ant. J. C. 124, not only by the invention of the antidote that still bears his name, but the composition of several learned works, which Pompey made Leneus his freedman translate into Latin.

ASCLEPIADES of Bithynia, who at first taught eloquence at Rome, A. M. 3920, Ant. J. C. 84, quitted the profession of a rhetorician to take up that of a physician, which he believed more profitable than the other, and was not mistaken.⁶ He introduced an entire change in the practice observed before him, and departed almost in every thing from the principles and rules of Hippocrates. To solid and profound knowledge he substituted the insinuation and repute of a fine speaker, which often pass for merit with the sick. He also made it his business to flatter their taste, and gratify their desires to the utmost of his power, a certain means for gaining their confidence. His maxim was, That a physician ought to cure his patients, *safely, soon, and agreeably.*⁷ This practice were much to be desired, says Celsus. But the misfortune is, that to endeavour to cure too soon, and to prescribe nothing but what is agreeable, are generally attended with great danger. What contributed most to bring him into vogue, was his luckily meeting a party going to inter a man, in whom he found

some remains of life, and whom he restored to perfect health.⁸ Pliny often mentions this physician, but with very little respect.

THEMISON, the disciple of Asclepiades, was a native of Laodicea, A. M. 4000, Ant. J. C. 4. He made some alteration in his master's system, when he was old. The sect which he formed was called the *Methodic sect*, because he thought proper to establish a method for rendering physic more easy to learn and practice. Juvenal does not speak in his favour.

Quot Themison ægros autumnò occiderit uno.

Sat. 10. l. iv.

As many, with his pills
As in one autumn learn'd Themison kills.

Cicero and Horace mention Craterus as a learned physician.

DIOSCORIDES (*Pedacius*) was a physician of Anazarba, a city of Cilicia, in the first century. Vossius, after Suidas, says, that he was physician to Antony and Cleopatra. It is believed that they confound him with another Dioscorides, surnamed *Phlacas*. The person meant here might live in Vespasian's time. Some of the learned have disputed, whether Pliny copied Dioscorides, or the latter extracted his work from Pliny. These two authors wrote at the same time, and upon the same subjects, without ever citing each other. The subject treated by Dioscorides, is the *Materia Medica*, the matter or elements of medicine. All bodies used in physic are so called, and are principally reduced to three species: plants, animals, and minerals, or things of the nature of the earth.

ANTONIUS MUSA, the freedman, physician of the emperor Augustus, cured him of a dangerous distemper, which had reduced him to the last extremity, by treating him in a manner quite different to what had been used before, and making him use cold baths, and refreshing draughts.⁹ This happy cure, besides the great presents made him by the emperor and the senate, acquired Musa the privilege of wearing a gold ring, which till then had been granted only to persons of the first condition. All physicians, on Musa's account, were exempted from all taxes for ever. The Roman people, to express their gratitude, caused a statue to be erected to him near that of Æsculapius. He took the same method with Horace, and made him use the cold bath in the midst of winter.¹⁰

CORNELIUS CELSUS is believed to have lived in the reign of Tiberius. He was very learned, and had wrote upon all kinds of subjects. Quintilian,¹¹ who highly extols his erudition, terms him however only an indifferent genius: *Cornelius Celsus, mediocris vir ingenio*. I do not know whether the physicians agree with him in this point. We have eight books of his upon physic, which are wrote in very good Latin.

GALEN, the most celebrated of physicians next to Hippocrates, was of Pergamus. He lived in the reigns of Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and some other emperors, A. D. 131. He was educated with great care in the study of polite learning, philosophy, and the mathematics. When he had made choice of the profession of physic, he devoted himself entirely to it, went to many of the cities of Greece to receive lessons from the most famous masters in that science, and continued particularly at Alexandria in Egypt, where the study of physic flourished at that time more than in any other part of the world. When he returned into his own country, he knew how to make great use of the precious treasures of learning which he had collected in his travels. His principal application was in studying Hippocrates, whom he always considered as his master, and in whose steps he thought it his honour and duty to tread. He revived his principles in all their force,

¹ In Lib. Præreptionum.

² De Prise. Medic.

³ Tusc. Quest. l. iiii.

⁴ Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

⁵ Plin. l. xxix. in Proem.

⁶ Plin. l. xvi. c. 3.

⁷ Asclepiades officium esse medici dicit, ut tuus, celeriter, et jucunde curet. Id votum est; sed vere periculosa esse nimia et festinatio et voluptas solet. Cels. l. iiii. c. 4.

⁸ Apul. l. iv. Florid.

⁹ Sueton. in Aug. c. 81. Dion. Cass. l. liii. p. 517.

¹⁰ — Nam ribi Baia

Musa supervenias Antoojus, et tamen illis

Me facit jovisum, gelida cum perlor unda

Per medium frigus.

Epist. 15. l. i.

¹¹ L. xii. c. 11.

which had been neglected and left in oblivion above six hundred years.

He went to Rome at the age of thirty-four, where he acquired great reputation, and at the same time drew upon himself no less envy from the other physicians. His extraordinary cures of patients absolutely given over, his sagacity in discovering the true causes of distempers that had escaped others, the certainty with which he often foretold all the symptoms that were to happen, the effect his remedies would produce, and the time in which a perfect cure would be effected; all this occasioned his being considered, on the one side, by the unprejudiced, as a physician of extraordinary learning and talents; and on the other, by his jealous brethren, as a man who performed all his operations by the assistance of magic. At least they spread that report to depreciate him, if possible, in the opinion of the people and the great.

The plague which happened some years after, A. D. 166, and which made horrible ravages throughout Italy and in many other provinces, determined him to return into his country. If it was to take care of the people, his design was very generous and laudable. He did not continue long there. M. Aurelius, at his return from his expedition against the Germans, A. D. 170, ordered him to Aquileia, whence he afterwards brought him in his train to Rome. The emperor reposed great confidence in him. The rigid life which that prince led, had very much impaired his health. He took a preparation of treacle every day to strengthen his stomach and lungs, which were very weak: this Galen made up for him. To this remedy the health he generally enjoyed, notwithstanding his great weakness, was attributed. That prince, intending to return into Germany, was extremely desirous of carrying Galen thither with him, whose great abilities, and perfect knowledge of his constitution, made him more capable of serving him than any other physician. Galen, however, having desired him to leave him at Rome, the emperor, who was all goodness, complacency, and humanity, complied. I admire this condescension; but cannot conceive, how a physician in such a conjuncture could refuse himself to the desires of a prince so worthy of consideration. Perhaps the design he had formed of writing upon physic, and which he might have already begun to put in execution, might occasion this refusal. And indeed it was after this expedition of M. Aurelius till his death, and during the reign of Commodus his son and successor, that Galen composed and published his writings upon physic, either during his abode at Rome, or after his retirement into his own country. Part of his writings were lost in the conflagration, which destroyed whole quarters of Rome and many libraries in the reign of the emperor Commodus. The place and time of Galen's death are not exactly known.

A fact, which Galen relates¹ himself, shows us both his vast ability, and the esteem which M. Aurelius had for him. "That prince," says he, "having been suddenly seized in the night with a colic and looseness, which made him feverish, his physicians ordered him to lie still, and gave him only a little broth in the space of nine hours. The same physicians returning afterwards to the emperor, where I happened to be, judged from his pulse, that he had a fever coming on him: for my part I continued silent, and even without feeling his pulse in my turn. This induced the emperor to ask me, turning towards the side where I was, why I did not come to him? To which I answered, that his physicians having already felt his pulse twice, I came into what they had done, not doubting but that they were better judges of his pulse than I. The prince however offering me his arm, I then felt his pulse, and having examined it with attention, I declared that there was not the least sign of the access of a fever, but that his stomach was clogged with some indigested food which occasioned his being feverish. M. Aurelius was so well convinced of what I said, that he cried out: "That's it;

you have hit it exactly: I feel my stomach clogged;" and repeated the same two or three times over. He afterwards asked me, what was to be done to relieve him? I replied, if any other person except the emperor were in the same condition, I should give him a little pepper in wine, as I have often done upon the like occasion. But, as it is the custom to give no remedies to princes, but what are very gentle, it will suffice to apply some wool steeped in oil of spike very hot, to the emperor's stomach. M. Aurelius," continues Galen, "did not fail to take both those remedies, and addressing himself afterwards to Pitholaus, his son's governor: 'We have but one physician,' said he, speaking of me. 'He's the only man of value we have.'"

The manners of that illustrious physician suited his ability and reputation. He expresses great respect for the Divinity in many places;² and says, "That piety does not consist in offering incense or sacrifices to him; but in knowing and admiring the wisdom, power, and goodness, that shine forth in all his works one's self, and in making others know and admire them." He had the misfortune of not knowing, and even of condemning the true religion.

He never mentions his father, or his masters, but with the warmest and most respectful gratitude, especially when he speaks of Hippocrates, to whom he ascribes the whole honour of all he knew or practised. If he departs some times from his opinion, for he respected truth above all things, it is with such precautions and reservations, as argue the sincere esteem he had for him, and how much he considered himself below him in every thing whatsoever.

His assiduity about the sick, the time which he bestowed upon knowing their condition exactly, the care which he took of the poor, and the relief he procured them, are fine models for the imitation of persons of the same profession.

We read in Pliny,³ that ARCHAGATHUS of Peloponnesus was the first physician, who came to Rome: this was in the consulship of L. Æmilius and L. Julius, the 535th year from the foundation of the city, A. M. 3780, Ant. J. C. 215. It would be surprising if the Romans were so long without physicians. Dionysius Halicarnassensis,⁴ speaking of a plague, which swept off almost all the slaves and half the citizens in the 301st year of Rome, says, that there were not physicians enough for the number of the sick. There were physicians then at that time. But it is probable, that the Romans, till the arrival of Archagathus, used only the natural, or the simple empiric kind of physic, such as we may suppose it practised by the first men. That physician was treated very honourably at first, and rewarded with the freedom of the city: but the violent remedies which he was obliged to use, for his principal excellency consisted in surgery, soon disgusted the people both of him and of physic in general. It seems, however, that many physicians came from Greece to Rome to practise their art, though Cato, during his life, opposed it with his whole power. For, in the decree, by which, many years after the death of that celebrated censor, the Greeks were obliged to quit Rome, the physicians are mentioned expressly. Till Pliny's time, of all professions, that of physic, as gainful as it was, was the only one no Roman had followed, because they believed it below them; and, if any did practise it, it was, to use the expression, only in going over to the Grecian camp, and speaking their language: for such was the folly and madness of the Romans, and even of the lowest of the people, that they would confide only in strangers, as if their health and lives had been most safe in the hands of those, whose very language they did not understand.⁵

It is difficult, and indeed foreign to my subject, to

² In lib. de usu Corp. Hum.

³ Plin. l. xiv. c. 1.

⁴ Antiq. Rom. l. x. p. 677.

⁵ Solam hanc artium Græcarum nondum exercet Romana gravitas in tanto fructu: paucissimi Quiritium attigere, at ipsi statim ad Græcos transfuge. Imò verò auctoritas alter, quàm Græcæ eam tractantibus, etiam apud imperitos expertesque liogæ, non est: ac minus credunt, quæ ad salutem suam pertinent, si intelligunt. Plin. l. xxix. c. 1.

¹ Gal. de Præcognitione. c. 11.

determine in respect to the merit of the ancient and modern physic, and to give the one the preference to the other. They have each their peculiar advantages, which render both highly estimable. It is natural to conceive, that the experience of many ages must have added considerable lights to the knowledge of the ancients. I desired a learned physician,¹ one of my brethren in the College Royal and the Academy of Belles Lettres, and my particular friend, to favour me with a few lines upon what I might say with reason upon a subject absolutely unknown to me. I shall content myself with inserting them here, without any addition. "The new discoveries, which have enriched the physic of the moderns, and which may give it a preference to that of the ancients, are: 1. Those of anatomy, which have made it more perfectly acquainted with the structure of the human body, and the wonders of the animal economy; amongst others, the circulation of the blood, with all its relations and dependencies: which has given it a great insight into the causes of diseases, and the manner of treating them. 2. Those of surgery, which, besides many very salutary operations added to those of the ancients, have rendered the modern practice more safe and expeditious, and less painful. 3. Those of pharmacy, which consists in the knowledge and use of many specific remedies for the cure of certain diseases; as *Quinquina* for the ague, *Ipecacuanha* for the dysentery, &c. without reckoning those which chemistry has rendered more efficacious and less disgusting. 4. The opening of bodies that have died of diseases, an abundant source of the most important observations, for improving the practice of physic in the treatment of the same diseases.

"The physic of the ancients is perhaps to be preferred to that of the moderns, in being less profuse of medicines in sickness, and less desirous to precipitate cures; in observing the motions of nature with more attention, and assisting them with greater confidence; and in being contented to divide the honour of the cure with nature, without arrogating the whole glory of it to itself," &c.

Physic, however useful and salutary, has had the misfortune to be the butt, almost in all times, even of great and highly estimable persons, especially among the Romans. Cato, to whose authority a triumph and the censorship add nothing, so much was his personal merit superior to all titles, was one of those who declared himself most strongly against the physicians, as we see in a letter to his son, preserved by Pliny.² But we must observe, that he means in it only the physicians from Greece, to which nation he has abundance of ill-will. "You may depend upon what I am going to say as a certain prediction. If ever that nation (meaning Greece) should impart to us their taste for letters, we are undone; and especially if they send us their physicians. They have sworn amongst themselves to destroy all the Barbarians with their art."³ The Greeks called all other nations by that name. So excessive an exaggeration refutes itself, and sufficiently explains what we ought to think of it.

Pliny the naturalist was much in the same way of thinking. He seems to have made it his business to decry the physicians, by throwing together all that could make them contemptible and even odious. He taxes them with avarice, upon account of the considerable rewards they received from princes: but ought the generous gratitude of the latter to be imputed to physicians? He reports the depravity of manners into which some of them fell: but were not these faults personal, and ought they not to be atoned for by the infinite services which others of the same profession have done mankind in all ages? He takes

pains to turn the consultations of physicians into ridicule: he repeats an ancient inscription upon a tomb, in which the deceased said, that he died of a multitude of physicians: *TURBA SE MEDICORUM PERISSE*. He complains that of all the arts physic is allowed to be practised without undergoing any examination, or giving any proofs of its ability. "They learn it," says he, "at our hazard, and acquire experience at the price of our lives. No law punishes their ignorance; nor is there any example of its being chastised. Only a physician can murder with absolute impunity."⁴ Pliny has reason for these complaints; but they extend only to empirics, that is to say, persons of no repute, authority, or learning, who take upon them to practise an art which of all others stands most in need of these qualifications.

Extremes are not to be admitted upon this head, in which blind confidence, and ill-grounded contempt, may be equally dangerous. The holy scripture, which is the rule of our opinions, prescribes both to the patient and physician how they ought to think and act. "Honour the physician with the honour due unto him, for the uses which you may have of him: for the Lord hath created him.—The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them.—Was not the water made sweet with wood, that the virtue thereof [of plants] might be known? And he hath given men skill, that he might be honoured in his marvellous works.—My son, in thy sickness be not negligent; but pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole: Then give place unto the physician; for the Lord hath created him: let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him. There is a time when in their hands there is good success; for they shall also pray unto the Lord, that he would prosper that which they give, for ease and remedy to prolong life."⁵ Only the Spirit of God is capable of giving such wise and reasonable advice.

SECTION III.—OF BOTANY.

BOTANY is a science which treats of plants. This branch of knowledge has been esteemed in all ages and nations. Mankind are generally enough convinced, that all physic is included in simples; and there is great reason to believe, that it had its beginning in these remedies, which are simple, natural, of no expense, always at hand, and within the reach of the poorest person.⁶ Pliny cannot bear that instead of using them, people should go at a great expense to the most remote countries in quest of medicines. Accordingly we see, that the most ancient physicians distinguished themselves by the knowledge and use of simples: *Æsculapius*, who, if we may believe fable, restored *Hippolytus* to life by the use of them;⁷ *Chiron*, the master of *Achilles*, so skilful in physic; *Jaspis*, to whom his father *Apollo*, the god of physic, granted as a rare gift, the knowledge of simples.

Scire potestates herbarum, usumque medendi.

Æn. l. xii. v. 396.

To know the powers of herbs, and arts of cure.

Botany is one of the parts of natural philosophy: it calls in the aid of chemistry; and is of great use in physic. Natural philosophy, or the physics in general, considers the internal structure of plants, their vegetation, generation, and multiplication. Chemistry reduces them to their principles or elements. Physic derives from these elemental principles, and still more frequently from the experience of the effects of plants, when employed in substance, the use to be made of them for the health of a human body. The union of these several branches of knowledge in the same person forms an excellent character, but is not necessary

¹ M. Burette.

² Quod clarissimè intelligi potest ex M. Catone, ejus auctoritati Triumpus atque Censura minimum conferunt: tanto plus in ipso est. *Plin.* l. xxix. c. 1.

³ Nequissimum et indocile genus ilorum. Et hoc puta Vatem divisæ: Quandocumque ista gens suas literas dabit, omnia corrumpet. Tum etiam magis, si medicos suos huc mittet. Jurarunt inter se barbaros necare omnes medicina. *Plin.* l. xxix. c. 1.

VOL. II.—75

⁴ Nulla lex quæ puniat incitiam: capitale nullum exemplum vindictæ. Discunt periculis nostris, ac experientia per mortes agunt: medicoque tantum hominem occidisse impunita summa est. *Plin.* ibid.

⁵ Ecclesiast. xxix. 14.

⁶ Hinc sola Medicina. Hæc sola naturæ placuerat esse remedia, parata vulgo, inventa faciliâ, ac sine impendio.—Ulceri parvo medicina à Rubro mari imputatur, cum remedia vera quotidie pauperissimus quisque cauet *Plin.* l. xxiv. c. 21.

⁷ Pæoniis revocatum herbis. *Virg.*

to Botany properly so called, whose bounds are less extensive, within which it may confine itself with honour. To make plants a peculiar study, to know their most essential marks, to be able to name them in a short and easy method, that reduces them to their proper and respective kinds and classes, to describe them in terms so as to be known to those who never saw them; these are precisely the functions of a botanist considered as such.

In the earlier times, the knowledge of plants seems to have been purely medicinal: which is what rendered the catalogue of them so short and so limited, that Theophrastus, the best historian of antiquity come down to us upon this subject, names only six hundred, though he had collected not only those of Greece, but of Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Arabia. Dioscorides and Pliny, though they might have had better and ampler memoirs upon this head, have scarce cited more. But, far from having established any order among them, they have not described those of which they speak, in a proper manner to distinguish and make them known; and have many, even of the most important in their collection, that are not now to be found.

The ages which succeeded that of Dioscorides, added little riches to botany. And, indeed, at length all the sciences were eclipsed, and did not appear again till the fifteenth century, when every body was intent upon hearing the ancients, in order to retrieve the learning which had been so long buried in oblivion. Pope Nicholas V. commissioned Theodore Gaza to translate Theophrastus, as the only man capable of making him understood. Soon after other learned men laboured successively in translating Dioscorides. These versions, though very estimable in other respects, served only to excite disputes between many very learned physicians.

The search after plants in the books of the Greeks and Latins was from that time conceived not the best method of making any great progress in the knowledge of them. Accordingly resolutions were taken to go in quest of it to the places where the ancients had wrote. With this view voyages were made to the islands of the Archipelago, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt. These excursions were useless enough with respect to their principal design, the understanding of the ancient authors; but the learned having brought back a great number of plants which they discovered themselves, botany began to appear in its true form, and to change what before was only citation and comment, into natural observations and a regular science. About the end of the fifteenth century, they confined themselves solely to describing the plants of their own countries, or of those into which greater curiosity had carried the lovers of botany; and they began to point out the places, where each plant grew, the time of its coming up, its duration, and maturity, with figures, that constitute the principal value of these kind of works, from the clearness they give them. Various collections which appeared at that time, instead of the five or six hundred extracted by Mathioli from the ancients, included in the beginning of the sixteenth century more than six thousand, all described with their figures. There was still wanting, however, a general order, or system, to the knowledge of plants, which might make it a science properly so called, by giving it principles and a method. Upon this several of the learned employed themselves afterwards, with a success, not indeed perfect hitherto, (for sciences attain their ultimate perfection only from succession of time,) but which afforded great views and insight for arriving at that perfection.

The system of botany at length received its last form from Monsieur Tournefort.¹ His institutions, attended with the description and designs of an im-

mense number of plants, will be an eternal monument of the vastness of his views, and his laborious inquiries, which cost him incredible fatigues, indispensably necessary to the design he proposed. For botany, says Mr. Fontenelle, in his oration in praise of Mr. Tournefort, is not a sedentary and inactive science, that may be attained in the repose and shade of a closet, like geometry or history; or which at most, like chemistry, anatomy, and astronomy, requires operations of no great pains and application. To succeed in it, the student must range over mountains and forests, must climb steep rocks, and expose himself upon the brinks of precipices. The only books that can instruct him fully in this subject, are sprinkled over the face of the whole earth, and to peruse and collect them, he must resolve upon fatigue and danger.

To succeed in the design of carrying botany to the greatest perfection, or at least to approach it, it would be necessary to study Theophrastus and Dioscorides in Greece, Asia, Egypt, Africa, and in all the places where they lived, or with which they were more particularly acquainted. Monsieur Tournefort received the king's orders in 1700, to make the tour of these provinces, not only in order for knowing the plants of the ancients, and perhaps also such others as might have escaped them, but for making observations upon natural history in general. These are expenses worthy of a prince of Louis XIVth's magnificence, and will do him infinite honour throughout all ages. The plague which then raged in Egypt, abridged Mr. Tournefort's travels to his great regret, and made him return from Smyrna into France in 1702. He arrived, as a great poet says upon a more pompous but less useful occasion, "laden with the spoils of the East."² Besides an infinity of various observations, he brought back thirteen hundred and fifty-six new species of plants, without including those which he had collected in his former travels. What vast riches! It was necessary to dispose them in an order that might facilitate the knowledge of them. This Mr. Tournefort had before laboured in his first work, published in the year 1694. By the new order which he established, the whole were reduced into fourteen figures of flowers, by the means of which we descend to six hundred and seventy-three kinds, or distinct genuses, that contain under them eight thousand eight hundred and forty-six species of plants.

Since Monsieur Tournefort's death, botany has been greatly augmented, and new additions are every day made to it by the pains and application of those who have the care of this part of physic in the royal garden of France, especially since the direction of it has been given to the Count de Maurepas, secretary of state, who not only delights, but thinks it his duty, to protect learning and learned men.

I ought here to express my gratitude to Monsieur Jussieu, senior,³ who communicated one of his memoirs upon botany to me.

SECTION III.—OF CHEMISTRY.

CHEMISTRY is an art which teaches to separate by fire the different substances contained in mixed bodies, or, which is the same thing, in vegetables, minerals, and animals; that is to say, to make the analysis of natural bodies, to reduce them into their first principles, and to discover their hidden virtues. It may be of use both to physicians in particular for the discovery of medicines, and natural philosophers in general for the knowledge of nature. It does not appear, that the ancients made much use of it, though perhaps it was not unknown to them.

Paracelsus, who lived in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and taught physic at Basil, acquired great reputation there, by curing many persons of diseases believed incurable with chemical remedies. He boasted, that he could preserve a man's life du-

¹ This was written (as may be at once supposed) before the appearance of Linnæus, whose system of classification superseded all others, and who established a new and by far the most important era in the history of botany. As the science belongs, comparatively speaking, to modern times, it does not fall within the design of this work to trace its progress.—Ed.

² *Spoliis Orientis onustus. Virg.*

³ Doctor regent in the faculty of physic in the university of Paris, professor and demonstrator of plants in the garden royal, &c.

ring many ages, and died himself at fourscore and eight.

Mr. Lemery, so expert and famous in chemistry, declared almost all analyses to be no more than the curiosity of philosophers, and believed that in respect to physic, chemistry, in reducing mixed bodies to their principles, reduced them often to nothing. I shall relate one of his experiments, which is curious, and intelligible to every body.¹

He made an *Ætna* on Vesuvius, by burying at the depth of a foot in the ground, during the summer, fifty pounds of filings of iron and sulphur pulverized in equal quantities, the whole made into a paste with water. In about eight or nine hours' time, the earth swelled, and opened itself in several places; and emitted hot and sulphurous vapours, and at length flames. It is easy to conceive, that a greater quantity of this mixture of iron and sulphur with a proportionate depth of earth, was all that was wanting to form a real mount *Ætna*: that the sulphurous vapours would, in endeavouring a passage, have occasioned an earthquake more or less violent, according to their force and the obstacles in their way: that when they either found or made themselves a vent, they would break out with an impetuosity to occasion a hurricane: that if they made their way through a part of the earth under the sea, they would occasion those water-spouts, so dangerous to ships: and, lastly, that if they rose to the clouds, they would carry their sulphur thither along with them, which would produce thunder.

There is a kind of chimerical chemistry, that proposes the transmutation of metals as its object, and is called *Alchemy*, or *Seeking the philosopher's stone*.

SECTION IV.—OF ANATOMY.

ANATOMY is a science that teaches the knowledge of the parts of a human body, and of other animals,

¹ Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, an. 1700.

by dissection. Those who have wrote upon anatomy among the ancients, are Hippocrates, Democritus, Aristotle, Erasistratus, Galen, Herophylus,² and many others, who perfectly knew the necessity of it, and considered it as the most important part of physic; without which it was impossible to know the use of the parts of a human body, and consequently the causes of diseases. It was, however, entirely renounced for many ages, and was not re-instated till the sixteenth century. The dissection of a human body was held sacrilege till the reign of Francis I. and there is a consultation extant, which the emperor Charles V. caused the professors of theology at Salamanca to hold, in order to inquire whether a human body might be dissected for the knowledge of its structure with a safe conscience. Vesal, a Flemish physician, who died in 1564, was the first who revived and methodized what is called anatomy.

Since him, anatomy has made a great progress, and been much improved. One of the discoveries which have done most honour to the moderns, is the circulation of the blood. The motion by which the blood is carried several times a day from the heart into all the parts of the body by the arteries, and returns from those parts to the heart by the veins, is so called. In 1628, HARVEY, a celebrated English doctor, is said to have been the first who discovered the circulation, which is now admitted by all physicians. There are some, however, who deny him this glory, and even pretend that Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Plato, knew it before him. That may be: but they made so little use of it, that it is almost the same as if they had been ignorant of it; and as much may be said of them in respect to many other physical matters.

² According to Tertullian, this Herophylus, in order to know the human body, dissected a very great number of bodies.

OF THE MATHEMATICS.

THE Mathematics hold the first place among the sciences, because they alone are founded upon infallible demonstrations. And this undoubtedly gave them their name. For *Mathesis* in Greek signifies science.

I shall consider particularly in this place only Geometry and Astronomy, which are the principal branches of mathematical knowledge; to which I shall add some other parts, that have an essential relation to them.

I must confess, to my shame, that the subjects of which I am going to treat are absolutely unknown to me, except the historical part of them. But, by the privilege I have assumed, with which the public does not seem to be offended, it is in my power to apply the riches of others to my own use. What treasures have I not found upon this occasion in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences*! If I could have taken all I have said upon such sublime and abstracted subjects from them, I should have no occasion to fear for myself.

CHAPTER I. OF GEOMETRY.

THE word *Geometry* signifies literally, *the art of measuring the earth*. The Egyptians are said to have invented it on account of the inundations of the Nile.¹ For that river carrying away the landmarks every year, and lessening some estates to enlarge others, the Egyptians were obliged to measure their country

often, and for that purpose to contrive a method and art, which was the origin and beginning of geometry. This reason might have induced the Egyptians to cultivate geometry with the more care and attention; but its origin is undoubtedly of more ancient date. However that may be, it passed from Egypt into Greece, and Thales of Miletus is believed to have carried it thither at his return from his travels. Pythagoras also placed it in great honour, and admitted no disciples who had not learned the principles of geometry.

Geometry is to be considered in two different views; either as a speculative, or a practical science.

Geometry, as a speculative science, considers the figure and extent of bodies according to three different dimensions, length, breadth, and thickness, which form three species of extent, lines, superficies, and solids, or solid body. Accordingly it compares the different lines with each other, and determines their equality or inequality. It shows also how much greater the one is than the other. It does the same in respect to superficies. For instance, it demonstrates that a triangle is the half of a parallelogram of the same base and height: that two circles are in proportion to each other as the squares of their diameters; that is to say, that if the one be three times as large as the other, the first will contain nine times as much space as the latter. And lastly, it considers solids or the quantities of bodies in the same manner. It shows, that a pyramid is the third of a prism of the same base and height: that a sphere or globe is two thirds of a cylinder circumscribed, that is to say, a cylinder of the

¹ Herod. l. ii. c. 109. Strab. l. xvii. p. 787.

same height and breadth: that globes are in the same proportion with each other as the cubes of their diameters. If, for example, the diameter of one globe be four times as large as that of another, the first globe is sixty-four times as much in quantity as the second. Accordingly, if they are of the same matter, the former will weigh sixty-four times as much as the other, because 64 is the cube of 4.

Practical geometry, founded upon the theory of the speculative, is solely employed in measuring the three species of extent, lines, superficies, and solids. It teaches us, for example, how to measure the distance of two objects from each other, the height of a tower, and the extent of land: how to divide a superficies into as many parts as we please, of which the one may be twice, thrice, four times, &c. as large as another. It shows us how to gauge casks, and the manner of finding the contents of any other vessels used either to hold liquids or solids. It not only measures different objects upon the surface of the earth, but the globe of the earth itself, by determining the extent of its circumference, and the length of its diameter. It goes so far as to show the distance of the moon from the earth. It even ventures to measure that of the sun, and its magnitude in respect to the terrestrial globe.

The most illustrious philosophers made this science their peculiar study: Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Architas, Eudoxus, and many others, of whom I shall only speak of the most known, and those whose works have come down to us.

EUCLID, Ant. J. C. 300. We shall speak of him in the sequel.

ARISTEUS the elder. He seems to have been Euclid's contemporary. He wrote five books upon *solid places*, that is to say, as Pappus explains it, upon the three Conic Sections.

APOLLONIUS PERGEUS, so called from a city of Pamphylia, Ant. J. C. 250. He lived in the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes, and collected all that the most learned geometers had written upon conic sections before him, of which he made eight books, which came down entire to the time of Pappus of Alexandria, who composed a kind of introduction to that work. The four last books of Apollonius were afterwards lost. But in 1658 the famous John Alphonso Borelli, passing through Florence, found an Arabian manuscript in the library of the Medicis, with this inscription in Latin, *Apollonii Pergæ Conicorum Libri Octo*. They were translated into Latin.

ARCHIMEDES. I shall defer speaking of him for a little.

PAPPUS of Alexandria flourished in the reign of Theodosius, in the 395th year of Christ. He composed a collection upon geometrical subjects in eight books, of which the two first are lost. The Abbé Gallois, when the Academy of Sciences assumed a new form in 1699, undertook to work upon the geometry of the ancients, and particularly upon Pappus's collection, of which he was for printing the Greek text, that had never been done, and for correcting the very defective Latin version. It is a misfortune for the commonwealth of letters, that this was only intended.

Of the geometers I have mentioned, the two most illustrious, and who have done most honour to geometry, but in a different degree of merit, were Euclid and Archimedes. Euclid is only an author of elements: but Archimedes is a sublime geometrician, whom even the most learned in the new methods, admire to this day.

EUCLID.

EUCLID the mathematician was of Alexandria, where he taught in the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus. We must not confound him, as Valerius Maximus has done, with another Euclid of Megara, the founder of the sect of philosophers, called the Megaric sect, who lived in the time of Socrates and Plato, above fourscore years before the mathematician. Euclid seems to have made speculative geometry his sole and principal study. He has left us a work entitled, *the Elements of Geometry*, in fifteen books. It is however doubted, whether the two last are his. His

elements contain a series of propositions, which are the basis and foundation of all the other parts of the mathematics. This book is considered as one of the most precious monuments which have come down to us from the ancients in respect to natural knowledge. He wrote also upon optics, catoptrics, music, and other learned subjects.

It hath been observed, that the famous M. Pascal, at twelve years of age, without having ever read any book of geometry, or knowing any thing more of that science, except that it taught the method of making exact figures, and of finding their proportions to each other, proceeded by the strength of his genius only, to the 32d proposition of the first book of Euclid.

ARCHIMEDES.

ALL the world knows that Archimedes was of Syracuse, and a near relation to king Hiero. What I have said of him with sufficient extent in speaking of the siege of Syracuse by the Romans, dispenses with my repeating his history in this place. He was, of himself and by natural inclination, solely intent upon whatever is most noble, most exalted, and most abstracted, in geometry;¹ and some of his works of this kind, of which he composed a great number, have come down to us. It was only at the request and warm instances of king Hiero his relation, that he suffered himself at length to be persuaded to bring down his art, from soaring perpetually after intellectual and spiritual things, sometimes to things sensible and corporeal, and to render his reasonings in some sort more evident and palpable to the generality of mankind, in mingling them by experiments with things of use. We have seen what services he did his country at the siege of Syracuse, and the astonishing machines that came from his industrious hands. He however set no value upon these, and considered them as pastime and amusement, in comparison with those sublime reasonings, that gratified his inclination and taste for truth in a quite different manner. The world is never more indebted to these great geometers than when they descend to act thus for its service: it is a sacrifice, which costs them much, because it tears them from a pleasure of which they are infinitely fond, but to which they think themselves obliged, as indeed they are for the honour of geometry, to prefer the good of the public.

Eudoxus and Architas were the first inventors of this kind of mechanics, and reduced them to practice, to vary and unbend geometry by this kind of amusement, and to prove by sensible and instrumental experiments some problems, which did not appear susceptible of demonstration by reasoning and practice: which are Plutarch's own words.² He cites here the problem of the two mean proportionals for obtaining the duplication of the cube, which could never be geometrically resolved before Descartes did it. Plutarch adds, that Plato was much offended at them on this account, and reproached them with having corrupted the excellency of geometry, in making it descend, like a mean slave, from intellectual and spiritual, to sensible things, and in obliging it to employ matter, which requires the work of the hands, and is the object of a low and servile trade; and that from thenceforth mechanics were separated from geometry, as unworthy of it. This delicacy is singular; and would have deprived human society of a great number of aids, and geometry of the only part of it, that can recommend it to mankind: because if it were not applied to things sensible and of use, it would serve only for the amusement of a very small number of contemplative persons.

The two celebrated geometers, whom I have distinguished from the multitude, Euclid and Archimedes, universally esteemed by the learned, though in a different degree, show how far the ancients carried their knowledge in geometry. But it must be confessed, that it soared to a quite different height, and almost entirely changed its aspect in the last age, by the new system of the Infinitesimal Analysis, or Dif-

¹ Plut. in Marcel. p. 305.

² Diog. Laert. in Archim. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305.

ferential Calculus, for which, no doubt, the particular application bestowed till then upon this study, and the happy discoveries made in it, had prepared the way. The advances we make in science are progressive. Every acquisition of knowledge does not reveal itself, till after the discovery of a certain number of things necessarily previous to it: and when it comes to its turn to disclose itself, it casts a light that attracts all eyes upon it. The period was arrived, wherein geometry was to bring forth the calculus of Infinites. Newton was the first who made this wonderful discovery; and Leibnitz the first who published it. All the great geometers entered with ardour the paths that had been lately opened for them, in which they advanced with giant steps. In proportion as their boldness in treating infinites increased, geometry extended her bounds. The infinite exalted every thing to a sublimity, and at the same time led on to a facility in every thing, of which no body had ventured so much as to conceive any hopes before. And this is the period of an almost total revolution in geometry.

I have said that Newton first discovered this wonderful calculus, and that Leibnitz published it first. The latter, in 1684, actually inserted the rules of the differential calculus in the Acts of Leipsic, but concealed the demonstrations of them. The illustrious brothers, the Bernoullis, discovered them, though very difficult, and used this calculus with surprising success. The most exalted, the boldest, and most unexpected solutions rose up under their hands. In 1687 appeared Newton's admirable work upon the *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, which was almost entirely founded upon this calculus; and he had the modesty not to exclaim against the rules of Mr. Leibnitz. It was generally believed that each of them had discovered this new system, through the conformity of their great talents and learning. A dispute arose on this occasion, which was carried on by their adherents on both sides with sufficient warmth. Newton cannot be denied the glory of having been the inventor of this new system; but Mr. Leibnitz ought not to be branded with the infamous name of a plagiarist, nor to have the shame of a theft laid upon him, which he denied with a boldness and impudence very remote from the character of so great a man.

In the first years the geometry of the infinitesimal calculus was only a kind of mystery. Solutions frequently came out in the Journals, of which the method that produced them was not suffered to appear; and even when it was discovered, only some feeble rays of that science escaped, which were soon lost again in clouds and darkness. The public, or more properly, the small number of those who aspired at elevated geometry, were struck with a useless admiration, that made them never the wiser; and means were found to acquire their applause, without imparting the instruction, with which it ought to have been deserved. Mr. De l'Hopital, that sublime genius, who has done geometry and France so much honour, resolved to communicate the hidden treasures of the new geometry without reserve, and he did so in the famous book called the *Analysis of Infinites*, which he published in 1696. He there unveiled all the secrets of the geometrical infinite, and of the infinite of infinite; in a word, all the different orders of infinites, which rise upon one another, and form the boldest and most amazing superstructure, that human genius has ever ventured to imagine. It is in this manner the sciences attain their perfection.

As, in speaking of geometry, I travel in a country entirely unknown to me, I have scarcely done any thing, besides copying and abridging what I found upon the subject in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences. But I thought it incumbent on me to add the advantageous testimony, which Mr. De l'Hopital, of whom I have just spoken, gives in a few lines to Mr. Leibnitz, on account of the invention of the calculus of infinites, in his preface to the *Analysis of Infinites*. "His calculus," says he, "has carried him into regions hitherto unknown; where he has made discoveries that astonished the most profound mathematicians of Europe."

I add here another passage from the preface, but longer, that seems to me a model of the wise and moderate manner, with which one ought to think and speak of the great men of antiquity, even when we prefer the moderns to them. "What the ancients have left us upon these subjects, and especially Archimedes, is certainly worthy of admiration. But, besides their having touched very little upon curves, and that too very superficially, almost all they have done upon that head, are particular and detached propositions, that do not imply any regular and coherent method. They cannot however be justly reproached on that account. It required exceeding force of genius to penetrate through so many obscurities, and to enter first into regions so entirely unknown. If they were not far from them, if they went by round-about ways, at least they did not go astray; and the more difficult and thorny the paths they followed were, the more they are to be admired for not losing themselves in them. In a word, it does not seem possible for the ancients to have done more in their time. They have done what our best moderns would have done in their places; and if they were in ours, it is to be believed they would have had the same views with us.—It is therefore no wonder that the ancients went no farther. But one cannot be sufficiently surprised, that great men, and no doubt as great men as the ancients, should continue there so long; and through an almost superstitious admiration for their works, content themselves with reading and commenting upon them, without allowing themselves any farther use of their own talents, than what sufficed for following them, and without daring to venture the crime of thinking sometimes for themselves, and of extending their views beyond what the ancients had discovered. In this manner many studied, wrote, and multiplied books: whilst no advancements at all were made. All the labours of many ages had no other tendency, than to fill the world with obsequious comments, and repeated translations of originals, often contemptible enough. Such was the state of the mathematics, and especially of philosophy, till the period of Monsieur Descartes."

I return now to my subject. We are sometimes tempted to think the time very indifferently employed, that persons of genius bestow upon abstract studies, which seem of no immediate utility, and only proper to satisfy a vain curiosity. To think in this manner is contrary to reason; because we make ourselves judges of what we neither know, nor are qualified to know. It is indeed true, that all the speculations of pure geometry or algebra are not immediately applied to useful things, but they either lead or relate to those that do. Besides a geometrical speculation, which has at first no useful object, comes in time to be applicable to use. When the greatest geometers of the seventeenth century studied a new curve, which they called the *cycloid*, it was only a mere speculation, in which they solely engaged through the vanity of discovering difficult theorems, in emulation of each other. They did not so much as pretend that they were labouring for the good of the public. The cycloid however was found, upon a strict inquiry into its nature, to be destined to give pendulums all possible perfection, and the measure of time its utmost exactness. Besides the aid which every branch of the mathematics derives from geometry, the study of this science is of infinite advantage in the uses of life. It is always good to think and reason right: and it has been justly said, that there is no better practical logic than geometry. Though the knowledge of numbers and lines absolutely tended to nothing, it would always be the only certain knowledge, of which we are capable by the light of nature, and would serve as the surest means to give our reason the first habitude and bent of truth. It would teach us to operate upon truths, to trace the chain of them, subtle and almost imperceptible as it frequently is, and to follow them to the utmost extent of which they are capable: in fine, it would render the true so familiar to us, that we should be able, on many occasions, to know it at the first glance, and almost by instinct.

The geometrical spirit is not so much confined to geometry, as that it cannot be taken off from it, and transferred to other branches of knowledge. Works of moral philosophy, politics, criticism, and even eloquence, *cæteris paribus*, would have additional beauties, if composed by geometricians. The order, perspicuity, distinction, and exactness, which have prevailed in good books for some time past, may very probably have derived themselves from this geometrical spirit, which spreads more than ever, and in some sort communicates itself from author to author, even to those who know nothing of geometry. A great man is sometimes followed by the age in which he lives; and the person, to whom the glory of having established a new art of reasoning may justly be ascribed, was an excellent geometrician.¹

OF ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA.

ARITHMETIC is a part of the mathematics. It is a science which teaches all the various operations of numbers, and demonstrates their properties. It is necessary in many operations of geometry, and therefore ought to precede it. The Greeks are said to have received it from the Phenicians.

The ancients, who have treated arithmetic with most exactness, are Euclid, Nicomachus, Diophantus of Alexandria, and Theon of Smyrna.

It was difficult either for the Greeks or the Romans to succeed much in arithmetic, as both used only the letters of the alphabet for numbers, the multiplication of which, in great calculations, necessarily occasioned abundance of trouble. The Arabic ciphers now used, which have not above four hundred years of antiquity, are infinitely more commodious, and have contributed very much to the improvement of arithmetic.

Algebra is a part of the mathematics, which upon quantity in general expressed by the letters of the alphabet does all the operations done by arithmetic upon numbers. The characters it uses signifying nothing of themselves, may be applied to any species of quantity, which is one of the principal advantages of this science. Besides these characters, it uses certain signs, that greatly abridge its operations, and render them much clearer. By the help of algebra most of the problems of the mathematics may be resolved, provided they are capable of solution. It was not entirely unknown to the ancients. Plato is believed to be the inventor of it. Theon, in his treatise upon arithmetic, gives it the name of *analysis*.

All great mathematicians are well versed in algebra, or at least sufficiently for indispensable use. But this knowledge when carried beyond this ordinary use, is so perplexed, so thick sown with difficulties, so clogged with immense calculations, and in a word, so hideous, that few people have heroic courage enough to plunge into such dark and profound abysses. Certain shining theories, in which refinement of genius seems to have more share than severity of labour, are much more alluring. However, the more sublime geometry is become inseparable from algebra. Mr. Rolle, among the French, has carried this knowledge as high as possible, for which he had a natural inclination and a kind of instinct, that made him devour all the asperity, and I had almost said, horror of this study, not only with patience but delight.

I shall not enter into a circumstantial account of arithmetic and algebra, which far exceeds my capacity, and would neither be useful nor agreeable to the reader.

It has been, for some years, an established custom in the university of Paris, to explain the elements of these sciences in the classes of philosophy, by way of introduction to physics. This last part of philosophy, in its present state, is almost a system of enigmas to those who have not at least some tincture of the principles of the mathematics. Accordingly the most learned professors have conceived it necessary to begin with them, in order to make any progress in physics. Besides the advantages, which result from the mathematics in respect to physics, those who

teach them in their classes, find that the youth, who apply themselves to them, acquire an exactness of mind, and a close way of thinking, which they retain in all the other sciences. These two considerations suffice to show our obligation to the professors, who first introduced this custom, which is now become almost general in the university.

Mr. Rivard, professor of philosophy in the college of Beauvais, has composed a treatise upon this subject, which contains the elements of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, wherein every thing is said to be explained to a sufficient extent, and with all possible exactness and perspicuity.

OF MECHANICS.

MECHANICS is a science, that teaches the nature of the moving powers, the art of designing all kinds of machines, and of removing any weight by the means of levers, wedges, pulleys, wheels, &c. Many, who consider mechanics only with regard to their practice, set little value upon it, because it seems to belong solely to workmen, and to require the hands only, and not the understanding; but a different judgment is passed upon it, when considered with regard to their theory, which is capable of employing the most exalted genius. It is besides the science that guides the hands of the workman, and by which he brings his inventions to perfection. A slight idea, dropped even by the ignorant, and the effect of chance, is afterwards often pursued by degrees to supreme perfection, by persons profoundly skilled in geometry and mechanics. This happened in respect to telescopes, which owe their birth to the son of a Dutchman who made spectacles. Holding a convex glass in one hand, and a concave one in the other, and looking through them without design, he perceived that distant objects appeared much larger, and more distant than when he saw them with the naked eye. Galileo, Kepler, and Descartes, by the rules of dioptrics, carried this invention, gross at it was in its beginning, a great way; which has since been much more improved.

The most celebrated authors of antiquity, who have wrote upon the mechanics, are Architas of Tarentum; Aristotle; Æneas his contemporary, whose tactics are still extant, in which he treats of machines of war, a work which Cineas, the friend of Pyrrhus, abridged; Archimedes particularly, of whom we have spoken before; Athenæus, who dedicated his book upon machines, to Marcellus, that took Syracuse; and lastly, Hero of Alexandria, by whom we have several treatises.

Of all the works upon mechanics which have come down to us from the ancients, only those of Archimedes treat this science in all its extent; but often with great obscurity. The siege of Syracuse shows how high his abilities in mechanics rose. It is no wonder, that the moderns, after the many physical discoveries made in the last century, have carried that science much farther than the ancients. The machines of Archimedes, however, still amaze the most profound in the mechanics of our times.

If all the advantages of mechanics were to be particularly shown, it would be necessary to describe all the machines used heretofore on different times and occasions, both in war and peace, as well as those now used either for necessity or diversion. It is upon the principles of this science, that the construction of wind and water mills for different uses is founded; of most of the machines used in war, both in the attack and defence of places; of those which are employed in great numbers for the raising of heavy weights in building, and of water by pumps, wheels, and all the various engines for that use; in a word, we are indebted to mechanics for an infinity of very useful and curious works.

OF STATICS.

STATICS is a science, that makes part of the mixed mathematics. It considers solid bodies in respect to their weight, and lays down rules for moving them, and for placing them *in equilibrio*.

The great principle of this science is, that when

¹ Descartes.

the masses of two unequal bodies are in reciprocal proportion to their velocities, that is to say, when the quantity or mass of the one contains that of the other, as much as the swiftness of the second contains that of the first, their quantities of motion, or powers, are equal. From this principle it follows, that with a very small body a much greater may be moved: or, which is the same thing, that with a certain given power any weight whatsoever may be moved. For this purpose the velocity of the moving power is only to be augmented in proportion to the weight of the body to be moved.

This appears evidently in the lever, on which almost all machines depend. The point on which it is supported, is called the *fulcrum*, or point of support. The extent from that point to one of the extremities, is called the distance from the point of support, or *radius*. The bodies at the two extremities of the lever, are called weights. If one of these weights be only half the other, and its distance twice as far from the fulcrum, the two weights will be in *equilibrium*, because then the velocity of the least will contain that of the greatest, in the same manner as the mass of the greatest will contain that of the least: for their velocities are in the same proportion to each other, as their distances from the point of support. According to this principle, by augmenting the distance of the weight which is but half the other, the lighter will raise up the heavier.

It was upon this principle that Archimedes told king Hiero, that if he had a place, where he could fix himself and his instruments, he could move the earth. To prove what he said, and to show that prince, that the greatest weight might be moved with a small force, he made the experiment before him upon one of the largest of his galleys, which had double the lading it used to carry put on board; and which he made move forward upon the land without difficulty, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine he had prepared for that purpose.

Hydrostatics considers the effects of weight in liquids, whether in liquids alone, or in liquids acting upon solids, or reciprocally. It was by hydrostatics, that Archimedes discovered what a goldsmith had stolen from king Hiero's crown, in which he had mingled other metal with gold. His joy was so great on having found this secret, that he leaped out of the bath without considering he was naked, and solely intent upon his discovery, went home in that condition, to make the experiment, crying out through the streets, *I have found it, I have found it.*

CHAPTER II. OF ASTRONOMY.

Mr. Cassini has left us an excellent treatise upon the origin and progress of astronomy, which I shall only abridge in this place.¹

It is not to be doubted but astronomy was invented from the beginning of the world. As there is nothing more surprising than the regularity of those great luminous bodies, that turn incessantly round the earth, it is easy to judge, that one of the first objects of the curiosity of mankind was to consider their courses, and to observe the periods of them. But it was not curiosity alone that induced men to apply themselves to astronomical speculations: necessity itself may be said to have obliged them to it. For if the seasons are not observed, which are distinguished by the motion of the sun, it is impossible to succeed in agriculture. If the times proper for making voyages were not previously known, commerce could not be carried on. If the duration of the month and year was not determined, a certain order could not be established in civil affairs, nor the days allotted to the exercise of religion be fixed. Thus as neither agriculture, commerce, polity, nor religion could dispense with astronomy, it is evident that mankind were obliged to apply themselves to that science from the beginning of the world.

What Ptolemy² relates of the observations of the

heavens, by which Hipparchus reformed astronomy almost two thousand years ago, proves sufficiently, that in the most ancient times, and even before the flood, this science was much studied. And it is no wonder, that several of the astronomical observations, made during the first ages of the world, should be preserved even after the flood, if what Josephus³ relates be true, that the descendants of Seth, to preserve the remembrance of the celestial observations which they had made, engraved the principal of them upon two pillars, the one of brick and the other of stone; that the pillar of brick withstood the waters of the deluge, and that even in his time there were remains of it to be seen in Syria.

It is agreed that astronomy was cultivated in a particular manner by the Chaldeans. The height of the tower of Babel, which the vanity of men erected about a hundred and fifty years after the flood, the level and extensive plains of that country, the nights in which they breathed the fresh air after the troublesome heat of the day, an unbroken horizon, a pure and serene sky, all conspired to engage that people to contemplate the vast extent of the heavens, and the motions of the stars.⁴ From Chaldea astronomy passed into Egypt, and soon after was carried into Phœnicia, where they began to apply its speculative observations to the uses of navigation, by which the Phœnicians soon became masters of the sea and of commerce.

What made them bold in undertaking long voyages, was their custom of steering their ships by the observation of one of the stars of the Little Bear, which being near the immovable point of the heavens, called the pole, is the most proper to serve as a guide in navigation. Other nations, less skilful in astronomy, observed only the Great Bear in their voyages.⁵ But as that constellation is too far from the pole to be capable of serving as a certain guide in long voyages, they did not dare to stand out so far to sea, as to lose sight of the coast: and if a storm happened to drive them into the main ocean, or upon some unknown shore, it was impossible for them to know by the heavens into what part of the world the tempest had carried them.

Thales having at length brought the science of the stars from Phœnicia into Greece, taught the Greeks to know the constellation of the little Bear, and to make use of it as their guide in navigation.⁷ He also taught them the theory of the motion of the sun and moon, by which he accounted for the length and shortness of the days; determined the number of the days of the solar year, and not only explained the causes of eclipses, but showed the art of foretelling them, which he even reduced to practice, foretelling an eclipse which happened soon after. The merit of a knowledge so uncommon in those days made him pass for the oracle of his times, and occasioned his being given the first place among the seven sages of Greece.

Anaximander was his disciple, to whom Pliny⁸ and Diogenes Laërtius ascribe the invention of the sphere, that is to say, the representation of the terrestrial globe; or, according to Strabo,⁹ geographical maps. Anaximander is said also to have erected a gnomon at Sparta, by means of which he observed the equinoxes and solstices; and to have determined the obliquity of the ecliptic more exactly than had ever been done before; which was necessary for dividing the terrestrial globe into five zones, and for distinguishing the climates, that were afterwards used by geographers for showing the situation of all the places of the earth.

Upon the instructions which the Greeks had received from Thales and Anaximander, they ventured into the main sea, and sailing to various remote countries, planted many colonies in them.

Astronomy was soon repaid for the advantages she

¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. i.

² Principio Assyri, propter planitiam magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cum cœlum ex omni parte patens atque apertum intuerentur, irraclionibus motusque stellarum observarent.—Qua in natione Chaldei—diuturna observatione siderum scientiam putantur effecisse, &c. Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 2.

³ Plin. l. vii. c. 56.

⁴ Arat.

⁵ Diog. Laert. l. i.

⁶ Strab. l. i. p. 7. Diog. Laert. l. n.

⁷ Plut. in Moral. p. 1094.

⁸ Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, vol. viii.

⁹ Ptolem. Almagest. l. iv. c. 2.

had procured navigation. For commerce having opened the rest of the world to the learned of Greece, they acquired great light from their conferences with the priests of Egypt, who made the science of the stars their peculiar profession. They learned also many things from the philosophers of the sect of Pythagoras in Italy, who had made so great a progress in this science, that they ventured to reject the received opinions of all the world concerning the order of nature, and ascribed perpetual rest to the sun, and motion to the earth.¹

Meton distinguished himself very much at Athens by his particular application to astronomy, and by the great success with which his labours were rewarded.² He lived in the time of the Peloponnesian war; and when the Athenians were fitting out a fleet against Sicily, foreseeing that expedition would be attended with fatal consequences, he counterfeited the madman to avoid having a share in it, and setting out with the other citizens. It was he that invented what is called *The Golden Number*, in order to make the lunar and solar years agree.³ That number is a revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns to the same place and days, and renews its course with the sun, at the difference of about an hour and some minutes.

The Greeks improved also from their intercourse with the Druids,⁴ who, among many other things, says Julius Caesar, which they taught their youth, instructed them particularly in the motion of the stars, and the magnitude of the heavens and the earth, that is to say, in astronomy and geography.

This kind of learning is more ancient among the Gauls, than is generally imagined. Strabo⁵ has preserved a famous observation, made by Pytheas at Marseilles above two thousand years ago, concerning the proportion of the shadow of the sun to the length of a gnomon at the time of the solstice. If the circumstances of this observation were exactly known, it would serve to resolve an important question, which is, whether the obliquity of the ecliptic be subject to any change.

Pytheas was not contented with making observations in his own country.⁶ His passion for astronomy and geography made him run over all Europe, from the pillars of Hercules to the mouths of the Tanais. He went by the western ocean very far towards the Arctic pole, and observed that in proportion as he advanced the days grew longer at the summer solstice, so that in a certain climate there was but three hours of night, and farther only two, till at last in the Island of Thule, the sun rose almost as soon as it set, the tropic continuing entirely above the horizon of that isle; which happens in Iceland, and the northern parts of Norway, as modern accounts inform us. Strabo, who imagined that these climates were uninhabitable, accuses Pytheas of falsehood, and blames the credulity of Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, who, upon Pytheas's authority, said the same thing of the Island of Thule. But the accounts of modern travellers having fully justified Pytheas, we may give him the glory of being the first, who advanced towards the pole to countries before believed uninhabitable, and who distinguished climates by the different lengths of days and nights.

About Pytheas's time, the learned of Greece having conceived a taste for astronomy, many great men among them applied themselves to it in emulation of each other. Eudoxus, after having been some time the disciple of Plato, was not satisfied with what was taught upon that subject in the schools of Athens. He therefore went to Egypt to cultivate that science at its source, and having obtained a letter of recommendation from Agesilaus king of Sparta to Nectanebus king of Egypt, he remained sixteen months with the astronomers of that country, in order to improve himself by consulting them. At his return, he com-

posed several books upon astronomy, and among others the description of the constellations, which Aratus turned into verse some time after by the order of Antigonus.

Aristotle, the contemporary of Eudoxus, and also Plato's disciple, made use of astronomy for improving physics and geography. By the observations of astronomers, he determined the figure and magnitude of the earth.⁷ He demonstrated that it was spherical by the roundness of its shadow, which appeared upon the disk of the moon in eclipses, and by the inequality of the meridian altitudes which are different according to their distance from, or approach to the poles. Callisthenes, who was in the train of Alexander the Great, having had occasion to go to Babylon, found astronomical observations there, which the Babylonians had made during the space of nineteen hundred and three years, and sent them to Aristotle.

After Alexander's death, the princes who succeeded him in the kingdom of Egypt, took so much care to attract the most famous astronomers to their courts by their liberality, that Alexandria, the capital of their kingdom, soon became, to use the expression, the seat of astronomy. The famous Conon made many observations there, but they have not come down to us. Aristyllus and Timochares observed the declination of the fixed stars there, the knowledge of which is absolutely necessary to geography and navigation. Eratosthenes made observations upon the sun in the same city, which served him for measuring the circumference of the earth.⁸ Hipparchus, who resided also at Alexandria,⁹ was the first who laid the foundation for a system of astronomy, when upon the appearance of a new fixed star, he took the number of the fixed stars, in order that future ages might know, whether any more new ones appeared. The fixed stars amounted then to a thousand and twenty-two. He not only described their motion round the poles of the ecliptic, but applied himself also to regulate the theory of the motions of the sun and moon.¹⁰

The Romans, who aspired to the empire of the world, took care at different times to cause descriptions of the principal parts of the earth to be made, a work which implied some knowledge of the stars. Scipio Africanus the younger, during the war with Carthage, gave Polybius ships, in order to survey the coasts of Africa, Spain, and the Gauls.

Pompey corresponded with the learned astronomer and excellent geographer, Posidonius,¹¹ who undertook to measure the circumference of the earth by celestial observations, made at different places under the same meridian,¹² in order to reduce into degrees, the distances, which the Romans till then had measured only by *stadia* (or furlongs) and miles.

In order to settle the difference of climates, the difference of the lengths of shadows was observed, principally at the time of the solstices and equinoxes. Gnomons and obelisks had been set up for this purpose in several parts of the world, as Pliny and Vitruvius inform us,¹³ who have transmitted many of those observations down to posterity. The greatest obelisks were those of Egypt. Julius and Augustus Cæsar caused some of them to be brought thence to Rome, as well to serve for ornaments of the city as to give the exact measures of the proportion of shadows. Augustus caused one of the greatest of these obelisks to be placed in the field of Mars, which was a hundred and eleven feet high, without the pedestal.¹⁴ He caused foundations to be made to it as deep as the obelisk was high; and when the obelisk was placed upon them, he ordered a meridian line to be drawn at bottom, of which the divisions were made with plates of brass fixed in stone, to show the lengthening or shortening of the shadows every day at noon, according to the difference of the seasons. And to show this difference with greater exactness, he caused a ball to be placed upon the point of that obelisk, which is still in

¹ Arist. de cæl. l. ii. c. 13.

² Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. In Nic. p. 532.

³ Diod. Sicul. l. xii. p. 94.

⁴ Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura—disputant, ac juventuti transdunt. *Cæs. de Bell. Gall.* l. 6.

⁵ Strab. l. ii. p. 115.

⁶ Ibid. l. ii. p. 115.

⁷ Arist. de Cæl. l. ii. c. 14.

⁸ Cleomed. l. i.

⁹ Plin. l. vii. c. 30.

¹⁰ Plin. l. ii. c. 72, 73, 74.

¹¹ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 10.

¹² Ptol. Almag. l. vii.

¹³ Ptol. Almag. l. iii.—vii.

¹⁴ Cleomed. l. i.

the field of Mars at Rome, lying in the ground across the cellars of houses built upon its ruins. By comparing the shadows of this obelisk with those observed in several other parts of the world, the knowledge of the latitudes so necessary to the perfection of geography was attained.

Augustus in the mean time caused particular descriptions of different countries to be made, and principally that of Italy, where the distances were marked by miles along the coasts, and upon the great roads.¹ And at length, in that prince's reign, the general description of the world,² at which the Romans had laboured for the space of two ages, was finished from the memoirs of Agrippa, and set up in the midst of Rome, in a great portico built for that purpose. The Itinerary, ascribed to the emperor Antoninus, may be taken for an abridgment of this great work. For this Itinerary is in effect only a collection of the distances which had been measured throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire.

In the reign of that wise emperor, astronomy began to assume a new appearance. For Ptolemy, who may be called the restorer of this science, improving from the knowledge of his predecessors in it, and adding the observations of Hipparchus, Timocharis, and the Babylonians to his own, composed a complete body of astronomy in an excellent book entitled, *The great Construction*, which contains the theory and tables of the motion of the sun, moon, and other planets, and of the fixed stars. Geography is no less indebted to him than astronomy, as we shall see in the sequel.

As great works are never perfect in their beginnings, we must not be surprised, that there are many things to amend in Ptolemy's geography. Many ages elapsed before any body undertook it. But the Arabian princes, who conquered the countries where astronomy and geography were particularly cultivated and professed, had no sooner declared it their intention to make the utmost improvements in those sciences, than persons capable of contributing to the execution of their design were immediately found. Al-mamon, caliph of Babylon, having at that time caused Ptolemy's book entitled *the great Construction*, which the Arabians called *Almagest*, to be translated out of Greek into Arabic, many observations were made by his orders; by means of which the declination of the sun was discovered to be less by one third of a degree than that laid down by Ptolemy; and that the motion of the fixed stars was not so slow as he believed it to be. By the order of the same prince, a great extent of country under the same meridian was measured, in order to determine the length of a degree of the earth's circumference.

Thus astronomy and geography were gradually improved. But the art of navigation made a much more considerable progress in a short time by the help of the compass, of which I shall speak in the sequel.

Almost at the same time that the compass began to be used, the example of the caliphs excited the princes of Europe to promote the improvement of astronomy. The emperor Frederic II. not being able to suffer that the Christians should have less knowledge of this science than the barbarians, caused the *Almagest* of Ptolemy to be translated into Latin from the Arabic, from which version Johannes de Sacrobosco, professor in the university of Paris, extracted his work concerning the sphere, upon which the most learned mathematicians of Europe have written commentaries.

In Spain, Alphonso king of Castile was at a truly royal expense in assembling learned astronomers from all parts.³ By his orders they applied themselves to the reformation of astronomy, and composed new Tables, which from his name were called the Alphonso Tables. They did not succeed at first in establishing the hypothesis of the motion of the fixed stars, which they supposed too slow; but Alphonso afterwards corrected their Tables, which have since been

augmented, and reduced into a more commodious form by different astronomers.

This work awakened the curiosity of the learned of Europe, who immediately invented several kinds of instruments for facilitating the observations of the stars. They calculated Ephemerides, and made tables for finding the declination of the planets at all times, which with the observation of the meridian altitudes, shows the latitudes at land and sea. They laboured also to facilitate the calculation of eclipses, by the observation of which longitudes are found. The fruit of these astronomical labours was the discovery of many countries unknown before. I shall speak of them elsewhere.

France has also produced many illustrious men, who excelled in astronomy, because it has had great princes from time to time, who have taken care to excite their subjects by rewards to apply to it. Charles V., surnamed the Wise, caused many mathematical books to be translated into French. He founded two professorships of mathematics in the college of M. Gervais at Paris, to facilitate the study of those sciences to his subjects. They flourished principally in the following century through the institution of two professorships in the royal college by Francis I. for teaching the mathematics in the capital city of his kingdom. This school produced a considerable number of learned men, who enriched the public with many astronomical and mathematical works, and formed illustrious disciples, whose reputation almost obscured that of their masters.

Germany and the northern nations also produced many excellent astronomers, among whom Copernicus distinguished himself in a particular manner. But the famous Tycho Brahe much exceeded all the astronomers that had preceded him. Besides the Theory and the Tables of the sun and moon, and many fine observations which he made, he composed a new Catalogue of the fixed stars with so much exactness, that the author might from that work alone deserve the name, which some have given him, of Restorer of astronomy.

Whilst Tycho Brahe was making observations in Denmark, several famous astronomers, who assembled at Rome under the authority of pope Gregory XIII., laboured with success, in correcting the errors which had insensibly crept into the ancient calendar, through the precession of the equinoxes, and the anticipation of the new moons. These errors would in process of time have entirely subverted the order established by the councils for the celebration of the movable feast, if the calendar had not been reformed according to the modern observations of the motions of the sun and moon compared with the ancient.

In the last and present age, an infinity of new discoveries have been made, which have rendered astronomy incomparably more perfect than it was when it first began to be taught in Europe. The celebrated Galileo, by the good use he made of the invention of telescopes, was the first who discovered things in the heavens, which had long passed for incredible. Descartes may be ranked among the improvers of astronomy: for the book he composed upon the principles of philosophy, shows that he had taken no less pains to know the motions of the stars, than the other parts of physics: but he confined himself more to reasoning than observation. Gassendi applied himself more to practical astronomy, and published a number of very important observations.

The establishment of the Royal Academy of Sciences may justly be considered as the means that has contributed most to the credit and improvement of astronomy in France, by the incredible emulation, which the desire of supporting their reputation, and distinguishing themselves, excites in a body of learned men. Louis XIV. having caused the Observatory to be built, of which the design, magnificence, and solidity are equally admirable, the Academy, to answer his majesty's intention, in erecting that superb edifice, applied themselves with incredible industry to whatever might contribute to the improvement of astronomy. I shall not particularize in this place the important discoveries that have been the fruits of this

¹ Plin. l. iii. c. 3.

² Calvis. ad an. 1353.

³ Ibid. c. 2.

institution, the learned works of this society, nor the great men who have done, and still continue to do it so much honour. Their names and abilities are known to all Europe, which does their merit all the justice it deserves.

REFLECTIONS UPON ASTRONOMY.

I cannot conclude, the article of astronomy without making two reflections with the authors of the learned Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences.

FIRST REFLECTION.

Upon the Satellites of Jupiter.

WE are naturally enough inclined, as I have already observed in speaking of geometry, to consider as useless, and to despise what we do not understand. We have one moon to light us by night; and what signifies it to us, says somebody, that Jupiter has four? (the moons or satellites of Jupiter are the same thing.) And wherefore so many laborious observations, and fatiguing calculations, for knowing their revolutions? We shall be never the wiser for them, and nature, which has placed those little stars out of the reach of our eyes, does not seem to have made them for us. In consequence of so plausible a way of reasoning, observing them with the telescope, and studying them with particular attention, ought to be neglected. And what a loss would not that have been to the public!

The method of determining the longitudes of the places of the earth by the means of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, which the Royal Academy first began to put in practice, was found so exact, that it was judged that the correction of geography in general, and the making of true maps and charts for the use of navigation, might be undertaken by this means. This could not be done before, because the eclipses of the moon had been the only means used for finding, but with little exactness, the difference of the longitudes of some remote places. And these eclipses that usually happen only once or twice a year, are much less frequent than those of the satellites of Jupiter, which happen at farthest every two days, though all of them cannot be observed in the same place, as well through the difference of the hours during which Jupiter is above the horizon, as upon account of the weather, which often prevents observations.

This undertaking to work for the improvement of geography in a new and more perfect manner than had ever been imagined before, being agreeable to his majesty's intentions in the institution of his Academy of Sciences, it was his pleasure, that persons should be chosen, capable of executing the instructions to be given them in different places, and that proper occasions should be taken for sending them into remote countries. The history of these voyages is exactly related in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, and is, in my opinion, one of the circumstances of the reign of Louis XIV. which will do him most honour in ages to come. When his majesty was informed of the observations that the members of the Academy of Sciences had taken by his order in different places out of the kingdom, he commanded them to apply themselves in making a map of France with the utmost exactness possible. This had been often attempted, but without success, for want of the means we have at this time, which are pendulum-clocks, and the great telescopes now used for discovering the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, which is the most certain method for determining the difference of meridians. Had astronomy in all its extent no other advantage to mankind, than what is derived from the satellites of Jupiter, it would sufficiently justify those immense calculations, those assiduous and scrupulous observations, that great number of instruments constructed with so much care, and the superb building solely erected for the use of this science. The least knowledge of the principles of geography and navigation shows, that since Jupiter's four moons have been known, they have been of more use in respect to those sciences, than our moon itself; that they now serve, and always will, for making sea charts vastly more correct than those of the ancients, which in all

probability will save the lives of a great number of mariners.

SECOND REFLECTION.

Upon the Amazing Scene which Astronomy opens to our View.

Though astronomy were not so absolutely necessary as it is to geography and navigation, it would be highly worthy of the curiosity of all thinking men, from the grand and superb scene which it opens to their view. To give some idea of it, I shall only repeat in few words, what the observations of astronomers have taught us of the immense volume of some of those great orbs, that move over our heads.

The stars are divided into planets and fixed stars.

The planets (a Greek word that signifies *errant* or *wandering*) are so called because they are not always at an equal distance either from each other, or from the fixed stars, whereas the latter are always at the same distance from each other. The planets have no light of their own, and are only visible by the reflection of that of the sun. Astronomers have observed, that they have a particular motion of their own, besides that which they have in common with the rest of the heavens. They have computed this motion, and from the time which each planet employs in one revolution, have with reason established its elevation and distance.

The MOON of all the planets is the nearest to the earth, and almost sixty times less.

The SUN is not a body of the same species as the earth, and the rest of the planets, nor solid like them. It is a vast ocean of light, that boils up perpetually, and diffuses itself with incessant profusion. It is the source of all that light which the planets only reflect to each other after having received it from him.

The EARTH is a million of times less than the globe of the sun, and thirty-three millions of leagues distant from it. During so many ages the sun has suffered no diminution. Its diameter is equal at this day to the most ancient observations of it, and its light as vigorous and abundant as ever.

JUPITER is five times as far from the sun as the earth is, that is to say, a hundred and sixty-five millions of leagues. He turns round upon his own axis every ten hours.

SATURN is thirty years in his revolution round the sun. He is twice as far from it as Jupiter, and consequently ten times more distant than the earth, that is to say, three hundred and thirty millions of leagues.

The FIXED STARS are, with respect to the earth, at a distance not to be conceived by human intellect. According to the observations of Mr. Huygens, the distance of the earth from the nearest fixed star, is with respect to that of the sun as one to twenty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty-four. Now we have said, that the distance of the earth from the sun is thirty-three millions of leagues. The least distance, therefore, of the earth from the fixed stars is nine hundred and two billions,¹ nine hundred and twelve millions of leagues, that is to say, twenty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty-four times the distance from this to the sun, which, as we have said, is thirty-three millions of leagues. The same Mr. Huygens supposes, and infallible experiments have proved him right, that a cannon bullet flies about a hundred toises (above two hundred yards) in a second. Supposing it to move always with the same velocity, and measuring the space it flies according to that calculation, he demonstrates that a cannon bullet would be almost twenty-five years in arriving at the sun; and twenty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty-four times twenty-five years in reaching the fixed star nearest the earth. What then must we think of the fixed stars infinitely more remote from us?

The stars are innumerable. The astronomers of old counted a thousand and twenty-two of them. Since the use of astronomical glasses, millions that escape the eye appear. They all shine by their own light, and are all, like the sun, inexhaustible sources of light. And, indeed, if they received it from the

¹ A billion is ten hundred thousand millions.

sun, it must necessarily be very feeble after a passage of so enormous a length: they must also transmit it to us at the same distance, by a reflection, that would make it still much weaker. Now it would be impossible, that a light which had undergone a reflection, and ran twice the space of 902,912,000,000 leagues, should have the force and liveliness that the light of the fixed stars has. It is, therefore, certain, that they are luminous of themselves, and in a word, all of them so many suns.

But the question here is only the magnitude and remoteness of those vast bodies. When we consider them together, is it possible to support the view, or rather the idea of them? The globe of the sun a million of times greater than the earth, and distant thirty-three millions of leagues! Saturn, almost four thousand times as big, and ten times farther from the sun than the earth! No comparison between the planets and the other fixed stars! The whole immense space which contains our sun and planets, is but a small part of the universe. As many of the like spaces as

of fixed stars. What then must the immensity of the whole firmament be, that contains all these different bodies within its extent? Can we so much as think of it, can we fix our view upon it for some moments, without being confounded, amazed, and terrified? It is an abyss, in which we lose ourselves. What then must be the greatness, power, and immensity of him, who with a single word both formed these enormous masses, and the spaces that contain them! And these wonders, incomprehensible to human understanding, the holy scripture, in a style that belongs only to God, expresses in one word, "and the stars." After having related the creation of the sun and moon, it adds, "he made also the stars." Is there any thing requisite, to render the incredulity and ingratitude of mankind inexcusable, besides this book of the firmament written in characters of light? And has not the prophet reason to exclaim, full of religious admiration: "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament reveals the wonders of his power."

OF GEOGRAPHY.

SECTION I.—OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED GEOGRAPHERS OF ANTIQUITY.

CONQUESTS and commerce have aggrandized geography, and still contribute to its perfection. Homer, in his poems upon the Trojan war and the voyages of Ulysses, has mentioned a great number of nations and countries, with particular circumstances relating to many places. There appears so much knowledge of this kind in that great poet, that Strabo² considered him in some sort as the first and most ancient of geographers.

It is certain that geography has been cultivated from the earliest times; and besides the geographical authors come down to us, we find many others cited by them, whose works time has not spared. The art of representing the earth, or some particular region of it, upon geographical tables and maps, is even very ancient.³ Anaximander, the disciple of Thales, who lived above five hundred years before Christ, had composed works of this kind, as we have observed above.

Alexander's expedition, who extended his conquests as far as the frontiers of Scythia, and into India, opened to the Greeks a positive knowledge of many countries very remote from their own. That conqueror had two engineers, Diognetus and Bæton, in his service, who were ordered to measure his marches. Pliny and Strabo⁴ have preserved those measures; and Arrian⁵ has transmitted down to us the particulars of the navigation of Nearchus and Onesicritus, who sailed back with Alexander's fleet from the mouths of the Indus into those of the Tigris and Euphrates. The Greeks having reduced Tyre and Sidon, had it in their power to inform themselves particularly of all the places to which the Phœnicians traded by sea, and their commerce extended as far as the Atlantic Ocean. Alexander's successors in the East extended their dominions and knowledge still farther than him, and even to the mouths of the Ganges. Ptolemy Evergetes carried his into Abyss-

sinia, as the inscription of the throne of Adulis, according to Cosmas the hermit proves.⁶ About the same time Eratosthenes, the librarian of Alexandria, endeavoured to measure the earth, by comparing the distance between Alexandria and Syene, a town situated under the tropic of Cancer, with the difference of latitude of those places, which he concluded from the meridian shadow of a gnomon erected at Alexandria at the summer solstice.

The Romans, having made themselves masters of the world, and united the East and West under the same power, it is not to be doubted, but geography must have derived great advantages from it. It is easy to perceive, that most of the completest geographical works were compiled during the Roman emperors. The great roads of the empire measured in all their extent, might have contributed much to the improvement of geography; and the Roman Itineraries, though often altered and incorrect, are still of great service in composing some maps, and in the inquiries necessary to the knowledge of the ancient geography. *Antoninus's Itinerary*, as it is commonly called, because supposed to have been compiled in his reign, is ascribed by the learned to the cosmographer Æthicus. We have also a kind of *Table* or oblong *Map*, which is called the *Theodosian Table*, from its being conjectured to have been composed about the time of Theodosius. The name of *Peutinger* is also given to this table, which is that of a considerable citizen of Augsburg in Germany, in whose library it was found, and whence it was sent to the famous Ortelius, the greatest geographer of his time.

Though geography be but a very short part of Pliny's natural history, he however often gives us a detail of considerable extent. He usually follows the plan laid down for him by Pomponius Mela, a less circumstantial, but elegant author.

Strabo and Ptolemy held the first rank among the ancient geographers, and dispute it with each other. Geography has more extent, and takes in a greater part of the earth in Ptolemy; whilst it seems equally circumstantial every where: but it is that extent itself that renders it the more suspected, it not being easy for it to be every where exact and correct. Strabo relates a great part of what he writes upon the evidence of his own eyes, having made many voyages for the greater certainty of his accounts; and is very succinct upon what he knows only from the

* The reader no doubt has observed, from all that has been said of astronomy, the essential relation of that science to Geography and Navigation. M. D'Anville, Geographer Royal, with whom I am particularly intimate, has been pleased to impart memoirs of geography to me, of which I have made great use.—*Rollin*.

² Strab. l. i. p. 2. ³ Laert. l. ii.

⁴ Plin. l. vi. c. 17. Strab. l. xi. p. 514.

⁵ Arrian lib. rec. Indic.

⁶ Thevenot's Travels, vol. i.

reports of others. His geography is adorned with many historical facts and discussions. He affects every where to remark in respect to each place and country the great men they have produced, and that do them honour. Strabo is a philosopher as well as a geographer; and good sense, solidity of judgment, and accuracy, display themselves throughout his whole work.

Ptolemy having disposed his geography in general by longitudes, and latitudes, the only method of attaining any certainty in it, Agathodamon, his countryman, and of Alexandria as well as himself, reduced the whole into geographical charts or maps.

The authors, of whom I have now spoken, are in a manner the principal sources, from which the knowledge of the ancient geography is to be acquired. And if the particular description of the principal countries of Greece by Pausanias be added to it, with some lesser works, that chiefly consist of brief descriptions of sea coasts, among others those of the Euxine and Erythrean seas by Arrian, and the account of cities compiled from the Greek authors by Stephanus Byzantinus, we have almost all that remains of the geographical works of antiquity.

It is not to be imagined, that the ancients, whom I have cited, had no thoughts of using the helps astronomy was capable of affording geography. They observed the difference of the latitudes of places by the length of meridian shadows at the summer solstice. They determined also that difference from the observation of the length of the longest days in each place. It was well known by the ancients, that by comparing the time of the observation of an eclipse of the moon in places situated under different meridians, the difference of the longitudes of those places might be known. But, if the ancients understood the theory of these different observations, it must be allowed, that the means they employed in it were not capable of leading them to a certain degree of exactness, to which the moderns only attained by the help of great telescopes, and the perfection of clocks. We cannot help perceiving the want of exactness in the observations of the ancients, when we consider, that Ptolemy, all-great cosmographer as he was, and though an Alexandrian, was mistaken about the fifth of a degree in the latitude of the city of Alexandria, which was observed in the last century, by the order of the king of France, and the application of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

But, though there is reason to conclude, that the art of making geographical maps was very far from being carried among the ancients to that degree of perfection it is in our days, and though we may believe, that even in the time of the Romans, the use of those maps was not so common as at present; an ancient monument of our Gaul itself informs us, that young persons were taught geography by the inspection of maps. That monument is an oratorical discourse spoken at Autun in the reign of Constantius, wherein the rhetorician Eumenes expressly tells us, that in the porch of the public school of that city, young students had recourse to a representation of the disposition of all the lands and seas of the earth, in which the courses of the rivers and the windings of coasts were particularly described. "Videat in illis portibus Juvencus et quotidie spectet omnes terras, et cuncta maria, et quicquid invictissimi Principes, urbium, gentium, nationum aut pietate restitunt, aut virtute devincunt aut terrore. Si quidem illic, ut ipsi vidisti, credo instruendæ pueritiæ causa, quo manifestius oculis discerentur, quæ difficilioribus percipiuntur auditu, omnium, cum nominibus suis, locorum situs, spatia, intervalla descripta sunt, quicquid ubique fluminum oritur et conditur, quacumque se litorum sinus flectunt, quo vel ambitu cingit Orbem, vel impetu irrumpit Oceanus."¹

SECTION II.—LANDS KNOWN TO THE ANCIENTS.

To know what part of the surface of the earth was known to the ancients, is of some use.

On the side of the West which we inhabit, the

Atlantic Ocean and the British Isles limited the knowledge of the ancients. The Fortunate Islands, now called the Canaries, seemed to them the remotest part of the ocean between the south and the west; and it was for that reason Ptolemy reckoned the longitude of the meridian from those islands; in which he has been followed by many eastern and Mahometan geographers, and even by the French and most of the moderns. The Greeks had some slight knowledge of Hibernia, the most western of the British Islands, even before the Romans had conquered Great Britain.² The ancients had but very imperfect notions of the northern countries as far as the Hyperborean or Icy Sea. Though Scandinavia was known, that country and some others of the same continent, were taken for great islands. It is hard to determine positively what place the ancients understood by *ultima Thule*.³ Many take it for Iceland. But Procopius seems to make it a part of the continent of Scandinavia. It is certain that the knowledge, which the ancients had of Samatia and Scythia, was very far from extending to the sea, which now seems to bound Russia and great Tartary on the north and east sides. The discoveries of the ancients went no farther than the Rhipæan mountains, the chain of which actually divides Russia in Europe from Siberia.

It is evident that the ancients had no great knowledge of the northern part of Asia, when we consider that most of their authors, as Strabo, Mela, Pliny,⁴ imagined that the Caspian Sea was a gulf of the Hyperborean Ocean, whence it issued by a long canal. On the side of the East, the ancients seem to have known only the western frontier of China. Ptolemy seems to have had a glimpse of some part of the southern coast of China, but a very imperfect one. The great islands of Asia, especially those of Japan, were unknown to the ancients. Only the famous Taprobana is to be excepted, the discovery of which was a consequence of Alexander's expedition into India, as Pliny informs us.

It remains for me to speak of the southernmost part of Africa.⁵ Though many have supposed that in a voyage of extraordinary length they had sailed round this part of the world, Ptolemy however seems to insinuate, that it had escaped the knowledge of the ancients. Every body knows that it lies almost entirely within the torrid zone, which most of the ancients believed uninhabitable near the Equinoctial Line; for which reason Strabo goes very little farther than Meroë in Ethiopia. Ptolemy, however, and some others, have carried their knowledge along the eastern coast of Africa as far as the Equator, and even to the island of Madagascar, which he seems to intend by the name of *Menuthias*.⁶

It was reserved for the voyages undertaken by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, in order to go to India by sea, to discover the greater part of the coasts of Africa upon the Atlantic Ocean, and especially the passage by the south of the most extreme cape of Africa. That passage having been discovered, several European nations, led by the hopes of a rich traffic, ran over the Indian Sea that washes the coasts of Asia, discovered all the islands in it, and penetrated as far as Japan. The conquests and settlement of the Russians in the northern part of Asia have completed our knowledge of that part of the world. To conclude, every body knows, that, about the end of the fifteenth century, a new world, situated on the west in respect to ours, beyond the Atlantic ocean, was discovered by Christopher Columbus under the auspices of the crown of Castile.

SECTION III.—WHEREIN THE MODERN GEOGRAPHERS HAVE EXCELLED THE ANCIENT.

It would be blindness, and shutting one's eyes against demonstration, not to admit that the modern geography abundantly surpasses the ancient. It is well known that the measures of the earth must

² Arist. de mundo. c. 3.

³ Virg. Georg. i. Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 15.

⁴ Strab. l. ii. p. 121. Mel. l. iii. Plin. l. vi. c. 13.

⁵ Plin. l. vi. c. 22.

⁶ Arriani et Marciani Heracl. Peripl.

¹ Inter. Vet. Panegyri.

be sought in the heavens, and that geography depends upon astronomical observations. Now who can doubt, that astronomy has not made an extraordinary progress in later times? The invention of telescopes only, which is of sufficiently recent date, has infinitely contributed to it; and that invention itself has been highly improved in no great number of years. It is therefore no wonder that the ancients, with all the genius and penetration we are willing to allow them, were not able to attain to the same degree of knowledge, as they were not assisted in their inquiries by the same aids.

Geography is still far from having received its final perfection. Practical sciences make the least progress. Two or three great geniuses suffice for carrying theories a great way in a short time; but practice goes on with a slower pace, because it depends upon a greater number of hands, of which even far the greater part are but meanly skilful. Geography, which would require an infinite number of exact operations, is imperfect in proportion both to that number and the accuracy they would require; and we may justly suppose that the description of the terrestrial globe, though it begins to be rectified a little, is still very confused, and far from a true likeness.

It would be of small consequence to mention the faults of the ancient and Ptolemaic maps, in which the Mediterranean is made to extend a good fourth more in longitude than it really does. The question here is the modern maps, which, though generally the better the more modern they are, have still occasion for abundance of corrections.

Monsieur Sanson has always been considered as a very good geographer, and his maps have always been highly esteemed. Monsieur Delisle has however differed from them very often in his. And this is not to be imagined, as it is usually called, jealousy of profession. Since Monsieur Sanson's time, the map of the earth is exceedingly changed; that is to say, more accurate, and a great number of astronomical observations have greatly reformed geography. The same, no doubt, will happen to the maps of Monsieur Delisle: and we ought to wish so for the good of the public.

The only method for making good geographical maps would be to have the position of every place from astronomical observations. But we are exceedingly far from having all these positions in this manner, and can hardly ever hope to have them. To supply this want, the itinerary distances of one place from another are used, as found set down in authors: and it is a great happiness to find them there with any exactness, and without manifest contradiction, or considerable difficulties. Hence, when our most skilful geographers were to make a map of the Roman countries, and particularly of Italy, as they had very few astronomical observations, they made the itinerary distances of places, as they found them in the books of the ancients, their rule for their position. The positions of many places have been since taken by astronomical observations. Monsieur Delisle made use

of them for correcting the maps of Italy and the neighbouring countries; and he found that they not only became very different from what they were before, but that the places agreed exactly enough in respect to the distances given them by the ancients: so that it is to be presumed, that in following them literally, good geographical maps might be made of the countries well known to them.

There is reason to be surprised at this great conformity of positions found by astronomical observations with those taken from the itinerary distances as set down by the ancients. For it is certain, that the situation of places taken from our itinerary distances are often false, and much so too. But Monsieur Delisle observes, that the Romans had advantages in this respect which we have not. Their taste for the public utility, and even magnificence (for they embellished all they conquered,) had occasioned their making great roads throughout all Italy, of which Rome was the centre, and which went to all the principal cities as far as the two seas. They made the like ways in many provinces of the empire, of which remains, admirable for their construction and solidity, exist to this day. These ways ran in a right line, without quitting it either on account of mountains or marshes. The marshes were drained, and the mountains cut through. Stones were placed from mile to mile with their *numero* upon them. This rectilinear extent, and these divisions into parts sufficiently small in respect to the whole length, rendered the itinerary measures very exact. This exactness of the measures of the ancients was well proved by an experiment made by Monsieur Cassini. The measure of the distance from Narbonne to Nismes had been included in the work of the meridian. That distance was sixty-seven thousand five hundred *toises* or fathoms of Paris. Strabo had also given the distance of these two cities, which he makes eighty-eight miles. Whence it is easy to conclude, that an ancient mile was seven hundred sixty-seven *toises* of Paris. Besides, as the mile is known to have been five thousand feet, we also find that the ancient foot was eleven inches and 1-25th of the Paris foot. The measure, in consequence, must be equal to the ancient distance, and have preserved itself without change during so long a space of time.

Monsieur Delisle has given us a map, wherein Italy and Greece are represented in two different manners: the one according to the best modern geographers, the other according to astronomical observations for the places where they were to be had, and for the rest according to the measures of ancient authors. The difference between these two representations would perhaps seem incredible. In the latter, Lombardy is very much shortened from south to north, Great Greece lengthened, the sea that divides Greece and Italy made narrower, as well as that between Italy and Africa, and Greece much lessened.

These last remarks, which are all taken from the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, lengthen this brief head a little, but I conceived them worthy of the reader's curiosity.

OF NAVIGATION.

I SHALL examine only one point in this place, which is the wonderful change that an experiment, which might appear of small importance, has occasioned in navigation, and the superiority we have acquired in this respect over the ancients, by a means that seemed trivial in itself. I allude to the invention of the compass. This instrument is a box that has a needle in it touched with a loadstone, that turns always towards the pole, except in some places where it has a declination.

The ancients, we know, who steered their ships by the sun in the day, and the stars during the night, in misty weather could not discern what course to hold; and for that reason, not daring to put out to sea, were obliged to keep close to the shore, and could not undertake voyages of any considerable length. They knew one of the virtues of the loadstone, which is to attract iron. One would think that the slightest attention might have occasioned their discovering its other property, of directing itself towards the pole of the world, and in consequence have led them on to the compass. But he who disposes all things, kept their eyes shut to an effect, which seemed of itself obvious to them.

Neither the author of this invention, nor the time when the use of it was first thought of, is precisely known.¹ It is, however, certain, that the French used the loadstone in navigation long before any other nation of Europe, as may be easily proved from the works of some of our ancient French authors,² who spoke of it first above four hundred years ago. It is true, the invention was then very imperfect. For they say, that the needle was only put into a bowl or vessel full of water, where it could turn itself towards the north supported upon a pin. The Chinese, if we may believe certain modern relations, make use to this day of the same kind of compass.

The navigators perceiving the importance of this invention, made many astronomical observations towards the beginning of the fourteenth century to assure themselves of it, and found, that a needle touched with a loadstone, and set in *equilibrium* upon a pivot, did actually turn of itself towards the pole, and that the direction of such a needle might be employed for knowing the regions of the world, and the point³ of the wind in which it is proper to sail. By other observations it has been since discovered, that the needle does not always point to the true north, but that it has a small declination sometimes towards the east, and sometimes towards the west; and even that this declination changes at different times and places. But they found also the means of knowing this variation so exactly by the sun and stars, that the compass may be used with certainty for finding the regions of the heavens, even when clouded, provided that it has been rectified a little before by the observation of the stars.

The curiosity of the learned of Europe began at that time to awake. They soon invented various instruments, and made tables and calculations for facilitating the observation of the stars. Never had navigation so many advantages for succeeding. The pilots did not fail to make the most of them. With these helps they crossed unknown seas; and the success of their first voyages encouraged them to attempt new discoveries. All the nations of Europe applied themselves to them in emulation of each other. The French were the first in signaling their courage and address; they seized the Canaries, and discovered

great part of Guinea.⁴ The Portuguese took the island of Madeira and that of Cape Verd; and the Flemings discovered the islands of the Azores.

These discoveries were only preludes to that of the New World. Christopher Columbus, founding his design upon his knowledge of astronomy, and, as it is said, upon the memoirs of a Biscayan pilot, whom a storm had thrown upon an island of the Atlantic ocean, undertook to cross that sea. He proposed it to several of the princes of Europe, of whom some neglected it because engaged in affairs of a more urgent nature, and others rejected it because they neither comprehended the importance of that expedition, nor the reasons that Columbus gave to explain the possibility of it. Thus the glory of the discovery of the New World was left to the kings of Castile, who afterwards acquired immense riches by it. Columbus well knew, from his knowledge of the sphere and geography, that sailing continually toward the west under the same parallel or very near it, he could not fail of finding lands at length, because if he found no new ones, the earth being round, he must necessarily arrive by the shortest course at the extremity of the East Indies. In his voyages from Lisbon to Guinea, sailing from north to south, he had been confirmed by experience that a degree of the earth's circumference contains fifty-six miles and two-thirds, according to the measure established by the astronomers of Almagest; and he had learned in the books of Ptolemy, that, keeping always to the west, from the Canaries to the first lands of Asia, there are only an hundred and eighty degrees.⁵ Accordingly, he set out from the Canaries, steering always to the west under the same parallel.⁶ As he did not entirely rely upon the compass, he always took care to observe the sun by day, and the fixed stars by night. This precaution prevented him from mistaking his course. For those who have written his life say, that his observations of the heavens made him perceive a variation in his compass, which he did not know before, and that he rectified his way by them. After sailing two months, he arrived at the Lucay islands, and thence went on to Hispaniola, Cuba, and St. Domingo, whence he brought back great riches into Spain.⁷ Astronomy, by which he had discovered these rich countries, assisted him also in establishing himself there. For, in his second voyage, his fleet being reduced to extremities by the want of provisions, and the inhabitants of Jamaica refusing to supply him with them, he had the address to threaten them with darkening the moon at a time when he knew there would be an eclipse; and as that eclipse really happened the day he had foretold, the terrified barbarians granted him whatever he pleased.

Whilst Columbus was discovering the southern part of the New World, the French discovered the northern part of it, and gave it the name of New France.

Americus Vesputius⁸ continued the discoveries of Columbus, and had the advantage of giving his name to the whole New World, which has ever since been called America. Astronomy was of great use to him in his voyages.

On the other side, the pilots of the king of Portugal, who till then had only traversed the coasts of Africa, doubled at this time the Cape of Good Hope, and opened themselves a passage into the East Indies, where they made very great conquests.

¹ Cassini's Astron. Memoirs. ² Guyot de Provins.
³ Of which points there are thirty-two upon the compass.

⁴ Hist. de la Conquête des Canaries par Bethencourt.

⁵ Ferdinand Columbus, in his Life of Columbus, chap. 4.

⁶ Chap. 17. ⁷ Chap. 22. ⁸ Vesput. Navig. prim.

Is there in all history an event comparable to that which I have now related, namely, the discovery of the New World? Upon what did it depend for so many ages? Upon the knowledge of a property of the loadstone, easily discoverable, which had however escaped the inquiries of an infinite number of the learned, whose sagacity had penetrated into the most obscure and most profound mysteries of nature. Is it possible not to discern here the finger of God? Columbus had never thought of forming his enterprise, and indeed could never have succeeded in it, without a great knowledge of Astronomy; for Providence delights in concealing its wonders under the veil of human operations. How important therefore is it in a well governed state, to place the superior sciences in honour and reputation, which are capable of rendering mankind such great services, and which have actually hitherto procured them, and still continues to procure them, such considerable advantages?

The reader will permit me to say a few words in this place upon two voyages of the learned, which do the king (Louis XV.) and literature in general great honour.

VOYAGES TO PERU AND INTO THE NORTH, UNDERTAKEN BY ORDER OF LOUIS XV.

In 1672, Mr. Richer observed, in the island of Cayenne, that the curvation of the superficies of the earth was greater there than in the temperate zone. Hence it was concluded that the figure of the earth must be that of a spheroid flat towards the poles, and not elliptical, or oblong, as it was and still is believed by very skilful astronomers; for the point is not yet determined. Newton and Huygens came afterwards by their theory to the same conclusion. It was to be assured of this truth, that in 1735, at a time when France had a war to support, which has since terminated so gloriously for her, the king, always intent upon making the sciences flourish in his dominions, sent astronomers to Peru and into the north, in order to determine with certainty by accurate observations, the figure of the terrestrial globe. Nothing was spared, either in respect to the expenses of the voyage, or to

procure them all the conveniences that might promote their success.

We saw them in consequence set out, part of them to expose themselves to the burning heats of the torrid zone, and the rest to fly with the same ardour to confront all the horrors of the frozen north. The first have not been heard of for a considerable time; but great discoveries are expected from their inquiries. The others returned from the north some months ago. The account of what they suffered in order to give their operations all the perfection of which they were capable, is scarce credible. They were obliged to traverse immense forests, in which they were the first that ever opened themselves way; to scale mountains of amazing height, and covered with wood, which it was necessary for them to cut down; to pass torrents of an impetuosity capable of astonishing such as only beheld them, and that too in wretched boats, that had no other pilot but a Laplander, nor mast nor sails but a tree with its branches. Add to this, the excessive cold of these regions remote from the sun, of which they experienced all the rigours; and the gross nourishment on which they were reduced to subsist during a very considerable length of time. It is easy to conceive the courage these indefatigable observers must have had to surmount so many difficulties, that seemed to render the execution of the project confided to them impossible. The late reading of the account of this voyage in the Academy of Sciences, since their return, has made the public very desirous to see it printed.

One is sometimes tempted to treat as useless such laborious and scrupulous observations, that have no end but to determine the figure of the earth; and there are many who will perhaps believe, that those who made them might have spared themselves the trouble, and made a better use of the money employed in them. But this proceeds from the ignorance of the relation of observations of this nature to navigation, and the advantages resulting from them to astronomy. This event will not a little conduce to exalt the glory of the reign of Louis XV.

CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE WORK.

AFTER having made almost all the states and kingdoms of the universe in a manner pass in review before our eyes, and having considered circumstantially the most important events that occurred in them during the course of so many ages, it seems natural enough to go back a moment, before we quit this great scene, and to collect its principal parts into one point of view, in order to our being able to form the better judgment of it. On the one side we see princes, warriors, and conquerors; on the other magistrates, politicians, and legislators; and in the midst of both, the learned of all kinds, who by the utility, beauty, or sublimity of their knowledge, have acquired immortal reputation. These three classes include, in my opinion, all that is most shining, and most attractive of esteem and admiration in human greatness. I consider the universe here only in its fairest light, and for a moment take off my view from all the vices and disorders that disturb its beauty and economy.

Before me stand princes and kings, full of wisdom and prudence in their counsels, of equity and justice in the government of their people, of valour and intrepidity in battle, of moderation and clemency in victory, subjecting many kingdoms, founding vast empires and acquiring the love of the conquered nations no less than of their own subjects: such was Cyrus. At the same time I see a multitude of Greeks and Romans,

equally illustrious in war and peace; generals of the most exalted bravery and military knowledge; politicians of exceeding ability in the arts of government; famous legislators, whose laws and institutions still amaze us, while they seem almost incredible, so much they appear above humanity; magistrates venerable for their love of the public good; judges of great wisdom, incorruptible, and proof against all that can tempt avarice; and lastly, citizens entirely devoted to their country, whose generous and noble disinterestedness rises so high as the contempt of riches, and the esteem and love of poverty. If I turn my eyes towards the arts and sciences, what luster do not the multitude of admirable works come down to us display, in which shine forth, according to the difference of subjects, art and disposition, greatness of genius, riches of invention, beauty of style, solidity of judgment, and profound erudition.

This is the great, the splendid scene that history, the faithful register of past events, has hitherto presented to our view, and upon which it now remains for us to pass our judgment. Is it possible to refuse our esteem to such rare and excellent qualities, such shining actions, and noble sentiments? Let us call to mind the maxims of morality in the writings of the philosophers, so refined, so conformable to right reason, and even so sublime, as to be capable sometimes

of making Christians blush. Do not men of such profound knowledge and understanding deserve the name of sages?

The just Judge of all things, by whose judgment it is our duty to direct our own, absolutely denies it them, as Mr. du Guet observes so justly in several of his works, and as I have said elsewhere. "The Lord," says the royal prophet, "looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand and seek God."¹ The earth is full of persons that excel in arts and sciences. There are many philosophers, orators, and politicians. There are even many legislators, interpreters of laws, and ministers of justice. Many are consulted as persons of extraordinary wisdom, and their answers are considered as decisions, from which it is not allowable to depart. However, among so many wise and intelligent persons in the sight of men, God discerns none that are not foolish and mad. "They are all gone aside, they are altogether filthy: there is none that doth good, no not one." The censure is general and without exception. What then is wanting in these pretended wise men? The fear of God, without which there is no true wisdom, "to see if there was any that did understand and seek God:" the knowledge of their own misery and corruption, and their want of a Mediator, and a Restorer or Redeemer. Every thing is in esteem among them except religion and piety. They know neither the use nor end of any thing. They go on without design, or knowing whither they should end. They are ignorant of what they are, and what shall become of them. Can folly be more clear and evident?

The thoughts of God are very different from those of men. The universe peopled with powerful kings, famous legislators, celebrated philosophers, and learned men of all kinds, is the object of our admiration and praise; and God sees nothing but disorder and corruption in it. "The earth was corrupt before God."² The qualities, knowledge, and maxims of which I speak, were, however, very estimable in themselves. They were the gifts of God, from whom alone comes all good, and all knowledge: but the Pagans perverted their nature by the unworthy use they made of them, in considering themselves as their principle and end. I speak here even of those among them who passed for the best and wisest, whose virtues were infected either with pride or ingratitude; or, to speak more properly, with both.

I have observed that certain ages, which abounded

with illustrious examples either at Athens or Rome, exhibit a grand and noble scene in history; but there was at the same time a circumstance which highly disgraced the glory, and sullied the beauty of these ages; I mean the idolatry that generally prevailed throughout the universe. The whole earth was covered with thick darkness, and lay plunged in gross and stupid ignorance. Only one country, and that of very small extent, knew the true God: "In Judah is God known: his name is great in Israel."³ Elsewhere all mouths were mute in respect to him, and the hymns of idolatrous solemnities were only invitations to crimes, which the seducer of mankind had made their duty. "God suffered all nations to walk each after their own way,"⁴ to make themselves gods of all creatures, to adore all their own passions, to abandon themselves through despair to those which are most shameful, to be ignorant of their origin and end, to direct their lives by errors and fable, and believe every thing indiscriminately, or nothing at all.

One would imagine that man, situated in the midst of the wonders which fill all nature, and largely possessed of the good things of God, could not forget him, or remember him without adoration and fidelity. But in the midst of the greatest light he behaved like the blind. He became deaf to all the voices that proclaimed the majesty and holiness of the creator. He adored every thing, except God. The stars and sun, that declared the divinity, he honoured in his stead. Wood and stone, under a thousand forms, which his wild imagination had invented, were become his gods. In a word, false religion had deluged the whole earth; and if some few were less stupid than the rest, they were equally impious and ungrateful. Did not the only one of these,⁵ who had explained himself too clearly, deny in public what he believed in private? Whence we may observe, of what avail the reason of all mankind was, when they had no other guide.

We see here the principle fruits to be derived from the study of profane history, of which every page declares what mankind were during so many ages, and what we ourselves should still have been, had not the peculiar mercy, which made known the Saviour of the world to us, drawn us out of the abyss, in which all our forefathers were swallowed up. "It is of the Lord's mercies we are not consumed." A mercy freely and entirely conferred, which we have no power to deserve in any manner of ourselves, and for which we ought to render eternal homage of gratitude and praise to the grace of Jesus Christ.

¹ Psalm xiv. 2.

² Gen. vi. 11.

³ Psalm lxxvi. 1.

⁴ Acts, xiv. 16.

⁵ Socrates.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

CHRONOLOGY is the knowledge of the just computation of time. It shows to what year the events related in history are to be referred. The years used for measuring the duration of time are either Solar or Lunar.

The Solar year is that space of time which elapses between one equinox and another of the same denomination the next year: for instance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains 365 days, five hours, and forty-nine minutes.

The Lunar year is composed of twelve Lunar months, each of which consists of twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and forty-four minutes, that make in all 354 days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes.

Both of these years are called Astronomical, to distinguish them from that in common use, which is termed Civil or Political.

Though all nations may not agree with one another in the manner of determining their years, some regulating them by the motion of the sun, and others by that of the moon, they, however, generally use the solar year in *chronology*. It seems at first, that as the lunar years are shorter than the solar, that inequality should produce some error in chronological calculations. But it is to be observed, that the nations who used lunar years, added a certain number of intercalary days to make them agree with the solar: which makes them correspond with each other; or at least, if there be any difference, it may be neglected, when the question is only to determine the year in which a fact happened.

In *Chronology* there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred. These are called *Epochs*, from a Greek word, which signifies to stop, because we stop there to consider, as from a resting place, all that has happened before or after, and by that means to avoid anachronisms, that is to say, those errors which induce confusion of times.

The choice of the events which are to serve as epochs, is arbitrary; and a writer of history may take such as best suit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of these points distinguished by a considerable event, the enumeration and series of such years is called an *Era*. There are almost as many eras as there have been different nations. The principal, and those most in use, are that of the *Creation of the World*, of the *Birth of Jesus Christ*, of the *Olympiads*, and of the *Building of Rome*. I made use only of the two most famous, that is to say, that of the *World*, and that of *Jesus Christ*.

Every body knows, that the *Olympiads* derived their origin from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus, near the city of Olympia. These games were so solemn, that Greece made them her epoch for computing her years. By an *Olympiad* is meant the space of four years complete, which is the time that elapsed between one celebration of the games and another. The first used by chronologers begins, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the world 3228, before Christ 776. When the time in which an event happened is reckoned by *Olympiads*, authors say, the first, second, or third, &c. year of such an *Olympiad*: which being once known, it is easy to find the year of the world to

which the same fact is to be referred: and in like manner when the year of the world is known it is easy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome was built, according to Varro's Chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman history. The years reckoned from this epoch are called indifferently years of Rome, or years from the foundation of the city.

The *Julian period* is also a famous era in *chronology*, used principally for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain in a few words, wherein this period consists, and its use: but first I must give the reader an idea of the three cycles of which it is composed.

By the word *cycle*, is understood the revolution of a certain number of years.

The Solar cycle is a term of twenty-eight years, which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit: that is to say, at the end of twenty-eight years the first seven letters of the alphabet, which are used in the calendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called Dominical letters, return in the same order in which they were at first. To understand what I have now said, it must be observed, that if the year had only fifty-two weeks, there would be no change in the order of the Dominical letters. But as it has a day more, and two in leap-year, that produces some variations, which are all included in the space of twenty-eight years, of which the solar cycle consists.

The Lunar Cycle, called also the Golden Number, is the revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns, within an hour and a half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of this cycle to Meto, a famous Athenian astronomer. Before the invention of the epochs, it was used for marking the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Besides these two cycles, chronologers admit a third also, called *Indiction*. This is a revolution of fifteen years, of which the first is called the *first indiction*, the second the *second indiction*, and so on to the fifteenth, after which they begin again to count the first indiction, &c.

The first indiction is generally supposed to have begun three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say, 28, 19, and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is what is called the *Julian period*.

One of the properties of this period, is to give the three characteristic cycles of each year, that is to say, the current year of each of the three cycles; for example, every body knows that the vulgar era commences at the year 4714 of the *Julian period*. If that number be divided by 28, what remains² after the division shows the solar cycle of that year. In the same manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found.

² I say, what remains, and not the quotient, as some authors do; for the quotient expresses the number of cycles, elapsed since the beginning of the period, and what remains after the division shows the year of the current cycle.

It is demonstrated, that the three numbers which express these three *cycles* cannot be found again in the same order in any other year of the *Julian period*. It is the same in respect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its first year, that is to say, to the year when the three cycles, of which it is composed, began, we shall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years; supposing the creation to precede the vulgar era only 4004 years.

This period is called *Julian*, because it is made to agree with the years of Julius Cæsar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided chronologers concerning the length of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. There are some who believe that only 4004 years of the world are to be reckoned before *Jesus Christ*. Others give more extent to that space, and augment the number of years of which it consists. These variations disappear when the Julian period is used, for every body agrees in respect to the year in which that began, and there is nobody who

does not allow, that the first year of the vulgar era falls in with the 4714th of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points, which unite all systems, and reconcile all chronologers.

It is easy to find the year of the *Julian period*, that answers to any year whatsoever of the vulgar era of the world. For as the beginning of the *Julian period* precedes that era 710 years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the era of the world, we have the year of the *Julian period* that answers to it. For instance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673. If to that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expresses the year of the *Julian period* to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

The reader knows that hitherto I have not entered into chronological discussions, and undoubtedly does not expect that I should do so now. I shall generally follow Usher, whom I have chosen for my guide in this subject.

THE TABLE.

A. M.	A. C.	Assyrians.	
1500	2204	Nimrod, founder of the first empire of the Assyrians. Ninus, the son of Nimrod. Semiramis. She reigned forty-two years. Ninyas.	
<i>The history of the successors of Ninyas for thirty generations, except of Phul and Sardanapalus, is unknown.</i>			
		Egypt.	Greece.
1316	2188	Menes or Mesram, first king of Egypt. Busiris. Osymandias. Uchoreus. Moeris.	
1915	2086		Foundation of the kingdom of Sicyon.
1920	2084	The Shepherd-kings seize Lower Egypt. They reign 260 years.	
2084	1920	Abraham enters Egypt, where Sarah is in great danger from one of the Shepherd-kings.	
2148	1856		Foundation of the kingdom of Argos. Deluge of Ogyges in Attica.
2179	1825	Thethmosis expels the Shepherd-kings, and reigns in Lower Egypt.	
2276	1723	Joseph is carried into Egypt, and sold to Potiphar.	
2398	1706	Jacob goes into Egypt with his family.	
2427	1577	Rameses-Miamum begins to reign in Egypt. He persecutes the Israelites.	
2443	1556	Cecrops conducts a colony from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens.	Foundation of the kingdom of Athens by Cecrops. He institutes the Areopagus.
2488	1516		Under Cranaus, successor of Cecrops, happens Deucalion's flood.
			Foundation of the kingdom of Lacedæmonia, of which Lelex is the first king.
2494	1510	Amenophis, the eldest son of Rameses, succeeds him.	
2513	1491	The Israelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is swallowed up in the Red Sea. Sesostris his son succeeds him. He divides Egypt into thirty nomes, or districts, renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Asia, and subjects the Scythians as far as the Tanais. On his return into Egypt he kills himself, after a reign of 33 years.	
2530	1474		Danaus, brother of Sesostris, leaves Egypt, and retires into the Peloponnesus, where he makes himself master of Argos.
2547	1457	Pheron succeeds Sesostris.	Perseus, the fifth of Danaus's successors, having unfortunately killed his grandfather, abandons Argos, and founds the city of Mycenæ.
2628	1376		Sisyphus, the son of Æolus, makes himself master of Corinth.
2710	1294		The descendants of Sisyphus are driven out of Corinth by the Heraclidæ.
2720	1284		Ægeus, the son of Pandion, king of Attica. The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in the reign of this prince.
2800	1204	Proteus. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen. Rhampsinit.—Cheops.—Chephrem.—Mycerinus.—Asychis.	The Heraclidæ make themselves masters of Peloponnesus; from whence they are obliged to retire soon after.
		The six preceding reigns were 170 years in duration; but it is hard to assign the length of each of them in particular.	
2820	1184		Troy taken by the Greeks.
2900	1104		The Heraclidæ re-enter Peloponnesus, and seize Sparta, where the two brothers Eurysthene and Procles reign together.

A. M.	A. C.	Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Nineveh.	Media.	Lydia.
2934	1070						
2949	1055						
2991	1013	Pharaoh king of Egypt gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon.					
3026	975	Sesac, otherwise called Sesonchis. It was with him that Jeroboam took refuge.					
3033	971	Sesac marches against Jerusalem, and conquers Judea.					
3063	941	Zara king of Egypt makes war with Asa king of Judah.					
		Anysis. In his reign Sabacus, king of Ethiopia, makes himself master of Egypt, reigns there fifty years; after which he retires, and leaves the kingdom to Anysis.					
3120	884						
3120	844						
3210	794						
3258	776						
<p><i>I return to the chronology of the Assyrians, which I discontinued, because from Ninys down to this time, nothing is known of their history.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Assyrians.</i></p>							
3233	771	Phul. This is the king of Nineveh, who repented upon Jonah's preaching.					
3257	767	Sardanapalus, the last king of the first empire of the Assyrians. After a reign of twenty years, he burns himself in his palace.					
<p>The first empire of the Assyrians, which ended at the death of Sardanapalus, had subsisted more than 1450 years. Out of its ruins three others were formed; the Assyrians of Babylon; the Assyrians of Nineveh; and the Medes.</p>							
		Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Nineveh.	Media.	Lydia.
3257	747			Belesis, or Nabonassar. The Scripture calls him Baladan.	Tiglath Pileser. In the eighth year of his reign he aids Ahaz, king of Judah, and makes taking upon him himself master of the title of king.	Arbaces exercises the sovereignty over the kingdom of Medes, without Syria, and of part of the kingdom of Judah.	
3261	743		First war between the Mesenians and Lacedæmonians. It continues twenty years.				The Heraclidae possessed the kingdom of Lydia 505 years. Argon was the first king. He began to reign in the year of the world 2781. The history of his successors is little known before Candaules. Candaules. [A. C. 735.]
3268	736			Merodach Baladan. He sent ambassadors to Hezekiah, to congratulate him upon the recovery of his health.—Nothing is known of the other kings who reigned in Babylon.	Salamanasar. In the eighth year of his reign he took Samaria, and carried away the people into captivity.		
3269	735		Archilochus, the famous poet.				
3280	724						
3285	719	Sethon. He reigned fourteen years.					
3286	718						
3287	717				Sennacherib.—In the fifth year of his reign he makes war against Hezekiah king of Judah. An angel destroys his army at the time he is besieging Jerusalem. On his return to his kingdom, he is killed by his own children. Asarhaddon.		
3294	710						
3296	708						
3298	706	Tharaca reigns 18 years. Anarchy two years in Egypt.				Dejoces carries himself to be declared king of Medes.	
3319	685						
3320	684						
3323	681						
3324	680						
3327	677						
3334	670	Psammetichus, one of the 12 kings, defeats the other 11, and remains sole master of Egypt. He takes Azotus after a siege of 29 years.	Second war between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians; 14 years.		Asarhaddon unites the empire of Babylon with that of Nineveh. Asarhaddon carries the remains of the kingdom of Israel into Assyria. The same year he puts Manasseh in chains, and carries him to Babylon.		
3335	669						
3347	657						
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Babylon and Nineveh.</i></p> <p>Saouduchin, or Nebuchodonosor I. The twelfth year of his reign he defeats Phraortes, king of the Medes, and takes Ecbatana. It was after this expedition that he made Holofernes besiege Bethulia.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Death of Dejoces. Phraortes succeeds him.</p>							

A. M.	A. C.	Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon and Nineveh.	Media.	Lydia.
3356	648			Death of Nabuchodonosor. Saracus, called also Chynaladanus, succeeded him.		
3364	640		Tyrtæus, a poet who excelled in celebrating military virtue.		Phraortes perishes at the siege of Nineveh, with part of his army.	Sadyattes. He forms the siege of Miletus in the 16th year of his reign.
3369	635		Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionic sect.	Nabopolassar's revolt against Saracus. He makes himself master of Babylon.	Cyaxares his son succeeds him.—The second year of his reign he beats the Assyrians, and attacks Nineveh, the siege of which he is obliged to abandon by a sudden irruption of the Scythians into his dominions.	
3373	631				Cyaxares joins his forces with those of Nabopolassar, takes Nineveh, and puts Syracus its king to death.	
3378	626					
3390	624		Draco, legislator of Athens.	Destruction of Nineveh. From thenceforth Babylon was the capital of the Assyrian empire.		
3385	619					Alyattes. He continues the siege of Miletus, which had been carried on 6 years by his father, and puts an end to it six years after, by concluding a peace with the besieged. In the same prince's reign there was a war between the Medes and Lydians, which was terminated by the marriage of Cyaxares with Aryenis, the daughter of Alyattes.
3388	616	Nechao. In the 7th year of his reign he defeats the king of Assyria, and seizes part of his dominions. He reigned 16 years.		<i>Babylon.</i> Nabopolassar associates his son Nabuchodonosor in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army to re-conquer the countries taken from him by Nechao.		
3397	607			Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor. He transports a great number of Jews to Babylon, and amongst them the prophet Daniel.		
3398	606			The Captivity begins from his carrying away the Jews to Babylon.		
3399	605			Death of Nabopolassar. His son Nabuchodonosor II. succeeds him in all his dominions.		
3400	604		Solon. The seven sages of Greece lived about this time.	Nabuchodonosor's first dream interpreted by Daniel.		
3403	601		Alcæus, from whom the Alcaic verses take their name.		Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, gives his daughter in marriage to Cambyses, king of Persia.	
3404	600	Psammiss 6 years.	Sappho, at the same time.		Birth of Cyrus.	
3405	599			Nabuchodonosor's lieutenants, after having ravaged Judea, blockade Jerusalem, and put king Jehoiakim to death. About the end of the same year, Nabuchodonosor repairs in person to Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and appoints Zedekiah king instead of Jehoiachin, whom he carries into captivity.	Death of Cyaxares.	
3409	595				Astyages his son succeeds him. He reigns 35 years.	
3410	594	Apries. He makes himself master of Sidon, in the first year of his reign.		Nabuchodonosor destroys Jerusalem, and carries away Zedekiah captive to Babylon. At his return into his dominions, he causes the three young Hebrews to be thrown into the furnace.		
3411	593	Zedekiah, king of Judah, makes an alliance with the king of Egypt, contrary to the advice of the prophet Jeremiah.			Cyrus goes for the first time into Media, to see his grandfather Astyages. He remains 3 years with him.	
3416	588	Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Lybia. Amasis revolts against Apries.				
3432	572	Nabuchodonosor subjects Egypt, and confirms Amasis in the throne.		Nabuchodonosor makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of 13 years. He did not march against Egypt till after this expedition.		
3434	570			Nabuchodonosor's second dream interpreted by Daniel.		
3435	569	Apries dies in the 25th year of his reign.		Nabuchodonosor reduced to the condition of beasts during 7 years; after which he reigns again one year.		
3440	564		Thespius reforms tragedy. Pythagoras lived about this time.	Evil-Merodach his son succeeds him. He reigns only two years.	Death of Astyages.	Cresus. Æsop lived in his reign, and was in his court at the same time with Solon.
3442	562	Amasis reigns after him in peace.	Simonides, the celebrated poet.	Neriglissor. He makes great preparations for war against the Medes, and calls in Cræsus to his aid.	Cyaxares succeeds him, known in Scripture under the name of Darius the Mede.	
3444	560				Cyrus returns into Media for the second time, in order to assist his uncle in the war with the Babylonians.	
3445	559		Pisistratus makes himself master of Athens.		Expedition of Cyrus against the king of Armenia.	
3447	557				Cyaxares and Cyrus defeat the Babylonians in a great battle, in which Neriglissor is slain.	
3448	556			Laborossarchod. He reigns only nine months.		

A. M.	A. C.	Egypt.	Greece.	Babylon.	Media.	Lydia.
3449	555			Labynit, called in Scripture, Belshazzar.	About this time the marriage of Cyrus with the daughter of his uncle Cyaxares may be dated.	Battle of Thymbra between Cræsus and Cyrus, followed by the taking of Sardis by the latter. End of the kingdom of Lydia.
3456	548					
3460	544		Hipponax, author of the verse Scazon. Heracitus, chief of the sect which bears his name.			
3464	540		Birth of Æschylus. Ctesiphon, or Chersiphron, a celebrated architect, famous especially for building the temple of Diana of Ephesus.	Labynit is killed at the taking of Babylon. The death of that prince puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united with that of the Medes.	Cyrus makes himself master of Babylon.	
3466	538				Death of Cyaxares.	
3468	536			<i>After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, Cyrus, who succeeded both in their dominions, united the empire of the Medes with those of the Babylonians and Persians; and of the three formed a fourth, under the name of the Empire of the Persians, which subsisted 206 years.</i>		
				<i>Empire of the Persians.</i>		
3468	536			Cyrus. The first year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judea.		
3470	534			Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia.		
3475	529			Cyrus dies on a journey which he makes into Persia, after having reigned seven years alone, and thirty from his setting out from Persia at the head of an army to aid Cyaxares.		
3478	526			Cambyses his son succeeds him. The fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and re-unites it to the empire of the Persians.		
3479	525	Psammenitus.	Death of Pisistratus, Hippias his son succeeds him.	Unsuccessful expedition of Cambyses against the Ethiopians.		
		He reigns only six months.		Cambyses puts Meroe, who was both his sister and wife, to death.		
3480	524			It was about this time that Oretas, one of the Satraps of Cambyses, made himself master of the island of Samos, and caused Polycrates, the tyrant of it, to be put to death.		
3481	523			Death of Cambyses. Smerdis the Magian, who had mounted the throne before the death of Cambyses, succeeds him. He reigns only seven months.		
3482	522			Darius, son of Hystaspes.		
3483	521			Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews, wherein that of Cyrus is confirmed. It is believed, that what is related in the history of Esther happened some time after the publication of this edict.		
3485	519			Babylon revolts against Darius, and is taken after a siege of twenty months.		
3488	516			Expedition of Darius against the Scythians.		
3490	514			Darius penetrates into India, and reduces all that great country into subjection.		
3496	508					
				<i>The History of the Greeks from henceforth will be intermixed and almost confounded with that of the Persians; for which reason I shall separate their chronology no farther.</i>		
				<i>Persians and Grecians.</i>		
3501	503			The Persians form the siege of the capital of the island of Naxos, and are obliged to raise it in six months.		
3502	502			Aristagoras, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians into his measures.		
3504	500			The Ionians take Sardis, and burn it.		
3507	497			The Persians defeat the Ionians in a sea-fight before the island of Lados, and make themselves masters of Miletus.		
				Æschylus.		
3510	494			Darius sends Gobrias his son-in-law at the head of an army to attack Greece.		
				Anacreon.		
3513	491			Darius takes the command of his armies from Gobrias, and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.		
3514	490			Battle of Marathon.		
3515	489			Unfortunate end of Miltiades.		
3519	485			Death of Darius Hystaspes. Xerxes his son succeeds him.		
3520	484			Birth of the historian Herodotus.		
3524	480			Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks.		
				Battle of Thermopylæ. Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, is killed in it. Sea-fight near Artemisium, fought at the same time with the battle of Thermopylæ.		
				Birth of Euripides.		
				Battle of Salamis, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Persia.		
3525	479			Battle of Platæa. Sea-fight the same day near Mycale, in which the Persians are defeated.		
3526	478			The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, which had been demolished by Xerxes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Lacedæmonians.		
3528	476			The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedæmonians had been in possession from the battle of Thermopylæ, is transferred to the Athenians.		
				Pindar flourished about this time.		
3530	474			Pausanias, general of the Lacedæmonians, accused of holding secret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death.		
3531	473			Themistocles, the Athenian general, is accused of having had a share in Pausanias's plot, and takes refuge with Admetus, king of the Molossians.		
				Sophocles and Euripides appear in Greece about this time.		
3532	472			Xerxes is killed by Artabanus, the captain of his guards.		
				Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, succeeds him. Themistocles takes refuge in his court the first year of his reign.		
3533	471			Cimon receives the command of the armies at Athens. The year following he defeats the Persians, and takes their fleet near the mouth of the river Eurymedon.		
				Birth of the historian Thucydides.		
3534	470			Great earthquake at Sparta, in the reign of Archidamus, which gives rise to a sedition of the Helots.		
				Birth of Socrates.		
3535	469			Beginning of Pericles.		
				Phidias, famous for his skill in architecture and sculpture.		
				Difference and misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, occasioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians, in sending back their troops, after having called them in to their aid against the Messenians and Helots. Some time after, and in consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the Ostracism.		

A. M.	A. C.	Persians and Grecians.
3537	467	Ezra obtains a commission from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem, with all who are willing to follow him.
3538	466	Themistocles puts an end to his life at Magnesia.
3540	464	Herodotus of Sicily, chief of the sect of Physicians called ΔΙΣΙΤΗΤΙΚΟΙ. Hippocrates was his disciple.
3544	460	The Egyptians, supported by the Athenians, revolt against Artaxerxes.
3545	459	Defeat of the Persian army in Egypt.
3548	456	The Egyptians and Athenians are defeated in their turn; in consequence of which all Egypt returns to its obedience to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Biblos, under the command of Inarus, where they sustain a siege of a year.
3550	454	Battle of Tanagra in Boeotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who were come to the aid of the Thebans.
3554	450	Nehemiah obtains Artaxerxes's permission to return to Jerusalem. Birth of Xenophon. Cimon, recalled from banishment after five years' absence; reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.
3555	449	End of the war between the Greeks and Persians, which had continued from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, fifty-one years.
3558	446	Death of Cimon. The Lacedæmonians conclude a truce for thirty years with the Athenians. The latter soon break it by new enterprises.
3564	440	Empedocles, the Pythagorean philosopher, flourished about this time. Myron, the famous sculptor of Athens. Pericles makes war with the Samians, and takes the capital of their island, after a siege of nine months.
3568	436	Zeuxis, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus. Parrhasius his rival lived at the same time. Aristophanes the comic poet. Birth of Isocrates.
3573	431	War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Corcyrians. The inhabitants of Potidea declare on the side of Corinth against Athens. Alcibiades begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Peloponnesus.
3574	430	Scopas, architect and sculptor. Beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It continues twenty-seven years.
3575	429	A terrible plague rages in Attica. The physician Hippocrates distinguishes himself by his extraordinary care of the sick.
3576	428	Death of Pericles. The Lacedæmonians besiege Platæa.
3579	425	Plato, founder of the ancient academy. Death of Artaxerxes. Xerxes his son succeeds him. He reigns only forty-five days. Sogdianus puts Xerxes to death, and causes himself to be acknowledged king in his stead. His reign continues only six months.
3580	424	Ochus, known under the name of Darius Nothus, rids himself of Sogdianus, and succeeds him. The Athenians, under Nicias, make themselves masters of Cythera.
3583	421	Thucydides is banished by the Athenians, whose army he commanded, for having suffered Amphipolis to be taken. Polygnotus, famed particularly for his painting in the portico called Πολυκλή at Athens, in which he represented the principal events of the Trojan war.
3584	420	Treaty of peace concluded, by the application of Nicias, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Alcibiades, by an imposture, occasions its being broken the following year.
3588	416	The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Ostracism.
3589	415	Alcibiades engages the Athenians to assist the people of Egæta against the Syracusans.
3590	414	Alcibiades, one of the generals sent to Sicily by the Athenians, is recalled to Athens to answer accusations against him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy.
3593	411	Pisuthnes, governor of Syria, revolts against Darius. The Egyptians do the same, and choose Amyrtæus for their king, who reigns six years.
3595	409	Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return occasions the abolition of the Four Hundred, who had been invested with supreme authority.
3598	406	Darius gives Cyrus, his youngest son, the government in chief of all the provinces of Asia Minor.
3599	405	Lysander is placed at the head of the Lacedæmonians. He defeats the Athenians near Ephesus. In consequence of that defeat, Alcibiades is deposed, and ten generals are nominated to succeed him.
3599	405	Callicratidas gets the command of the army in the room of Lysander, from whom the Lacedæmonians had taken it. He is killed in a sea-fight near the Arginusæ.
3600	404	Lysander is restored to the command of the Lacedæmonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos. Conon, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires after his defeat to Evagoras, king of Cyprus.
3601	403	Lysander makes himself master of Athens, changes the form of the government, and establishes thirty Archons, commonly called the thirty tyrants.
3602	402	End of the Peloponnesian war.
3603	401	Death of Darius Nothus. Arsaces his son succeeds him, and takes the name of Artaxerxes Moemon. Cyrus the younger intends to assassinate his brother Artaxerxes. His design being discovered, he is sent back to the maritime provinces, of which he was governor.
3604	400	Interview of Cyrus the younger and Lysander at Sardis.
3606	398	Thrasylbulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and re-establishes its liberty.
3607	397	Cyrus the younger prepares for a war with his brother Artaxerxes.
3609	395	Defeat and death of Cyrus the younger at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the Ten Thousand.
3610	394	Death of Socrates. Lacedæmon declares war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.
3617	387	Beginning of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, father of Philip.
3618	386	Agésilas is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes to Africa, to the Aid of the Greeks settled there.
3620	384	Lysander quarrels with Agésilas, and undertakes to change the order of the succession to the throne.
3621	383	The army of Tissaphernes is defeated near Sardis by Agésilas. Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, enter into a league against Lacedæmon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens enters into the same league soon after. Agésilas is recalled by the Ephori to the assistance of his country.
		The fleet of the Lacedæmonians is defeated near Cnidus by Pharnabazus, and Conon the Athenian, who commanded that of the Persians and Greeks. Agésilas defeats the Thebans almost at the same time, in the plains of Coronea.
		Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.
		Peace, shameful to the Greeks, concluded with the Persians by Antalcidas the Lacedæmonian.
		Artaxerxes attacks Evagoras, king of Cyprus, with all his forces, and gains a signal victory over him.
		It is followed by the siege of Salamis, which is terminated by a treaty of peace.
		Expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians.
		Birth of Aristotle, founder of the Peripatetics.
		The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus.
		Birth of Philip, king of Macedon.

Persians and Grecians.

<i>A.M.</i>	<i>A.C.</i>	
3622	382	Phæbidas, on his way to the siege of Olynthus, at the head of part of the army of the Lacedæmonians, makes himself master of the citadel of Thebes.
		Birth of Demosthenes.
3626	378	Pelopidas, at the head of the rest of the exiles, kills the tyrant of Thebes, and retakes the citadel.
3627	377	Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, which had thrown off his yoke for some years. He employs about two years in making preparations for that war.
3629	375	Death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. Alexander his eldest son succeeds him. He reigns only two years. Perdicas ascends the throne next, and reigns 14 years.
3630	374	Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus. Nicocles his son succeeds him.
3634	370	Battle of Leuctra, in which the Thebans, under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeat the Lacedæmonians.
3635	369	Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander, tyrant of Phæræ. He goes to Macedonia, to terminate the differences between Perdicas and Ptolemy, son of Amyntas, concerning the crown. He carries Philip with him to Thebes as a hostage. He is killed in a battle which he fights with the tyrant of Phæræ.
3641	363	Battle of Mantinea. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having secured the victory to the Thebans.
3642	362	The Lacedæmonians send Agesilaus to aid Tachos, king of Egypt, against Artaxerxes. He dethrones Tachos, and gives the crown to Nectanebus. He dies on his return from that expedition.
		Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus his son succeeds him.
3644	360	Philip ascends the throne of Macedonia. He makes a captious peace with the Athenians.
		<i>The history of the Cappudocians begins at this time, the chronology of whose kings I shall give after that of Alexander's Successors. I shall annex it to that of the Parthians, and of the kings of Pontus.</i>
3646	358	War of the allies with the Athenians. It continued three years.
		Philip besieges and takes Amphipolis.
3648	356	Revolt of Artabasis against Ochus king of Persia.
		Birth of Alexander the Great.
3649	355	Demosthenes appears in public for the first time, and encourages the Athenians, who were alarmed by the preparations for war making by the king of Persia.
		Beginning of the sacred war.
3650	354	Death of Mausolus, king of Caria.
3651	353	Philip makes himself master of the city of Methon.
3652	352	Artemisia, widow of Mausolus, whom she had succeeded, takes Rhodes.
		Philip attempts to seize Thermopylæ in vain.
3653	351	Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and afterwards Egypt.
3654	350	Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, is obliged to fly into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns.
3656	348	Death of Plato.
		Philip makes himself master of Olynthus.
3658	346	Philip seizes Thermopylæ, and part of Phocis. He causes himself to be admitted into the number of the Amphictyons.
3662	342	Oration of Demosthenes concerning the Chersonesus, in favour of Diopithies.
3665	339	The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium, besieged by Philip.
		That prince is obliged to raise the siege.
3666	338	Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphictyons. He makes himself master of Elatea.
		Battle of Cheronæa, wherein Philip defeats the Athenians and the Thebans, who had entered into a league against him.
		Ochus, king of Persia, is poisoned by Bagoas his favourite. Arses his son succeeds him, and reigns only three years.
3667	337	Philip causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians. The same year he repudiates his wife Olympias. His son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria.
3668	336	Philip's death. Alexander his son, then twenty years of age, succeeds him.
3669	335	Artes, king of Persia, is assassinated by Bagoas. Darius Codomanus succeeds him.
		Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. He causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians in a diet assembled at Corinth.
3670	334	Alexander sets out for Persia.
		Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conquest of almost all Asia Minor.
3671	333	Alexander is seized at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, from having bathed in the river Cydnus. He is cured in a few days.
		Battle of Issus.
3672	332	Alexander makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of seven months.
		Apelles, one of the most famous painters of antiquity. Aristides and Protagoras were his contemporaries.
		Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He makes himself master of Gaza, and soon after of all Egypt. He went after this conquest to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and at his return built the city of Alexandria.
3673	331	Battle of Arbela. It is followed with the taking of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis.
3674	330	Darius is seized and laden with chains by Bessus, and soon after assassinated. His death puts an end to the Persian empire, which had subsisted 206 years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great.
		The Lacedæmonians revolt against the Macedonians. Antipater defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed.
		Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to see Alexander at Zadracarta.
		Philotas, and Parmenio his father, suspected of having conspired with others against Alexander, are put to death.
3675	329	Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after put to death.
		Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name.
		Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people.
		Lysippus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor, flourished about this time.
3676	328	Alexander makes himself master of the rocky eminence of Oxus.
		Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feast in Maracanda. The death of Callisthenes happens soon after.
		Alexander marries Roxana; the daughter of Oxyartes.
3677	327	Alexander's entrance into India. He gains a great victory over Porus in passing the Hydaspes.
3678	326	On the remonstrances of his army, Alexander determines to march back.
		The city of Oxydracæ taken. Alexander in great danger there.
3679	325	Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius.
		Revolt of Harpalus, whom Alexander had made governor of Babylon.
		Demosthenes is banished for having received presents, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Harpalus.
3680	324	Death of Hephestion at Ecbatana.
		Menander, the inventor of the new comedy, lived about this time.
3681	323	Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of two and thirty years and eight months. Aridæus, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdicas.
		The generals divide the provinces amongst themselves. From this division commences the era of the empire of the Lagidæ in Egypt.
		The Athenians revolt, and engage the states of Greece to enter into a league with them. Demosthenes is recalled from banishment.
3682	322	Antipater is besieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and is forced to surrender by capitulation. He soon after seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it.

		<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Syria.</i>
<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>		
3837	117	Ptolemy Lathyrus.	
3890	114		Antiochus the Cyzicenean divides the kingdom with Grypus.
3897	107	Alexander I. brother of Lathyrus.	Seleucus, son of Grypus.
3907	97		Antiochus Eusebes.
3911	93		Antiochus, second son of Grypus.
3912	92		Philip, third son of Grypus.
3913	91		Demetrius Eucherus, fourth son of Grypus.
3914	90		Antiochus Dionysius, fifth son of Grypus.
3919	85		The four last named kings reigned successively with Eusebes.
			Tigranes, during fourteen years.
3921	83	Alexander II. son of Alexander I.	Antiochus Asiaticus.
3923	81		
3935	69	Ptolemy Auletes.	
3939	65	Berenice, the eldest daughter of Auletes, reigns some time in his stead; after which that prince is restored.	
3946	58	Cleopatra reigns at first with her eldest brother, then with Ptolemy her youngest brother, and at last alone.	
3953	51		
<i>Alexander's Successors.</i>			
3701	300	Seleucus, king of Syria, builds Antioch.	
		Athenes refuses to receive Demetrius Poliorcetes.	
3707	297	Death of Cassander, king of Macedon. Philip his son succeeds him. He reigns only one year, and is succeeded by Alexander his brother. About this time Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, espouses Antigone, of the house of Ptolemy, and returns into his dominions, out of which he had been driven by the Molossi.	
3709	295	Demetrius Poliorcetes retakes Athens. Lysimachus and Ptolemy, almost at the same time, deprive him of all he possessed.	
3710	294	Demetrius puts to death Alexander king of Macedonia, who had called him in to his aid, and seizes his dominions, where he reigns seven years.	
3711	293	Foundation of the city of Seleucia by Seleucus.	
3717	287	Pyrrhus and Lysimachus take Macedonia from Demetrius. The latter dies miserably the year following in prison.	
3719	285	Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, resigns the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus.	
		Foundation of the kingdom of Pergamus by Philetarus.	
3721	283	Demetrius Phalereus is shut up in a fort by order of Philadelphus, and kills himself there.	
3722	282	Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria, declares war against Lysimachus, king of Macedonia.	
3723	281	Lysimachus is killed in a battle in Phrygia. Seleucus enters Macedonia to take possession of the kingdom. He is assassinated there by Ceraunus. Antiochus Soter, his son, succeeds him in the kingdom of Syria.	
3724	280	Ceraunus, to secure the kingdom of Macedonia to himself, puts the two children of Lysimachus by Arsinoe to death, and banishes her into Samothracia.	
		The republic of the Achæans resumes its ancient form, which it had lost under Philip and Alexander.	
		Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called in by the Tarentines, goes to Italy to make war against the Romans. He gives them battle for the first time near Heraclea, where the advantage is entirely on his side. He is again successful in a second battle fought the year following.	
3725	279	Irruption of the Gauls in Macedonia. Ceraunus gives them battle, in which he is killed. Meleager his brother succeeds him.	
3726	278	Pyrrhus abandons Italy, and goes to Sicily, which he conquers.	
		Sothenes drives the Gauls out of Macedonia. He is made king there, and reigns two years.	
		Attempt of the Gauls upon the temple of Delphi.	
3727	277	Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, causes the Holy Scriptures to be translated into Greek.	
3728	276	Death of Sothenes. Antigonus Gonatas, son of Poliorcetes, who reigned afterwards during ten years in Greece, makes himself king of Macedonia in his room. Antiochus, king of Syria, disputes the possession of it with him. Their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus.	
3729	275	Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppressions. By this victory he acquires the name of Soter.	
3730	274	Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus.	
		Ptolemy Philadelphus, in consequence of the reputation of the Romans, sends an embassy to them to demand their amity.	
3732	272	Pyrrhus undertakes the siege of Sparta, and cannot reduce it. He is killed the next year at the siege of Argos.	
3736	268	Antigonus Gonatas makes himself master of Athens, which had entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians against him.	
3739	265	Abantidas makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, after having put Clinias its governor to death.	
		Magus, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus.	
3741	263	Death of Philetarus, king and founder of Pergamus. Eumenes his nephew succeeds him.	
3743	261	Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, causes his son Antiochus to be proclaimed king. He dies soon after.	
		Berosus of Babylon, the historian, lived about this time.	
3746	258	Accommodation between Magus and Ptolemy Philadelphus.	
3749	255	War between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philadelphus.	
3752	252	Aratus, the son of Clinias, delivers Sicyon from tyranny, and unites it with the Achæan league.	
3754	250	Arsaces revolts against Agathocles, governor for Antiochus in the country of the Parthians. About the same time Theodorus governor of Bactriana revolts, and causes himself to be declared king of that province.	
3755	249	Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which puts an end to the war. By one of the conditions of that treaty, Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter.	
3756	248	Agis, king of Sparta, endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus. Leonidas, his colleague, is deposed for refusing to consent to it. Cleombrotus, his son-in-law, reigns in his stead.	
3757	247	Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Euergetes his son succeeds him.	
		Apollonius of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts.	
3758	246	Antiochus, surnamed Theos, king of Syria, is poisoned by his wife Laodice. She afterwards causes her son Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king.	
		Berenice, and her son by Antiochus, are assassinated by Laodice.	
		Ptolemy Euergetes, Berenice's brother, undertakes to revenge her death. He makes himself master of great part of Syria.	
3760	244	The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia enter into an alliance to aid the king of Syria against Ptolemy Euergetes. Aratus makes himself master of the citadel of Corinth.	
		Leonidas is restored at Sparta, Cleombrotus sent into banishment, and Agis put to death.	
3762	242	Death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. Demetrius his son succeeds him.	
		Seleucus, king of Syria, enters into a war with Antiochus Hierax his brother. The latter has the advantage in a battle near Ancyra in Galatia.	
3763	241	Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus his cousin-german succeeds him.	
3765	239	Eratosthenes, the Cyrenian, is made librarian to Ptolemy Euergetes.	

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Alexander's Successors.</i>
3771	233	Joseph, nephew of the high-priest Onias, is sent ambassador to Ptolemy Euergetes.
3772	232	Death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus, guardian of Philip, son of Demetrius, succeeds him. Polyctetus of Sicily, a famous sculptor.
3774	230	Selencus, king of Syria, is defeated and taken prisoner by Arsaces, king of the Parthians.
3776	228	Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains a great victory over the Achæans and Aratus.
3778	226	Selencus Callinicus, king of Syria, dies amongst the Parthians of a fall from his horse. Seleucus Ceraunus his eldest son succeeds him.
		Antiochus Hierax is assassinated by thieves on leaving Egypt.
		Aratus defeats Arietippus, tyrant of Argos. He prevails upon Lysiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce the tyranny, and makes his city enter into the Achæan league.
3779	225	The Romans send a famous embassy into Greece, to impart to the Greeks the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. The Corinthians declare, by a public decree, that they shall be admitted to a share in the celebration of the Isthmian games. The Athenians also grant them the freedom of Athens.
		Antigonus, king of Macedon, by the intrigues of Aratus, is called in to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians.
3781	223	Cleomenes, king of Sparta, takes Megalopolis.
		Battle of Selasia, followed with the taking of Sparta by Antigonus.
3782	222	Death of Seleucus Ceraunus, king of Syria. Antiochus his brother, surnamed the Great, succeeds him.
3783	221	The Colossus of Rhodes is thrown down by a great earthquake.
		Death of Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philopator succeeds him.
3784	220	The Ætolians gain a great victory at Caphyæ over the Achæans.
		Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who had revolted against him two years before; the first in Media, the second in Persia.
		Death of Antigonus king of Macedonia. Philip, the son of Demetrius, succeeds him.
		Cleomenes, king of Sparta, dies in Egypt. The Lacedæmonians elect Agesipolis and Lycurgus to succeed him.
3785	219	War of the allies with the Ætolians, in favour of the Achæans.
3787	217	Hermias, prime minister of Antiochus, is put to death by that prince's orders.
		Battle of Raphia, between Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Antiochus king of Syria.
		Treaty of peace between Philip, king of Macedonia, and the Achæans, on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.
3788	216	Antiochus besieges Achæus, who had revolted, in Sardis, and after a siege of two years he is delivered up by the treachery of Cretan.
		Hannibal's alliance with Philip, king of Macedonia.
3789	215	Philip receives a considerable blow from the Romans at the siege of Apollonia.
3790	214	Carneades, founder of the new academy.
3792	212	Antiochus undertakes to reduce the provinces which had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire, and effects it in the space of seven years.
3793	211	Alliance of the Ætolians with the Romans. Attalus, king of Pergamus, enters into it. The Lacedæmonians come into it some time after.
3796	208	Famous battle between Philip, king of Macedonia, and the Ætolians, near Elis. Philopœmen distinguishes himself in it.
3798	206	Battle of Mantinea, wherein Philopœmen defeats Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, who perishes in it. Nabis is set in his place.
3800	204	Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies on both sides are included in it.
		Polybius is said to have been born this year.
		Death of Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt.
		Ptolemy Epiphanes, at that time only five years old, succeeds him.
3801	203	League between Philip king of Macedon, and Antiochus, king of Syria, against the young king of Egypt.
3802	202	Philip, king of Macedonia, is defeated by the Rhodians in a sea-fight off the island of Chios. That prince's cruel treatment of the Cyaneans seems to be properly dated the following year.
3803	201	Philip besieges and takes Abydos.
3804	200	The Romans declare war against Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it. He gains a considerable victory near the town of Octolophus in Macedonia.
3805	199	Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip. The year following Flamininus is sent to succeed Villicus.
3806	198	Antiochus, king of Syria, subjects Palestine and Coele-syria.
		The Achæans declare for the Romans against Philip.
3807	198	Interview of Philip and the consul Flamininus.
		Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declares for the Romans. The Boeotians do the same.
		Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. Eumenes succeeds him.
		Battle of Cynoscephalæ, where the Romans gain a complete victory over Philip.
3808	196	Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war.
		Embassy of the Romans to Antiochus the Great, in order to be assured whether the complaints against him were justly founded.
		Conspiracy of Scopas the Ætolian, against Ptolemy Epiphanes, discovered and punished.
3809	195	Flamininus makes war against Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta.
3813	191	Philopœmen gains a considerable advantage over Nabis, near Sparta.
		The Ætolians resolve to seize Demetrius, Chalcis, and Sparta, by treachery and stratagem.
		Nabis is killed. Philopœmen makes the Lacedæmonians enter into the Achæan league.
		Antiochus goes into Greece to the aid of the Ætolians. The Romans declare war against him, and soon after defeat him near the straits of Thermopylæ.
3814	190	Battle of Magnesia, followed by a treaty of peace, which puts an end to the war between the Romans and Antiochus, which had subsisted about two years.
		The philosopher Panætius was born about this time.
3815	189	The consul Fulvius forces the Ætolians to submit to the Romans. Manlius, his colleague, almost at the same time subjects all the Gauls in Asia.
		The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles, supported by Philopœmen, happened this year.
3817	187	Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed in the temple of Jupiter Belus, which he had entered in order to plunder it. Seleucus Philopator succeeds him.
3821	183	Philopœmen is taken before Messene by Dinocrates, and put to death.
3823	181	Demetrius, son of Philip king of Macedonia, is unjustly accused by his brother Perseus, and put to death.
3824	180	Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philometor succeeds him.
3825	179	Death of Philip, king of Macedonia. Perseus his son succeeds him.
3829	175	Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, is poisoned by Heliodorus, whom he had sent a little before to take Jerusalem. He is succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes.
3830	174	Antiochus Epiphanes causes Onias the high-priest of Jerusalem to be deposed, and sets Jason in his place.
3833	171	War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometor.
		The Romans declare war against Perseus. That prince has some advantage in the first battle near the river Peneus.
3834	170	Antiochus Epiphanes makes himself master of all Egypt. He marches afterwards to Jerusalem, where he commits unheard-of cruelties.
3835	169	The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometor, who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make Ptolemy Euergetes, his younger brother, king.
		Philometor is set at liberty the same year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.

A.M. A.C.

Alexander's Successors.

3336	168	Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war, against Perseus. He gains a famous victory over that prince near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. It was not reduced however, into a province of the Roman empire, till twenty years after.	
		The prætor Anicius subjects Illyria in thirty days.	
		Popilius, one of the ambassadors sent by the Romans into Egypt, obliges Antiochus to quit it, and comes to an accommodation with the two brothers.	
		Antiochus, exasperated at what had happened in Egypt, turns his rage against the Jews, and sends Apollonius to Jerusalem.	
		The same year he publishes a decree, to oblige all nations in subjection to him to renounce their own religion, and conform to his. This law occasions a cruel persecution amongst the Jews.	
3337	167	Antiochus goes in person to Jerusalem, to see his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the death of Eleazar, happened at that time.	
		Paulus Æmilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken Perseus's part. The Achæans, suspected of having favoured that prince, are sent to Rome to give an account of their conduct. The senate banish them into different towns of Italy, from whence they are not suffered to return home till seventeen years after. Polybius was of this number.	
3338	166	Prusias, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, is not permitted to enter it.	
3340	164	Death of Mattathias. Judas his son succeeds him, and gains many victories over the generals of Antiochus. Antiochus Epiphanes is repulsed before Elymais, where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judæa, with design to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God strikes him on the way, and he dies in the most exquisite torments. Antiochus Eupator, his son, succeeds him.	
3341	163	Antiochus Eupator marches against Jerusalem. He is soon after obliged to return into Syria, in order to expel Philip of Antioch, who had made himself master of his capital.	
3342	162	Difference between Philometor, king of Egypt, and Physcon his brother, which does not terminate till after the expiration of five years.	
		Octavius, ambassador for the Romans in Syria, is assassinated.	
		Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopator, flies from Rome, where he had been kept as a hostage, to Syria, where he causes Antiochus Eupator to be put to death, and seizes the throne.	
3343	161	Death of Judas Maccabeus.	
3344	160	Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans.	
3345	159	Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus Philometor succeeds him.	
3345	158	War between Attalus and Prusias.	
3351	153	Alexander Bala pretends to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in that quality attempts to cause himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.	
3352	152	Andriscus of Adramyttium pretends himself the son of Perseus, and undertakes to cause himself to be declared king of Macedonia. He is conquered, taken, and sent to Rome by Metellus.	
3354	150	Demetrius Soter is killed in a battle between him and Alexander Bala. His death leaves the latter in possession of the empire of Syria.	
3356	148	Macedonia is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.	
3357	147	Troeblus in Achaia promoted by Diæus and Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither by the Romans are insulted.	
3358	146	Metellus goes to Achaia, where he gains several advantages over the Achæans. Mummius succeeds him; and, after a great battle near Leucopetra, takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it.	
		Greece is reduced into a Roman province, under the name of the province of Achaia.	
		<i>The sequel of the history of the kings of Syria is much embroiled; for which reason I shall separate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to complete its chronology.</i>	
		Syria.	Egypt.
3359	145	Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter, defeats Alexander Bala, and ascends the throne.	Death of Ptolemy Philometor.
3360	144	Antiochus, surnamed Theos, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, makes himself master of part of the kingdom.	Ptolemy Physcon, his brother, succeeds him.
3363	141	Tryphon gets Jonathan into his hands, and puts him to death at Ptolemais. The year following he murders his pupil Antiochus, and seizes the kingdom of Syria.	
3364	140	Antiochus Sidetes, the second son of Demetrius Soter, marries Cleopatra, the wife of his brother Demetrius Nicator, and after having put Tryphon to death, he is declared king himself.	Death of Attalus king of Pergamus. Attalus his nephew, surnamed Philometor, succeeds him. He reigns five years.
3366	138	Antiochus Sidetes besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.	The cruelties of Physcon at Alexandria oblige most of the inhabitants to quit the place.
3368	136	Antiochus marches against the Parthians, and gains many advantages over them. They send back Demetrius the year following.	(Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, at his death leaves his dominions to the Roman people. Adronicus seizes them.)
3371	133		(The consul Perpenna defeats Adronicus, and sends him to Rome. The kingdom of Pergamus is reduced the year following into a Roman province by Manius Aquilius.)
3373	131		Physcon repudiates Cleopatra, his first wife, and marries her daughter of the same name. He is soon after obliged to fly, and the Alexandrians give the government to Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated.
3574	130	Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.	Physcon re-ascends the throne of Egypt.
3577	127	Demetrius is killed by Alexander Zebina, who takes his place, and causes himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.	
3580	124	Seleucus V. eldest son of Demetrius Nicator is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. Antiochus Grypus succeeds him.	
3582	122	Cleopatra attempts to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.	Physcon gives his daughter in marriage to Grypus, king of Syria.
3584	120		
3587	117		
3590	114		Death of Physcon. Ptolemy Laethyrus succeeds him. Cleopatra, his Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, mother, obliges him to repudiate takes arms against Cyprus. He has Cleopatra, his eldest sister, and to the worst in the beginning; but two, marry Selene, his youngest.

A. M.	A. C.	Syria.	Egypt.
3891	113	years after obliges his brother to divide the kingdom of Syria with him.	Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son.
3897	107		Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places his brother Alexander upon the throne.
3900	104		Signal victory of Lathyrus over Alexander, king of the Jews, upon the banks of the Jordan.
3901	103		Cleopatra forces Lathyrus to raise the siege of Ptolemais, and takes that city herself.
3903	101		Cleopatra takes her daughter Selene from Lathyrus, and makes her marry Antiochus the Cyzicenean.
3907	97	Death of Grypus. Seleucus, his son, succeeds him.	
3910	94	Seleucus is defeated by Eusebes, and burned in Mopsuestia.	
3911	93	Antiochus, brother of Seleucus and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem. He is presently after defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in the Orontes.	
3912	92	Philip, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.	
3913	91	Demetrius Eucherus, fourth son of Grypus, is established king at Damascus, by the aid of Lathyrus.	Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.
3914	90	Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, Antiochus Dionysius, the fifth son of Grypus, is set upon the throne, and killed the following year.	Alexander is expelled and dies soon after.
3915	89		Lathyrus is recalled.
3916	88		
3919	85		
3921	83	The Syrians, weary of so many changes, choose Tigranes, king of Armenia, for their king. He reigns fourteen years by a viceroy.	Lathyrus ruins Thebes, in Egypt, where the rebels he had before defeated had taken refuge.
3922	82		
3923	81		
3928	76		
3935	69	Tigranes recalls Magdalu- his viceroy in Syria.	Death of Lathyrus. Alexander II. son of Alexander I. under the protection of Sylla, is elected king.
3939	65		Death of Nicomedes king of Bithynia. His kingdom is reduced into a Roman province; as is also Cyrenaica the same year.
		Antiochus Asiaticus takes possession of Syria, and reigns four years. Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a Roman province.	Alexander is driven out of Egypt. Ptolemy Auletes, Lathyrus's natural son, is set in his place.
<i>Egypt.</i>			
3946	58	The Romans depose Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and seize that island. Cato is charged with that commission. Ptolemy Auletes is obliged to fly from Egypt. Berenice, the eldest of his daughters, is declared queen in his stead.	
3949	55	Gabinus and Antony restore Auletes to the entire possession of his dominions.	
3953	51	Death of Ptolemy Auletes. He leaves his dominions to his eldest son, and his eldest daughter, the famous Cleopatra.	
3956	48	Ponthisus and Achillas, the young king's guardians, deprive Cleopatra of her share in the government, and drive her out of Egypt.	
3957	47	Death of the king of Egypt. Cæsar places Cleopatra upon the throne, with Ptolemy her young brother.	
3961	43	Cleopatra poisons her brother when he comes of age to share the sovereign authority according to the laws. She afterwards declares for the Roman triumviri.	
3963	41	Cleopatra goes to Antony at Tarsus in Cilicia. She gains the ascendant over him, and carries him with her to Alexandria.	
3971	33	Antony makes himself master of Armenia, and brings the king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleopatra and all her children.	
3973	31	Rupture between Cæsar and Antony. Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at Athens.	
3974	30	Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Antony follows her, and thereby abandons the victory to Cæsar. Antony dies in the arms of Cleopatra. Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria. Cleopatra kills herself. Egypt is reduced into a Roman province.	
<i>Cappadocia.</i>			
3490	514		<i>Pontus.</i>
			The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in the year 3490. Artabazus was the first king of it. His successors, down to Mithridates, are little known.
3600	404		Mithridates I. He is commonly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus.
3638	366		Ariobarzanes. He reigns 26 years.
3644	360	Ariarathes I. was the first king of Cappadocia. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes.	
3667	337	Ariarathes II. son of the first. He was deprived of his dominions by Perdiccas, who sets Eumenes on the throne.	Mithridates II. He reigns 35 years.
3668	336		
3689	315	Ariarathes III. ascends the throne of Cappadocia after the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes.	
3702	302	Ariamnes.	
3720	284	Ariarathes IV.	
3754	250		Mithridates III. He reigns 36 years. The reigns of the three kings who succeed him include the space of a hundred years. The last of them was Mithridates IV. great grandfather of Mithridates the great.
		Arsaces I. founder of the Parthian empire.	
		Arsaces II. brother of the first.	

A. M.	C. A.	Cappadocia.	Parthian Empire.	Pontus.
3754	250		Priapatus. Phraates I.	
3814	190	Ariarathes V.		
3819	185			Pharnaces, son of Mithridates IV.
3810	164		Mithridates I.	
3812	162	Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philo-		
3873	131	pator.	Phraates II.	
3856	148			Mithridates V. surnamed Euerge-
3875	129	Ariarathes VII.	Artabanus. After a very short	tes.
3881	123		reign, he is succeeded by Mithri-	Mithridates VI. surnamed the
			dates II. who reigns 40 years.	Great.
3913	91	Ariarathes VIII. Mithridates, king		Mithridates seizes Cappadocia,
		of Pontus, puts him to death, and		and makes his son king of it.
		sets his son upon the throne. Soon		
		after Ariarathes IX. takes Cappado-		
		cia from the son of Mithridates, who		
		is presently after re-established by		
		his father.		
3914	90	Sylla enters Cappadocia, drives		
		the son of Mithridates out of it,		
		and sets Ariobarzanes I. upon the		
		throne.		
3915	89	Tigranes, king of Armenia, drives	Mnaschires, and after him Sina-	Beginning of the war between
		Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia,	troces. These two princes reign	Mithridates and the Romans.
3916	88	and reinstates the son of Mithri-	about 20 years.	Mithridates causes all the Romans
		dates.		in Asia Minor to be massacred in one
				day.
				Archelaus, one of the generals of
				Mithridates, seizes Athens and most
				of the cities of Greece.
3917	87			Sylla is charged with the war
				against Mithridates. He retakes
3918	86			Athens after a long siege.
				Victory of Sylla over the generals
				of Mithridates near Chæronea. He
				gains a second battle soon after at
				Orchomenus.
3920	84			Treaty of peace between Mithri-
				dates and Sylla, which terminates
				the war.
3921	83			Mithridates puts his son to death.
3925	78	Sylla obliges Mithridates to res-		Second war between Mithridates
		tore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes.		and the Romans. It subsists some-
		Tigranes dispossesses him of it a se-		thing less than three years.
3928	76	cond time. After the war with Mith-		Mithridates makes an alliance
		ridates, Pompey reinstates Ariobar-		with Sertorius.
3929	75	zanes. His reign, and the very short		Beginning of the third war of
		one of his son, continues down to		Mithridates against the Romans.
		about the year 3953.		Lucullus and Cotta are placed at
				the head of the Roman army.
3933	74			Cotta is defeated by sea and land,
				and forced to shut himself up in
				Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his
				aid.
3931	73			Mithridates forms the siege of Cy-
				zicum. Lucullus obliges him to
				raise it at the end of two years, and
				pursues and beats him near the
				Granicus.
3933	71			Mithridates defeated in the plains
				of Cabiræ. He retires to Tigranes.
3934	70			Lucullus declares war against
3935	69		Phraates III. who assumes the sur-	Tigranes, and soon after defeats
			name of the God.	him, and takes Tigranocerta, the
				capital of Armenia.
3936	68			Lucullus defeats Tigranes and
				Mithridates, who had joined their
				forces near the river Arsamia.
3937	67			Mithridates recovers all his domi-
				nions, in consequence of the mis-
				understandings that take place in
				the Roman army.
3938	66			Pompey is appointed to succeed
				Lucullus. He gains many advan-
				tages over Mithridates, and obliges
				him to fly.
				Tigranes surrenders himself to
				Pompey.
3939	65			Pompey makes himself master of
3945	56		Mithridates, eldest son of Phraa-	Caina, in which the treasures of
			tes.	Mithridates were laid up.
3950	54		Orodes.	Death of Mithridates. Pharnaces
			Unfortunate expedition of Cras-	his son, whom the army had elected
3953	51	Ariobarzanes III. He is put to	sus against the Parthians.	king, submits his person and domi-
		death by Cassius.		nions to the Romans.
3962	42	Ariarathes X.		
3973	31	M. Antony drives Ariarathes out	Ventidius, general of the Romans,	
		of Cappadocia, and sets Archelaus	gains a victory over the Parthians,	
		in his place. On the death of that	which retrieves the honour they had	
		prince, which happened in the year	lost at the battle of Carræ	
		of the world 4022, Cappadocia was		
		reduced into a Roman province.		

<i>A. M.</i>	<i>A. C.</i>	<i>Syracuse.</i>	<i>Carthage.</i>
3510	503	Syracuse is said to have been founded in the year of the world 3295; before Christ 709.	Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3158; before Christ 846.
3520	481	Gelon's beginning.	First treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. It appears that the Carthaginians had carried their arms into Sicily before this treaty, as they were in possession of part of it when it was concluded: but what year they did so is not known.
3523	481		The Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes.
3525	479	Gelon is elected king of Syracuse. He reigns 5 or 6 years.	The Carthaginians, under Amilcar, attack the Greeks settled in Sicily. They are beaten by Gelon.
3532	472	Hiero I. He reigns 11 years.	
3543	461	Thrasybulus. In a year's time he is expelled by his subjects.	
3544	460	The Syracusans enjoy their liberty during sixty years.	
3539	415	The Athenians, assisted by the people of Segesta, undertake the siege of Syracuse under their general Nicias. They are obliged to raise it at the end of two years. The Syracusans pursue and defeat them entirely.	The Carthaginians send troops under Hannibal, to aid the people of Segesta against the Syracusans.
3593	411	Beginning of Dionysius the elder.	
3595	409		Hannibal and Imilco are sent to conquer Sicily. They open the campaign with the siege of Agrigentum.
3596	406	Dionysius, after having deposed the ancient magistrates of Syracuse, is placed at the head of the new ones, and soon after causes himself to be declared generalissimo.	The war made by the Carthaginians in Sicily is terminated by a treaty of peace with the Syracusans.
3600	404	Revolt of the Syracusans against Dionysius, upon account of the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Syracusans, by one of the conditions of which Syracuse is to continue in subjection to Dionysius. He establishes the tyranny in his own person. New troubles at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to put an end to them.	
3605	399	Dionysius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians.	
3607	397	Massacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionysius caused to be signified to them by a herald, whom he despatched to Carthage.	Imilco goes to Sicily with an army to carry on the war against Dionysius. It subsists four or five years.
3615	389	Dionysius takes Rhegium by capitulation. The next year he breaks the treaty, and makes himself master of it again by force.	
3632	372	Death of Dionysius the elder. His son, Dionysius the younger, succeeds him. By the advice of Dion, his brother-in-law, he causes Plato to come to his court. Dion, banished by the order of Dionysius, retires into Peloponnesus.	
3643	361	Dionysius makes Areto his sister, the wife of Dion, marry Timocrates, one of his friends. That treatment makes Dion resolve to attack the tyrant with open force.	
3644	360	Dion obliges Dionysius to abandon Syracuse. He sets sail for Italy.	
3646	353	Callippus causes Dion to be assassinated, and makes himself master of Syracuse, where he reigns about thirteen months.	
3647	357	Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, drives Callippus out of Syracuse, and establishes himself in his place for two years.	
3654	350	Dionysius reinstated.	
3656	348	The Syracusans call in Timoleon to their aid.	Second treaty of peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians.
3657	347	Dionysius is forced by Timoleon to surrender himself and to retire to Corinth.	The Carthaginians make a new attempt to seize Sicily. They are defeated by Timoleon, sent by the Corinthians to the aid of the Syracusans.
3659	346	Timoleon abolishes tyranny at Syracuse, and throughout Sicily, the liberty of which he reinstates.	Hanno, a citizen of Carthage, forms a design of making himself master of his country.
3672	332		Embassy of Tyre to Carthage, to demand aid against Alexander the Great.
3685	319	Agathocles makes himself tyrant of Syracuse.	Beginning of the wars between the Carthaginians and Agathocles in Sicily and Africa.
3724	280	A Roman legion seizes Rhegium by treachery.	The Carthaginians send the Romans aid, under Mago, against Pyrrhus.
3727	277		
3729	275	Hiero and Artemidorus are made supreme magistrates by the Syracusan troops.	
3726	263	Hiero is declared king by the Syracusans.	
3741	263	Appius Claudius goes to Sicily to aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians. Hiero, who was at first against him, comes to an accommodation with him, and makes an alliance with the Romans.	Beginning of the first Punic war with the Romans. It subsists twenty-four years.
3743	261		The Romans besiege the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, and take the city, after a siege of seven months.
3745	259		Sea fight between the Romans and Carthaginians, near the coast of Myle.
			Sea fight near Ecnomus in Sicily.
			Regulus in Africa. He is taken prisoner.
3749	255		Xanthippus comes to the aid of the Carthaginians.
3750	254		Regulus is sent to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners. At his return the Carthaginians put him to death with the most cruel torments.
3755	249		Siege of Lilybæum by the Romans.
3756	248		Defeat of the Carthaginians near the islands Ægates, followed by a treaty, that puts an end to the first Punic war.
3763	241	Hiero sends the Carthaginians aid against the foreign mercenaries.	

		<i>Syracuse.</i>	<i>Carthage.</i>
A. M.	A. C.		
3763	241		War of Libya against the foreign mercenaries. It subsists three years and four months.
3767	237		The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and engage to pay them 1200 talents.
3776	228		Amilcar is killed in Spain. Asdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeds him in the command of the army.
			Hannibal is sent into Spain upon the demand of his uncle Asdrubal.
3784	220		Asdrubal's death. Hannibal is made general of the army in his stead.
4786	218	Hiero goes to meet the consul Tib. Sempronius, in order to offer him his services against the Carthaginians.	Siege of Saguntum.
3787	217	184	Beginning of the second Punic war, which subsists seventeen years.
3788	216	184	Hannibal enters Italy, and gains the battle of Ticinus and Trebia.
			Battle of Thrasymenus.
			Hannibal deceives Fabius at the straits of Cassilinum.
3789	215	Death of Hiero. Hieronymus his grandson succeeds him.	Cn. Scipio defeats the Carthaginians in Spain.
3790	214	Hieronimus abandons the party of the Romans, and enters into an alliance with Hannibal. He is assassinated soon after. His death is followed with great troubles to Syracuse.	Battle of Cannæ. Hannibal retires to Capua after this battle.
3792	212	Marcellus takes Syracuse, after a siege of three years.	Asdrubal is beaten in Spain by the two Scipios.
<i>Carthage.</i>			
3793	211	The two Scipios are killed in Spain.	
		The Romans besiege Capua.	
3794	210	Hannibal advances to Rome and besieges it.	The Romans soon after take Capua.
3795	206	Asdrubal enters Italy. He is defeated by the consul Livius, whom the other consul Nero had joined.	
3799	205	Scipio makes himself master of all Spain. He is made consul the year following, and goes to Africa.	
3802	202	Hannibal is recalled to the aid of his country.	
3803	201	Interview of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa, followed by a bloody battle, in which the Romans gain a complete victory.	
3804	200	Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans, which puts an end to the second Punic war.	
		Fifty years elapsed between the end of the second and the beginning of the third Punic war.	
3810	194	Hannibal is made prætor of Carthage, and reforms the courts of justice and the finances. After having exercised that office two years, he retires to king Antiochus at Ephesus, whom he advises to carry the war into Italy.	
3813	191	Interview of Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus.	
3816	188	Hannibal takes refuge in the island of Crete, to avoid being delivered up to the Romans.	
3820	184	Hannibal abandons the island of Crete, to take refuge with Prusias, king of Bithynia.	
3822	182	Death of Hannibal.	
3823	181	The Romans send commissioners into Africa, to decide the differences that arose between the Carthaginians and Masinissa.	
3848	156	Second embassy sent by the Romans into Africa, to make new inquiries into the differences subsisting between the Carthaginians and Masinissa.	
3855	149	Beginning of the third Punic war. It subsisted a little more than four years.	
3856	148	Carthage is besieged by the Romans.	
3858	146	Scipio the younger is made consul, and receives the command of the army before Carthage.	
3859	145	Scipio takes and entirely demolishes Carthage.	

[END OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.]

GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE.

<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>	<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>
Abeles of Ptolemy, Drangiana	Inst. S. W. of Candahar	Anarbus isle, Cyclades, Greece	Nauplio
Abil, Scythia of Curtius	Scythians of the laxartes	Anchialos, Thrace	Akkimbi, Romelia
Abil, Scythia of Ptolemy	Steppe of Ablay, Siberia	Ancyra, Central Galatia	Angoura, District of Angouri
Abotis, Thebaid	Aboutig, Said, or Upper Egypt	Andranutzium, Armenia	Ardanoudji
Abrastola, Phrygia Salutaris	Seythissar	Andrapa, Galatia	Kurshek
Abydos, Hellespont	Avido	Androphagi, or Cannibals, country of	Polish Russia, and banks of the Prypetz
Abydos, residence of Memnon, Thebaid	Madfuni Ruins. Said	Andros isle, Cyclades, Greece	Andro
Acarnania, district of, north side of the gulf of Corinth, Greece	Carnia, and Karli Ili	Anemurium Promontorium, Cilicia	Cape Anamour
Acco, or Ptolemais	St. Jean D'Acre	Annathon of Ammianus	Annah on the Euphrates
Acesines of Arrian or Sandabilis of Ptolemy	Prevesa	Antaeopolis, Thebaid	Kamil Kubbara, Said, or Upper Egypt
Achelous river, Epirus and Ecolia	Aspropotamo	Antaradus, Syria	Tortosa
Acheron riv. Cassiope, Greece	River of Suli	Anticyra, Boeotia, Greece	Aspropiti
Acherusia palus, Epirus, Greece	Lake Glykys, mouth of the river of Suli	Antioch, Syria	Antakia
Achlerusia, promontory of, Bithynia	Cape Baba	Antiochia Mygdonia, Mesopotamia	Nesbin, Jezzerah
Aclisene, district of, Armenia	Ekilis	Antiochia Margiane	Maron Shah Jehan, Khorasan
Acis river, Sicily	Castel D'Iaci	Antiochia ad Meandrum, Caria	Yeughe, Shcher
Acritas promontorium, Peloponnesus, Greece	Cape Gallo	Aozita, valley of, Armenia	Valley of Karpoot, Asiatic Turkey
Adprocrantii Montes, Epirus, Greece	Mountains of Chimæra	Aornos, the Bactrian	Talkhaun, Boulk
Actium, north side of the gulf of Ambracia, Greece	Chanaub river, India	Aous river, Epirus, Greece	Viosa and Vajutza
Ad Publicanos	Confians, on the Isere, Savoy	Apania Mesene of Ptolemy	Samara, or Saramanray, Asiatic Turkey
Adana, or Antiochia ad Sarum, Cilicia	Adana	Apamia, lake of, Syria	Korna, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates
Adramyttium, Troade	Edremit	Apamia, plain of Antioch	Bahr Famieh
Adiabene	Pashalic of Mosul. Koordistan	Antarvartica Parthene, Persia	Apamia, or Bawerd, on the Ochus
Adonis, river of, Syria	Nahar Ibrahim	Aphrodisias, Caria	Gheyr
Adranum, fort of, Etna, Sicily	Bengazi	Achroditiopolis, or Asphynis, Threbat	Asfun, Said, or Upper Egypt
Adriane, port of, Cyrene, Libya	Erkiko, coast of Habbesh	Apollinopolis Magna, Thebaid	Edfu, Said, or Upper Egypt
Adulis portus, Mare Rubrum	Ayasse, or Ajazzo	Apollinis, Minor Civitas, Thebaid	Sedafe, Said, or Upper Egypt
Ægia, isle of, near Cerigo, Greece	Cerigotto	Apollonia, Epirus, Greece	Pollina
Ægia, isle of, Attica, Greece	Engia	Apollonia, lake of, Bithynia	Loupadi
Ægium, Achaia, Peloponnesus, Greece	Vostiza	Apollonia, port of, Cyrene, Libya	Sasali
Ægea, or Capraria, Insula Agades	Farignana	Apollonian Mountains	Hamerine Mountains, Koordistan
Ægos, or Apsynthos, Thrace	Maronea, Romelia	Apsarus, Pontus	Gouich, district of Tarabozan
Æolian, or Vulcanian Isles	Islands of Lipari	Apsarus, Boas, Acampsis, or Bathys	Shorak Su
Æsculapius, temple of, Greece	Iero	Apsus river, Epirus, Greece	Kavroni
Ætna, mount, Sicily	Monti Gibello	Arabab, cape of, Nearchus	Cape Urboo, district of Lus
Ægætiopie, fountain of, and Grove of the Muses, Boeotia, Greece	Monastery of St. Nicholas	Arabian Araxes of Xenophon	Pocraly Persia
Agathyrsi, country of	Transylvania	Arabius river	Aribkir
Agathyrsi river, Thrace	Ergine, Romelia	Arabrice, Armenia	Range of Amraun Khojo
Agriæntum, or Agragos, Sicily	Girceati Vrechio	Arachosii Montes	River of Aria
Alasus river, Sicily	Fiume De Casonia	Aracthus river, Epirus, Greece	Mount Manina
Alazanus river, Albania	The Alazon, Daghestan	Aracynthes Oros, Acarnania, Greece	
Albania, Asiatic	Eastern Georgia, Daghestan, and Schirwan	Aradus insula, Syria	Road
Albanie Pylæ	Pas of the source of the Koisun, Daghestan	Aragus river, Iberia	Aragwi, Georgia
Albanopolis, Albani, Elimeotis	Abassano	Ararat, mountain of, Armenia	Agri Dagh
Albanus river, Albania	Samura, Daghestan	Ararus river	Szech, Moldavia
Alban plains, Cilicia	Level plain between the Seihoon and Jelhoun	Araxes of Strabo	West branch of the Kuraub, Persia
Aleria Colonia, east side of Corsica	Torri Di Aleria	Araxes promontorium, Peloponnesus, Greece	Cape Papa
Aletium, Apulia, Magna Græcia	Lezze, Terra di Otranto, Naples	Arbelitis Assyria	District of Irbil, Asiatic Turkey
Alexandria ad Caucasum	Baumeaun, Caubul	Arbos of Ptolemy	Island of Argo, Dongola
Alexandria Troas, Troade	Eski Stamboul	Archæopolis, Colchis	Ruki
Alexandria, Kata Iscon	Scanderoon, Syria	Archemeros, fountain of Argolis, Greece	Lygorie
Alorus, city of Macedonia	Lebanon, Romelia	Ardisus river, Thrace	Arda, Romelia
Alots, Thessaly	Valos, Romelia	Argæus, mount, Capradocia	Argi Dagh
Alpi Maritimæ	Pas Alus	Aria, Ariana	Province of Herat, Persia
Alpes Cottiae	Mount Genevre	Aria, Metropolis of, Ptolemy	City of Herat, Persia
Alpes Graie	Little St. Bernard	Ariana palus, in Drangiana	Lake of Zurrak, or Seestann
Alpes Penninæ	Great St. Bernard	Araspa, in Drangiana	Zarang, or Seestann
Alpheus river, Peloponnesus, Greece	Kofeo, or Alfeo	Arathia, Pontus	Arithad
Altus Portus, Colchia	Ratouni	Armauria in Armenia	Ruins of Armavir
Alusta, Taurica	Alushtia, Crimea	Aroon river, Palestine	Torrent of Modbe
Amanides Pylæ of Strabo, Cilicia	Demir Kapi, and Kara Kavi	Arpi, Arabia, Magna Græcia	Foggia, Capri nata, Naples
Amantia river, Epirus, Greece	Gradista	Arrapachitis, Upper	Province of Aclan, Persia
Amantia, mount, Syria	Bailan, or Alma Dagh	Arrapachitis, Assyria	District of K. ook and Sclimania, Koordistan
Amannus, Lower Pass of	Pass of Bailan	Arscia Europos, or Rhages, Media	Ruins of Rey, Persia
Amastria, Paphlagonia	Amassero	Arsanias of Plutarch, or Arsianus of Ptolemy	Ak Su or Moosh river
Amathos, Cyprus	Limasol	Arsanias of Ptolemy	Arzen river, valo of Diarbekir
Ambracia, Thesprotia, Epirus, Greece	Arta	Arsinoe, Cyprus	Poli
Amida, or Caracithocerta	City of Diarbekir, Asiatic Turkey	Arsinoe, Lybia	Tuechira
Amisus, Pontus	Samson, District of Djanick	Arsinoe, or Cleopatria, Arabia	Suez, city and port of
Amorgos, island of	Amorgo	Arsissa palus, Armenia	Lake of Van, Armenia
Amphicena, or Amphicla, Phocia, Greece	Daci	Arsitis of Ptolemy, Hyrcania	District of Sari
Amphipolis, Macedonia	Emboli, Romelia	Artagera, or Artagicta, Armenia	Ardish
Amphiscia, Lucræ Ozola, Greece	Scoula	Artemisium, mount, Peloponnesus, Greece	Malvello, Morea
Anacletum, entrance of the gulf of Ambracia	Azio	Ar emita, or Dustagherd	Kasr Shirin, in ruins
		Artemita	Van, Koordistan
		Arsania, city of, Armenia	Argh
		Arsania palus, Phrygia	Lake of Burdoor
		Ascri, Lucolia, Greece	Sacto

<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>	<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>
Chersonesus portus, isle of Crete	Spinalonga	Acacia, Paphlagonia	Tonia
Chersonesus of Strabo, Tauroch	Point of Phanari, Crimea	Adabyza of the Propontis	Chalcedon, or Chivizah
Chios, isle of	Seion	Adadyan of Ptolemy, Armenia	Diadin, source of the Frat
Chitros, Cyprus	Paleo Chitro	Dahae	Dahestann, Persia
Chiosas in Media	Al Hud, Persia	Damascus, Cælio-syria	Dimshik
Chiosas in Sausiana	Kerah, Khoosistaun, Persia	Damascus, lake of, Syria	Bahr el Margee
Choatras mountains, Assyria	Range of Solimania, Asiatic Turkey	Dandari, Abasce	Drandeli, Kuban Tartary
Chorasmia	Karism, or country of the Khivea Tartars	Deiphoe, grove and temple of, Syria	Beit el Mea
Chorza, Armenia	City of Kars	Daradax, fountain of	Fay
Chorzene, Armenia	District of Kars	Daradax of Xenophon, Syria	River Rakak
Chrysocholis, Bithynia	Sagur	Darantasia, Galia	Salmus, Savoy
Chrysorrheas river, or river of Damascus	Barrahy, Dimshik	Dardanus of Ptolemy, Bactria	River Dargasee
Cibyra, Milyas	Bura	Darius, bridge of, over the Isther or Danube	Isakchi, Bulgaria
Cilicia Trachea, district of Cilician of Pliny, Sausiana	Itchil, or Tas Wilieth	Darceus of Herodotus, country of	District of Derne, Koordistaun
Cimmerium of Strabo—Cimbricus of Pliny	Zawrach	Darane Cyrenaica, Pentapolis, Libya	Derne
Cimmerian Bosphorus	Tenirook, in ruins	Daseylum on the Propontis	Diaskillo
Cinolus, island of, Cyclades, Greece	Straits of Kaffa and Vospio	Damia district, Apulia, Magna Græcia	L'Oflanto
Citium, Cyprus	Kimoh and Argentiara	Dionos, city of, Elimiotis, Greece	Dibra
Cittinus mount, Thessaly	Larrecce	Delos isle, Cyclades, Crecco	Little Dili
Clazomene, Ionia	Kratichiovo, Romelia	Delos river, Assyria	The Deaella, Asiatic Turkey
Clysna, Arabia	Vourla	Delphi, Phocis, Greece	Castri
Cocyus river, Epirus	Kolkzum	Demetrias, Thessaly	Amuro, Romelia
Colecysia, or Aulon	river of Zagouri	Diana, temple of, Elymais	Vicinity of Kunghevar, Persia
Colenapolis, district of Thebaid	Al Bekas	Digna, temple of, ruins, Tauroch	Aya Bouron, Crimea
Colchian Phasis	Kenne, Said	Dietz mount, isle of Crete, Greece	Lasthi and Sethia
Colchian mountains of Xenophon	Phash and Riopie	Dilymotichos, Thrace	Demotica, Romelia
Colchis, or Colchos, of the Ancients	Mesjidi mountains	Dioscorus, Colchis	Isgaur, Mingrelia
Colchis, Southern	Mingrelia	Diospolis, Parva, Thchaud	Ilow, Sausiana
Colchos, lake of, Armenia	Province of Gurjel	Dium, Floria, Macedonia	Katarina, Romelia
Colonia Romæa, Interior Pontus	Lake of Gurgick	Dium, island of, near Crete, Greece	Stan Dia
Colossæ, city of, Phrygia	Khonak, or Koulybissar	Docimæum, Phrygia	Barinkly
Comana, Cappadocia	Village of Konous	Dodecanachos, district of	Turkish Nubia
Comana Pontica, Galatian Pontus	Ul Rostan	Dodecanachos, Lower Messia	Substria, Bulgaria
Comana mountains of the Comedi of Ptolemy	Gumenick, in district of Savas	Dorymeum, Phrygia	Eski Shcher
Comisene, in Parthia	Range of Khomdaun	Drabiscus, or Drabescus, Thraee	Pravista, Romelia
Compsa, Hirpini, Magna Græcia	Khauchkhar	Drangiana, or Seacastana	Seestann, or Sigistaun
Comopol, Elymais	District of Komish	Drapsaca, Bactria	Anderaub
Constitium, Magna Græcia	Conza, Principata Ulterior, Naples	Drapanum on the Propontia	Yaterli
Constuntiana, Lower Messia	Konghar, Persia	Drapanum, Sicily	Trapani
Coos, isle of	Cosenza, Calabria, Naples	Drinus humen, Illyria, Greece	Drino
Copas lake, Bontia, Greece	Chiustengi, Bulgaria	Dromus Achillis	Narrow Breaches of Tintira
Cophenes of Arrian, river of Coptos, district of Thebaid	Stanchio	Druas in Burea, Galia	The river Durance
Copraesium promontorium, Cilicia	Lago Di Stive	Dura of Ammianus, on the Tigris	Inaun Dour
Coracis river, Boetia, Greece	Kaumech, or river of Paishawer	Durrachium, or Epidamnus, Taulantia, Greece	Durazzo
Coreura of Ptolemy, or Demetrius of Strabo	Kos, Sicily		
Coryra, island of	Castel Ubaldo, or Alaiah		
Corfinium, Peligni, Magna Græcia	Corale		
Corica, Cilicia	Kirkook, Asiatic Turkey		
Corone, Peloponnesus, Greece	Corfu		
Coronea, Boetia, Greece	San Ferico, Abruzzo Ultra, Naples		
Coronus mount, Hyrcania	Korhosh		
Corsoe of Xenophon	Corore		
Corte, Dodecasarchos	Mountains of Mazanderan, Persia		
Coryrus, port of, Cilicia Trachea	Ruins of El Erzi on the Euxine		
Cossean mountains, Media	Korti, Turkish Nubia		
Cotyora of Xenophon, Pontus	Curco, Itchil		
Craibia, Brutium	Mountains of Locristaun, Persia		
Cratia, or Flavianopolis, Bithynia	Ordu, district of Dianick		
Cremna, Pisidia	Crati, Calabria, Naples		
Crete, island of	Geirida		
Crisa, Phocis, Greece	Kobrinia		
Criu, Metopon, west end of Crete, Greece	Candina and Ieriti		
Croacia, port of, mouth of the Indus	Crisu		
Croton, Magna Græcia	Cape Crio		
Ctenus of Strabo, Taurica	Karadja Bonron, Crimea		
Ctesiphon, ruins of, on the Tigris	Corathiche, mouth of the Sindre		
Cucusus on mount Taurus	Crotana, Calabria, Naples		
Cuma, or Cyme, Æolis	Achitar, Crimea		
Cunaxa, Babylonian	Tauk Kesra		
Curux, Lower Messia	Cocso		
Cybeta, Cappadocia	Nemourt		
Cydamus of Pliny	Near Felujia		
Cydonia, city of, Crete	Kirshia, Bulgaria		
Cyllene mount, Peloponnesus, Greece	Kara Hysar		
Cyllene, port of, Elis, Peloponnesus, Greece	Gadamis, north-west of Germania, Fezzan		
Cyparissus, Peloponnesus, Greece	Canea		
Cyprus, isle of	Mount Zizicum		
Cyranis, insula, Libya	Chiarenza		
Cyrene, Cyrocaia, Pentapolis, Libya	Arcadia		
Cyropolis, or Alexandria Uti-	Kibris		
Cyros river, of Strabo	Kerkhines island		
Cyros of Armenia and Iberia	Kurin		
Cyssus, peninsula of Clazomene, Ionia	Rhojund on the Iaxartes		
Cythis, Arabia	Pulwar river, Persia		
Cythia, or Cephallenia	Kur in Georgia		
Cyzicus on the Propontis	Chosme		
	Cotatis on the Phasis		
	Cerigo		
	Artici		

<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>	<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>
Evenus river, <i>Ætolia and Locris, Greece</i>	Fidari	Hieron promontorium, <i>Corsica</i>	Punta Di Sàgro
Evergete of Herodotus	Inhabitants of Seestant, <i>Persia</i>	Hierosycaminon, <i>Dodecanisus</i>	Mehuraka, <i>Turkish Nubia</i>
Ezion Geber, or Berenice of Ptolemy, <i>Arabia</i>	Kalaat Al Akaba	Ilmera river, <i>Sicily</i>	Fiume Salvo
	F.	Ilmera city, <i>Sicily</i>	Termini
		Hippici Montes, <i>Caucasus</i>	Besh-Tan, <i>Circassia</i>
		Hippoonia, <i>Magna Græcia</i>	Bovo, <i>Calabria, Naples</i>
		Hippes, or Horse river, <i>Colchis</i>	Ygenish Kale
Forum of the Kramians, or Cotaum, <i>Phrygia</i>	Kutahiah	Homonada, <i>Psidia</i>	Erminek
Fretum Siculum, <i>Sicily</i>	Strait of Messina	Hor mount, <i>Arabia Petraea</i>	Djebel Hor
	G.	Hormonasa, cape of, <i>Pontus</i>	Cape Hormonsa, district of Tarabazan
		Hormonasa, city of	Aga Kela, district of Tarabazan
Gadasena, on the Halys	Ilajee Bektash	Horrea Margi, <i>Dardania</i>	Merava Hissar, <i>Servia</i>
Galilee, <i>Palestine</i>	Israd el Bushra	Hydaspes of Arrian, and Bidaspes of Ptolemy	Ithym, or river of Cashmere
Gallus river, <i>Bithynia</i>	Yeni Su	Hydrasius of Arrian, Hyaretis of Strabo, or Adris of Ptolemy	Rauwee, <i>India</i>
Gampula, <i>Thrace</i>	Gymmergine, <i>Romelia</i>	Hydra, <i>isle of, Greece</i>	Hydra
Gandare of Ptolemy, west of the Indus	Valley of Boonere	Hydruntum, <i>Apulia, Magna Græcia</i>	Otranto, Terra di Otranto, <i>Naples</i>
Gandaris river, of Ptolemy	Burindoo, or river of Boonere	Hydra, district of	Iamblyuk, or plain of Yedessan
Gangra, interior of <i>Paphlagonia</i>	Kiangari	Hymettus mount, <i>Attica, Greece</i>	Monte Hymetto
Ganos mount, <i>Thrace</i>	Tekir Dag, <i>Romelia</i>	Hypacryis river, <i>Hydra</i>	Kaloezacc river, <i>Yedessan</i>
Garamantes	Fezzancers, or people of Fezzan	Hypapa, on the Cayster	Berki
Garama Civitas of Pliny	Gorna, or Phazania	Hypasis river	Bog
Garganus Mons, <i>Apulia, Magna Græcia</i>	Promontory of Gargano, <i>Capitanata, Naples</i>	Hypasis river, <i>Caucasus</i>	Kooban river, <i>Circassia</i>
Gargarus, summit of <i>Ida</i>	Kas Daghi	Hyphasis of Arrian, Hypanis of Strabo, Bubasis of Ptolemy, and Hypasis of Pliny	Boyah, or Bospasha, <i>India</i>
Gaulonitis, <i>Thrace</i>	Tchaulan	Hyphli Montes, <i>Bithynia</i>	Abbas Daglar
Gaulos, <i>isle of, near Malta</i>	Gozi	Hyphsili, Thebaid	Sciot, Said, or Upper Egypt
Gabalene, <i>Palestine</i>	El Jebel	Hyrcania	Korag, <i>Persia</i>
Gedrosia	Mckran, <i>Persia</i>	Hyndrus of Arrian, Heandrus of Pliny, Zaradrus of Ptolemy and Saranges	Sutlej, or Satadru river
Gedrosia Deserta	Desert of Belouchistan, <i>Persia</i>		
Gela, ruins of, <i>Sicily</i>	Near Terra Nuova		
German mount, isthmus of <i>Corinth, Greece</i>	Gratio		
Gerasa, <i>Batanea</i>	Djerash		
Germa Colonia, <i>Phrygia</i>	Jerma		
Gerrhus river	A branch of the Dnieper		
Getæ of Herodotus, south of the Danube	District of Dobrodgia, <i>Bulgaria</i>		
Getæ of Herodotus, north of the Danube	Bessarabia		
Gestara of Ptolemy, <i>Albania</i>	Baka, Shirwan		
Gleada, mount of, <i>Palestine</i>	Djal Edjian		
Gomphus, entrance of the vale of Tempe, <i>Thessaly</i>	Baba		
Gordium vel Pessinus, <i>Phrygia</i>	Beibazar		
Gordian mountains	Range of Al Todl		
Gorubitzæ of Procopius	Yozouf, <i>Crimea</i>		
Granicus river	Ostroin		
Guraus, west of the Indus	River of Khauskaur		
Gyrarus insula, <i>Greece</i>	Joura		
Gymnosopists of the Greeks	Lugos and Saniaas		
Gyndes of Herodotus	Al Had, <i>Asiatic Turkey</i>		
Gythium, port of, <i>Sparta, Greece</i>	Colokythia		
	H.		
Habor of Scripture	Heraub, <i>Persia</i>		
Hadhitha, or Eliopolis, <i>Babylonia</i>	Is, or Hit, <i>Asiatic Turkey</i>		
Hadiarianopolis, <i>Bithynia</i>	Boli		
Hami Extrema, <i>Thrace</i>	Cape Eminch, <i>Romelia</i>		
Hermus, mount, <i>Thrace</i>	Eminch Dag, <i>Romelia</i>		
Halah of Scripture	District of Chalcal, <i>Persia</i>		
Haliacmon river, <i>Macedonia</i>	Indgi Karasu, <i>Rumelia</i>		
Haliacmon river, <i>Macedonia</i>	Budroan		
Haliacarnassus, <i>Caria</i>	District of Halice, <i>Podolia</i>		
Halonis insula, <i>Greece</i>	Saragano and Pelagisi		
Halmis lacus, <i>Lower Mesia</i>	Lake of Karasu, <i>Bulgaria</i>		
Halycia, interior, <i>Sicily</i>	Salame		
Halyx river, <i>Paphlagonia</i>	Kizel Ermak		
Harah of Scripture	Ahar, <i>Persia</i>		
Harpassus of Xenophon, <i>Armenia</i>	Arpa Chai, or river of Kars		
Hebron, and the south of <i>Judea</i>	El Khalil		
Hebrus river, <i>Thrace</i>	Maritza, <i>Romelia</i>		
Hecatempylus, in <i>Comisene</i>	Dameghaan, district of Koumish		
Helicon mount, <i>Boeotia, Greece</i>	Zagara		
Heliopolis, or city of the sun, the On of Scripture	Matarea		
Heliopolis, <i>Cele-syria</i>	Balbec		
Hellepont, strait of	Dardanelles		
Hellorum, east coast, <i>Sicily</i>	Muri Ucci		
Heraclea, near Olympus, <i>Macedonia</i>	Platamones, <i>Rumelia</i>		
Heraclea, city of, <i>Bithynia</i>	Angori		
Heraclea Pontica, <i>Bithynia</i>	Tekli		
Heraclea Bithynia, <i>Bithynia</i>	Terekli		
Hermæum promontorium	Cape Bona		
Hermopolis Magna, Thebaid	Ashmunin, Said, or Upper Egypt		
Hermas, or Saucoras	Al Hualce, <i>Asiatic Turkey</i>		
Heracleotic Chersonesus	Isthmus between Achiar and Balaclava, <i>Crimea</i>		
	Phyti		
Heraum, or temple of Juno, <i>Greece</i>	Kastri		
Hermione, <i>Peloponnesus</i>	Djebel el Shaik		
Hermion, mount of	Arment, Said, or Upper Egypt		
Hermionthis, Thebaid	Sarabat		
Hermus river, <i>Lydia</i>	Wood of Bernic		
Hesperides, gardens of, <i>Libya</i>	Girapetra		
Hiera Pytra, <i>isle of, Crete</i>	Maretano		
Hiera vel Maritima insula	Isa di San Antiochia		
Hieracium vel Aspiditrum insula, of <i>Sardinia</i>			
Hierapolis, <i>Phrygia</i>	Pambank, <i>Kelasi</i>		
Hieronymus, or Iarouchia	Yermuk		
Hieron Oros, promontory of	Cape Yores, district of Tarabozan		
	I.		
	Iagonia, on the Halys	Azh	
	Ialygia, or the Messenian Peninsula, <i>Magna Græcia</i>	Terra di Otranto, <i>Naples</i>	
	Iapygium, or Salentinum promontorium, <i>Magna Græcia</i>	Cabo Di Leuca, <i>Naples</i>	
	Iatrus river, <i>Triballi</i>	Iantra	
	Iaxartes river, <i>Sogdiana</i>	Shoon, Iksart, or Sirt	
	Iberia	Imritin and Georgia	
	Iberia Pylæ	Pass of Shaourapo, <i>Ineritia</i>	
	Iberus river, in <i>Spain</i>	Ebro	
	Icaria	Nicaria	
	Iconium, <i>Lycæonia</i>	Koniyah	
	Icos insula, <i>Greece</i>	Dipolis	
	Ida mount, <i>isle of, Crete</i>	Psiloniti	
	Idmus, range of	Ilecmaheh	
	Idmus, versus ad <i>Arcios</i>	Belcoz Tagh	
	Idmus, northern range	Mooz Taglar	
	Imbros	Imbro	
	Inachus river, or Charadrus, <i>Greece</i>	Planitza	
	Inachus river, <i>Acarnania, Greece</i>	Fogo	
	Indus river	Sinde, or Neelaub, <i>India</i>	
	Indus of Pliny	River of Cabul	
	Insula Allobrogum	District of the Rhone and Isere	
	Insulis, <i>Paphlagonia</i>	Igelioh, district of Djanick	
	Ios, <i>isle of, Greece</i>	Nio	
	Ipsara, <i>isle of, west of Chios, Greece</i>	Ipsara	
	Iris river, <i>Mar. Pontus</i>	Iekel Ermak, district of Djanick	
	Isauria, district of	Doulgadir Ili	
	Isbarie, <i>Phrygia Paetiana</i>	Baris	
	Iscodur or Scodra, <i>Illyria</i>	Scutari, northern <i>Albania</i>	
	Ismaris lake, <i>Thrace</i>	Lake Mary	
	Ismarus of Homer and Virgil, <i>Thrace</i>	Mary	
	Issus, city of, <i>Cilicia</i>	Village of Oseler, or Karabolat	
	Istropolis, <i>Lower Mesia</i>	Kara Kerman, <i>Bulgaria</i>	
	Ithaca, <i>isle of, Greece</i>	Theaki	
	Ithome, citadel of, <i>Greece</i>	Vulcano, <i>Morea</i>	
	Ituræ, near <i>Auranitis, Syria</i>	El Ledia	
	J.		
	Jabbok, brook of, <i>Palestine</i>	Torrent of Zerk	
	Jasonium, city of	Yassoun, district of Djanick	
	Jasonium promontorium, <i>Pontus</i>	Cape Yassoun, district of Djanick	
	Jassius Sinus, <i>Ionis</i>	Assem Kalesi	
	Jassus, <i>Ionis</i>	Assum	
	Jenysus, desert of <i>Palestine</i>	Khan Jonus	
	Jericho, <i>Palestine</i>	Erbah village	
	Jomance of Pliny, or Diamuna of Ptolemy	The Juma river, <i>India</i>	
	Joppa, <i>Palestine</i>	Jaffa	
	Jordan river, <i>Palestine</i>	Nahar al Jarden	
	Jordan, valley of, <i>Palestine</i>	El Ghor	
	K.		
	Kerka of Ammianus, on the Tigris	Kark, or Eski Bagdad	
	Kartbirt, or Charpote, <i>Armenia</i>	Fortress of Karpoot	
	Kersus river, of Xenophon	Mahersay river, <i>Syria</i>	
	Korus, in <i>Cappadocian Pontus</i>	Kierali, district of Tarabozan	
	L.		
	Labeatis palus, <i>Illyria</i>	Schiebak, or Lake of Sentari, northern <i>Albania</i>	
	Lacinium promontorium, <i>Magna Græcia</i>	Cape Colonna, <i>Calabria, Naples</i>	

GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE.

629

<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>	<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>
Lacina, Ennaus	Tzamerka	Martyropolis, Armenia	Maiafarkin, Asiatic Turkey
Laconia, district of, Greece	Tzazonia	Mudoramus mount, Parthia	Range of Kanahoody, Persia
Lacus Uferens, plain of Antioch	Ifrin	Masius, mountain of, Mesopotamia	Kara Dagh, Asiatic Turkey
Lacus Fucinus, Marai	Lago De Celano, Abruzzo Ul. Italy	Masagga, city of, India	Mashaghur, Cabul
Lambate, mountains of the Lania, Thessaly	Range of Kanfercestaun, India	Masaria, Armenia	Mashagherd, Asiatic Turkey
Lampus, Taurica	Zeitun, Romelia	Maxeres of Puley	Mazaneraun, Persia
Lampsacus, entrance of Propontis	Lambat near Aia Bouron, Crimea	Maximianopolis, Thelaid	Nekradi, Said
Lamus river, west limit of Lycia	Tebardack	Mazarum, Sicily	Mazara
Laodicea, Phrygia	Lamazo, district of Lamazo	Media Upper, or Superior	Province of Al Jehal, Persia
Laodicea Combastia, Lycæonia	Eske Hissar	Media Inferior, or Thagiana	District of Itey, Persia
Laodicea, Syria	Jorzan, Ladiq	Media of Xenophon	Kordistaun, Asiatic Turkey
Lapethos, Cyprus	Latakiah	Melos of Strabo, Persia	East branch of the Kurah
Laranda, Lycæonia	Lapito	Megalopolis, Arcadia, Greece	Leonardi
Larissa, on the Peneus, Thessaly	Caraman	Megiste, isle of, opposite Lycia	Cestolozzy
Larissa Phiotica vel Cremastis, Thessaly	Yesscheher, Romelia	Melanchlani, country of	Districts of Mohilow and Orel, Russia
Latopolis, Thebaid, Egypt	Larizzo, Palæo Castro, Romelia	Melanitis river, Mar. Pontus	Booyuk Su, district of Djani-nick
Latrus river, Lacania	Esne Said, or Upper Egypt	Melas river, Pamphilia	Menograt Su
Lavisco, Gallia	Laino, Naples	Melas, or river of Mazzen	Kara Su
Lebedea, Bœotia, Greece	Laisse, foot of the Alps	Melas river, Bœotia, Greece	Mauro Nero
Lebanus, and Antilibanus, the Lebanon of Scripture	Lava	Melite, or Melita insula	Malta
Lectum promontorium, Troade	Kesrawan	Melitene, valley of, Cappado- cia	Valley of Malathya, Asiatic Turkey
Leges, or Legge, Caucasus	Cape Baba	Melos isle, Cyclades, Greece	Milo
Legidicum, Gallia	Lessiana, Daghestan	Memphis, site of	Menuf, in ruins
Lennois, isle of	Chamberry, Savoy	Mena, Sicily	Menio
Leontes river, between Lebanon and Antilibanus	Stalimeoe	Meninx insula, Libya	Jerba, coast of Tripoli
Leontini, Sicily	Leitane	Mermeris, Caria	Marmorich
Leptis Magna	Lepida	Meroc, great island of	Double bend of the Nile be- tween Tinareh and Damer
Leros, island of	Lero	Meroc, city of	Meraue, Dongola
Lesia, south division of Sardinia	Ales	Meroc, great temple of	El Bellal, Dongola
Lesbos, or Mytilene, isle of	Melin	Meroc peninsula	Country of the Shergya Arabs
Leucadia Neritos, Greece	Santa Magra	Mesene, Thrace	Mesivrea, Romelia
Leuce island, mouth of Danube	Ilan Adasi, or Serpent isle	Mesene of Pliny	Tract between the Didgel and Tigris
Leuci Montes, Crete	Madura and Spacia	Messana, or Zancle, Sicily	Messina
Leucosia, or Leucusia, Cyprus	Nicosia	Messene, ruins of, frontier of Arcadia, Greece	Maura Matra, or Black Eyes
Leuce, Bœotia, Greece	Lohed, on the Tigris	Messogis mount, Lydia	Kistenous Dagh
Liba of Polybius, and Labbana of Ptolemy	Village of Malsum	Metarurs river, Picenum	Metauro, Naples
Libysa, place of Hannibal's death, Bithynia	Cape Boco	Methone, Macedonia	Leuterochori, Romelia
Lilybeum promontorium, Sicily	Marsala	Methone, Greece	Modon
Lilybeum, Sicily	Eipari	Misenum, Campania	Cape Misena, Campagna, Naples
Lipara insula	Lipso	Mithridatium, Phrygia	Oscat, district of Bouzok
Lipsia, island of	Il Flame, Garigliano, Naples	Moderne, Bithynia	Modoorly
Liris river, north-west boundary of Campania	Lycarrio	Mons Arabicus, range east of the Nile	Gebel Mokattam
Lissa, Argolis, Greece	Alessio, northern Albania	Mons Smaragdus, or Emerald mountain	Manden Uzzulmored
Lissus, Myria	Burzano, Calabria, Naples	Montes Inani, or the Frantio mountains, Sardinia	Los Appeninos
Loeri Epizephyrii, Magna Græcia	Coast of Tripoli	Montana, Gallia	Bourg Evesscal, Savoy
Lotophagi, coast of, Libya	Lucera, Capitanata, Naples	Mopsastia, on the Pyramus	Messia, or Masiasijah
Lucia, Apulia, Magna Græcia	Foodhal Baba, Caramania	Moranda in Media	Marant Aderbijan
Lycæonum Colles, Lycæonia	Ocria, Romelia	Moschici Montes, Armenia	Thelider Daghs, Asiatic Turkey
Lychindas, Macedonia	Orchida, Caramania	Moxeene, district of, Armenia	Plain of Moosh, Asiatic Turkey
Lyda and Pamphilia	Assiout, Said, or Upper Egypt	Musican	Isle of Chandooky, between the Indus and the Larkhana
Lycopolis, Thebaid, Egypt	Lassiti	Myceon, ruins of, Peloponnesus, Greece	Krabata
Lycos, city of, isle of Crete	Biogheul Su	Mycones isle, Cyclades, Greece	Myconi
Lycus of Armenia, a branch of the Euphrates	River of Khanoos, Armenia	Myra, Argolis, Greece	Themitto
Lycus, a branch of the Morad Lycus, river of, Syria	Nahar Keib	Myra, north-west coast, Sicily	Melazzo
Lycus, south-east branch of the Iris, Pontus	River of Koalyhissar	Myra, Caria	Melagzou, or Marmora
Lycus river, Scythia	Medweditza, a branch of the Don, Voronez, Russia	Myos Hormos, port of, Red Sea	Sudanzheul Bahri
Lydda, or Diospolis, Palestine	Ludd	Næthus, Præntium	N.
Lydias river, Macedonia	Kutchuk Karasn, Romelia	Næsus, Dardania	Neto, Calabria, Naples
Lykostomon, northern mouth of the Danube	Kilia Nova, Bessarabia	Næparis river	Nissa, Servia
Lyreia, Argolis, Greece	Schoino Korio	Napata, city of, isle of Merce	Ianotzia, Wallachia
		Nauratris, city of, Egypt	Diebel el Berkel, Dongola
		Naulibe, or Naulibis of Ptolemy	Sahdhar
		Naplechos, north-west coast, Sicily	Neaulab, India
		Napactos, Lœris, Ozolea, Greece	Diveto
		Napulia, Peloponnesus, Greece	Euebet and Lepanto
		Naura, canton of	Napoli Di Romania
		Nautica, Sogdiana	Nour, Usbek Tartary
		Naxos, isle of, Cyclades, Greece	Nokshab, district of Samar- cand
		Naxuape, Armenia	Naxia
		Nepolis, west side of Sardinia	Nakhjowan, Aderbijan
		Nepolis, Thrace	Oristagni
		Nepolis, or Sichen, Palestine	Cavalo
		Nepolis, Ionia	Nablous
		Nemaeus, in Gallia Narbonensis	Neala Nova
		Nemea, ruins of, Argolis, Greece	Nisnes
		Necessaria, Galatian Pontus	Colonna
		Nestus river, Thrace	Niksar, indistrict of Amassi- ah
		Neari, country of	Neto, or Kara Su
		Nice, or Nicea, Bithynia	Eastern Gallicia
		Nicephorus of Lucullus, Cor- dœne	Isnie
		Nicomedia, Bithynia	Khabour, or river of Sort
		Nicopsis, Abasici	Isniemidit
		Nicopsis, Smidia	Anacopir Akhkhaz
		Nile river	Anacopir
		Nile, great eatract of	Bahr at Abiad, or White Riv- er Nubia
		Nineveh, ruins of	Catact of Ian Adel, Nubia
		Niphates, mountain of	Village of Nania, Asiatic Turkey
			Nimrood Dagh, Asiatic Turkey
		Nisra of Strabo, Hircania	Nisu on the Ochus, Persia

<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>	<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>
Nisibis, or Zohab . . .	Nesbin, Asiatic Turkey	Parviti Montes, west of the	Range of Teerabad Solimaun
Nisros, isle of . . .	Nisros	Paryadres range, south of	Idiz Daghi
Nolaita, above Egypt .	The Nubians	Parviti Pontus	
Nora, castle of, Cappadocia	Yengi Bar, or Nour	Passitigris river . . .	The Jerahee, Persia
Nucerina, Campania . .	Nocera, Campagna, Naples	Patmos, island of . . .	Patmosa, or Patina
Nutani, east coast, Sicily	Noto	Patra, Achaia, Propria, Greece	Patras, gulf of Levanto
Nymphæum, Taurica . .	Atok, Crimea	Pattaleon, or Delta of the In-	Province of Sind, or Tatta
Nymphis river, of Phry	Batman Su, Asiatic Turkey	India	
Nysa, foot of mount Messogis,	Nosti	Paxæ insule . . .	Pechus and Antipachus
Nysæa, Galatia . . .	Nousher	Pegase, Thessaly . . .	Volo, Romelia
	O.	Peircum lake, Macedonia	Lake of Otrida, Romelia
		Pelja, Macedonia . . .	Yenigde, Romelia
Oargos, or Rha river . .	Wolga	Peloponnesus, Greece . .	Morca
Oasis of Jupiter Ammon .	Sevval	Pelorum promontorium, Sicily	Cape Faro
Ocelum, Gallia . . .	Ussou, marquise of Sesa	Pelusium, Egypt . . .	Tipeh
Ochus, or Arius river, Aria	Tedjend, or Poolimalan, Persia	Peneus river, Macedonia . .	Salambria, Romelia
Odessus, Lower Mosia .	Varna Bulgaria	Pentelicus mount, Attica, Greece	Pendeli
Oeacæ, city of, Maritime Pontus	Unieh, district of Djaniek	Peparethos insula . . .	Dromo
Oenasa, Lower Mosia . .	Unieh, district of Djaniek	Pera, beyond Jordan, Palestine	El Gaur and El Belkaa
Oenasa insula, Greece . .	Spiezua and Cabrera	Pergamus, Æolis, Lydia	Bergamo, Saron Khan
Oescus river, Triballi . .	Isker, Bulgaria	Perinthus, or Hieraclea, Thrace	Buyuk Ereki, Romelia
Ojana, castle of, Armenia	Alenick, Persia Armenia	Persepolis, or Persagadæ	Ruins of Istakar
Olbia, or Attalia, Pamphilia	Satalia	Persepolis, palace of . .	Ruins of Chulmar, or Takht-i-Jemshid
Olbia, or Olthopolis, ruins of	At the junction of the Bog and Danube	Persia, province of . . .	Farstaut
Olbia, Civitas, north side of	Terra Naova	Petelia, Magna Græcia . .	Strongoli, Calabria, Naples
Olbiopolis, and Borysthenia, country of	District of Jamboyluk, Russia	Petra Nabathæorum, Arabia	Wady Mousa, or valley of Mo-
Oligusys mount, Paphlagonia	Ulug Dag	Petra Oxiæna, Sogdiana . .	Shadman, Usbec Tartary
Oliarus isle, Cyclades, Greece	Antiparos	Pence district, and the Peuci-	Delta of the Danube
Olympus, city of, Lycia . .	Delikish	ni	
Olympus, or Chimæra mountain, Lycia	Takhtali Dag	Peuceclatis, district of, India	District of Puckholi
Olympus mount, in Bithynia	Domann Dag	Phanagoria, isle of . . .	Tanai, mouth of the Kooban, Russia
Olympus, eastern range of, Bithynia	Bainder Dag	Phanagoria, city of . . .	Taman, Russia
Olympus, Galatia, Bithynia	Koush Daghi	Pharmatius river, Pontus	Baydar Su, district of Djaniek
Olympus mount, isle of Cyprus	Monte Di Santa Croci	Pharos of Melchitades . .	Phanar, near Yenikale, Crimea
Olympus mount, Macedonia	Olimbo and Samavat Eski, or the Celestial House	Pharsalia, Thessaly . . .	Pharsa, Romelia
Ombos, Thebaid, Egypt . .	Koum Omb, Said, or Upper Egypt	Phasiana of Xenophon . .	Plain of Passin, Armenia
Onias, city and temple of	Tel-el-Jehud, in ruins, Delta of Egypt	Phatmet, mouth of the Nile	Armenian Araxes, or Aras
Opis, city of, Assyria . .	Dokhala, Asiatic Turkey P. of Bagdad	Phazemonia, Paphlagonia	Damietta
Oppidum Veneris, Cilicia	Porto Cavaliere	Philadelpheia, Cilicia . .	Marsawan, district of Djaniek
Orashik, Lower Mosia . .	Rudschuk, Bulgaria	Philadelpheia, north foot of	Mout, Caramania
Orchomene, Bactria, Greece	Scrupu	Philadelphus, north foot of	Aia Sheher, Aidin
Ordesius river . . .	Orio	Philippi, ruins of, Thrace	Drama, Romelia
Oros, or Ilistina, Eubœa, Greece	Adrianople, Romelia	Philippopolis, Thrace . .	Philippa, Romelia
Orestia, Thrace . . .	Ericho	Philocalia, Pontus . . .	Euloi, district of Tarahozan
Oreum, Chonia, Epirus, Greece	Lus	Philomelum, Phrygia . .	Kadan Khan, Caramania
Oreus, district of the Persia	The Tab, Farsistann, Persia	Philoterus, port of, Red Sea	Cosair, Thebaid
Oroatis, or river Arosia .	Range of El Wand, Persia	Phlegæri Campi, Campania	Vicinity of the city of Naples
Orontes, mountain of, Media	El Asce	Phlius, Sicily, Peloponnesus, Greece	Staphisa
Oropus, Bœotia, Greece .	Oropo	Phlius, ruins of, Argolis, Greece	Near Agios Giorgios
Osmos river, Triballi . .	Osmo, Bulgaria	Phocæa, Æolis . . .	Fochia
Orsiocæ, or Authemusea .	Pashitche of Roha, or Orfa, Asiatic Turkey	Phoegaudrus isle, Cyclades, Greece	Policandro
Othrys mount, Thessaly .	Otriclechi, Romelia	Phrygania insula, Egætes	Livenzo
Oxia of Herodotus, or Julia Alba	Czotat Alba, or Bielgorod	Phycus promontorium, Libya	Cape Ras al Sem
Oxiæna palus, Trans. Oxiæna	Lake of Aral	Physcus of Xenophon . .	Eufri Su, Asiatic Turkey
Oxiæna civitas . . .	Termed, a pass on Oxus	Pictanus, city of . . .	Portress of Bailan
Oxus river . . .	Jihoon, or Amoo	Pimolis, Paphlagonia . .	Osmanjik, district of Kiangan
Oxus of Ptolemy, Bactria	River of Budukshan	Pimplea, tomb of Orpheus, Macedonia	Village of Spee, Romelia
Oxyauli . . .	Sewoetan, or district of Haryean, west of the Indus	Pindus mount, Epirus, Greece	Metzovo
Oxydrace . . .	Inhabitants of Outeh, India	Pindus, ridge at the source of the Apsus	Mount Gromos
Oxyrrhynchus, Thebaid, Egypt	Bahmasa, Said, or Upper Egypt	Pindus, ridge of, north of the source of the Peneus, Macedonia	Myronoros, or Black Mountain
	P.	Pindus, head of the gulf of Ambracia	Macræoboros, or the Great Mountain
Pachynum promontorium, Sicily	Cape Passaro	Pirene, port of, Attica, Greece	Porto Leonardo, Persia
Pagæ, city of, southern foot of mount Ananus, Syria	Begrass	Pisidia . . .	Hamid, Caramania
Palania, west side of Corsica	Ia Balagaa	Pityus Magnus, Abasci . .	Bitchwinta, Abkhaz
Palibothra, capital of the Prusi and Gangaridæ	Bhagulipore	Placentia . . .	Placenza, Italy
Palus Meotis . . .	Sea of Azoff and Taganrog	Platæa, Bœotia, Greece . .	Palæo Castro
Palus Colocæ, of Ptolemy, Ethiopia	Lake of Dambea, Abyssinia	Platæa, isle of, Libya . .	Ile of Bomba
Pamphilia and Lycia . .	Tekieh	Podandus, delie of, Upper Cilicia	Podando, Caramania
Panæas, or Casarea Philippi, Palestine	Baneas	Pestum, or Posidonia, Magna Græcia	Pesti, Calabria, Naples
Panæus mount, Thrace . .	Castagnas, Romelia	Pæus mount, Thessaly . .	Miloni, Romelia
Panormos portus, Epirus .	Papormo	Pæumonium, Pontus . .	Fatsa, district of Djaniek
Panormos, north-west coast, Sicily	Palerino	Polybotum, Phrygia . . .	Bolwudin
Panticæpeum, Cimærian .	Kertch, residence of Mithridates	Polytimetus of Curtius . .	River of Segd, Usbec Tartary
Paphlagonia, Maritime . .	Kistamooni	Pompeopolis, Paphlagonia	Tash, or Vizir Kupri
Paphos, city of, island of Cyprus	Baffo	Popolim, Postea Villa Ecclesiæ, Sardinia	Polito Leonardo, Persia
Paratonium, Marmarica, Libya	Al Bareton	Porata, Pyreton, and Hierasus	Villa Di Iglesia
Parimboli, Dodecaschenos	Temple of Debot, Turkish Nubia	Portus Peloporus, Epirus, Greece	The Pruth, Moldavia
Parnassus mount, Phocis, Greece	Lakura	Portus Symbolorum, Taurica	Mouth of the Pelodi
Paros mount, Attica, Greece	Nozia	Potentia . . .	Balchava, Crimea
Paropamisus mountains .	Mountains of Gaur, Persia	Potentia . . .	Potenza, Calabria, Naples
Paros isle, Cyclades, Greece	Paro	Premis Parva, Dodecaschenos	Ibrim, Turkish Nubia
Parthenium promontorium	Aia Bouron, Crimea	Premis Magna, Dodecaschenos	Shubuk, Turkish Nubia
Parthium, Cimærian Bosporus	Yenikale, straits of Kassa, Crimea	Promontorium Veneris, Cilicia	Cape Cavaliere
Parthenium, near Lampus	Paro	Propontis . . .	Sea of Marmora
Parthenius river, Bithynia	Yenikale, straits of Kassa, Crimea	Prusa ad Olympum, Bithynia	Bursa
Partheneope, or Neapolis, Campania	Naples, city of, Naples	Præa ad Hypium, Bithynia	Uskubi
		Pseleis, Dodecaschenos . .	Dakke, Turkish Nubia
		Pseleis contra, Dodecaschenos	Kobban, Turkish Nubia
		Psiela, Lycania . . .	Bin Eglia
		Pthuri of Phry, Pthuris of Phrygia	Ebsanbul ruins, Turkish Nubia
		Ptolemais, Thebaid, Egypt	Ptolemais, Said
		Ptolemais, Libya . . .	Ptolemais
		Puteoli, Campania . . .	Puzzuolo, Campagna, Naples
		Pydæa, or Kydria, Macedonia	Kitros, Romelia

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<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>	<i>Ancient Names.</i>	<i>Modern Names.</i>
Tauri of Herodotus, country of	Crimea	Tochari, in Bactria.	Tocharistan
Taurini, Gallia . . .	District of Turin, Piedmont	Tomarus, range of, between the Aræothus and the Ache- lus	Tzumerka
Taurunium, Sicily . .	Taurino	Tomarus mount, Epirus, Greece	Tomhr, and Tomerit
Taurus, Cilicia . . .	Ramadan Oglu, Balakklar	Tomri, residence of Ovid, Lower Mesia	Tomiswar, or Baba, Bulgaria
Taygetus mount, Laconia, Greece	Pente Dactylon	Tonzas river, Thrace . .	Tonza, Romelia
Taurus river, on the Euxine, Thracæ	Deniadari, on the Black Sea, Romelia	Tornadotas river . .	Odorneli, Asiatic Turkey
Tegæa, Arcadia, Peloponnesus, Greece	Peali	Tottaium, Bithynia . .	Shughut
Teleboas of Xenophon .	Ak Su, or river of Moosh, Asiatic Turkey	Trachonitis and Iturea .	Beled Shekyf
Telmessus, north-west frontier of Lycia	Macri	Trapezus, Pontus . .	Tarabozan, or Trebisond
Telos, isle of . . .	Piscopeia	Trapezus mons of Strabo	Tchatty Daghs, south-east coast of Crimea
Tempe, defile of, Thessaly	Tembi, Romelia	Tretus, defile of, Argolis, Greece	Trito
Tenedos, isle of, Cyclades, Greece	Tenedo	Tricca, Thessaly . .	Tricala, Romelia
Tenos, isle of, Cyclades, Greece	Tina	Trimithus, Cyprus . .	Trimitusa
Tentyra, district of Thebaid	Dendera, Said	Triopium promontorium, Doris	Cape Crio
Teos, birth place of Anacreon, Ionia	Sigagik	Tripoli, in Phœnicia . .	Tarabolos
Termessus, pass to the interior of Phrygia	Estenaz	Tripoli, river of, Syria	Nahar Kades
Tervæ, Armenia . . .	Erivan	Tripoli, Cappadocian, Mar. Pontus	Terebith, district of Tarabozan
Thasos, isle of, Greece .	Thassos	Tritæa, Achæia, Peloponnesus, Greece	Triuri
Thaumacia, Thessaly .	Thaumaco, Romelia	Triton river, Libya . .	El Hammar, coast of, Tunis
Thèbes, Boeotia, Greece .	Thive	Tritonis Falos, Libya . .	Lake of Lowdeah, coast of Tunis
Thémiscyra, city of, Maritime Pontus	Village of Terme, district of Djanick	Turris Libisonis, north side of Sardinia	Damala
Theodosia, Taurica, Crimæa	Siara, Crimea	Turullus, Thrace . .	Porto Di Torro
Theodosiopolis, Armenia	Hassan Cala	Tutzis, Dodecæschænos	Tebhoron, Romelia
Thera, isle of, Cyclades, Greece	Santorini	Tyana, or Dana, Tyantiss, Cappadocia	Tchekisla
Therina, Selinuntia, Sicily	Sciacca	Tymphrestus mount, Phœcis, Greece	Agrafa
Thermodon river, Mar. Pontus	Terme, in district of Djanick	Tyndaris, north-west coast of Sicily	Tyndari
Thermopylæ, defile of, Thessaly	Bocca Di Lupo, Romelia	Tyras, Turia, or Danaster	Dniester, Moldavia
Thespia, Boeotia, Greece .	Phria	Tyri Getæ, residence of .	Banks of the Dniestre
Thessalonica, or Therma, Macedonia	Salonica, Romelia	Tyrium of Xenophon, Phrygia	Eligoun
Thoris river, Mar. Pontus	Askysda, district of Djanick	Tzitzis, Dodecæschænos .	Meryo, Turkish Nubia
Thosia, or Arzaniorum oppidum, Armenia	Erzen, on the Batman Su		U.
Thrasimena, lake of, Etruria	Lago Di Perugia, Tuscany	Urcinium Civitas, Corsica	Aiazzo
Thronium, Locri Epicnemidii, Greece	Bodonitza	Uscopia, Macedonia	Scopia, Romelia
Thyamus river, Epirus, Greece	Kalama	Uscudama Rensica, Thrace	Stratimaka, Romelia
Thyatira, Lydia . . .	Ak Hissar	Utus river, Triballi . .	Vid, Bulgaria
Thymbrium, or Antiochia and Pisidiam, Phrygia	Ak Sheher		V.
Thymbrius river, Bithynia	Poorsac Su	Valarsapata, Armenia .	Etehmiazin
Thymias, on the Euxine, Thracæ	Ingada, on the Black Sea, Romelia	Venafrum, Campania .	Venafrò, Campagna, Naples
Thysagete, residence of	Banks of the Wolga	Venusia, native city of Horace, Magna Græcia .	Venoso, on the Ofanto, Capitanata, Naples
Tiarantus river . . .	Alauta, Wallachia	Vienna Ajjobrogum, Gallia	Viennè, Dauphiny, France
Tiberias, Galilee . . .	Tahariyah	Vulcania insula, Lipari isles	Vulcano
Tibiscus river . . .	Theyse, Transylvania and Upper Hungary	Vulturinus river, Campania	Voltorno Campagna, Naples
Tibula civitas, north side of Sardinia	Longo Sardo		Z.
Ticinus flumen, Gallia .	Tesino, Duchy of Milan	Zabatus of Xenophon .	Great Zab
Tigranocerta, city of, Corduena	Casaban of Sert, Asiatic Turkey	Zabdicene, Armenia .	District of Jezeerah-ul Omar, Asiatic Turkey
Tigris of Xenophon . .	Sazan, or Hazel Su, Asiatic Turkey	Zæynthus insula . .	Zante
Tigris of Pliny, or the Nymphus	The Batman Su	Zadracarta, or Illyrcana, Metropolis	Sari, Persia
Tigris of Ptolemy . .	River of Diarbekj	Zagros mountains, Assyria	Aiagh Daghs, Asiatic Turkey
Tipareneus, Argolis, Greece	Specie, or Spezzia	Zariaspæ, or Bactra . .	Bauk, city of
Tishah, or Thapsacus, on the Euphrates	Ul Der, Asiatic Turkey	Zariaspis of Ptolemy .	River of Bauk and Baume-arû
Titanos mons, Ionia . .	Bishbarmach	Zephirum promontorium, Pontus	Cape Kara, district of Tarabozan
Tithorea, Phœcis, Greece .	Velitza	Zegma, or bridge of the Euphrates	Castle of Roumkala
Titanus Fortus, west side of Corsica	Porto Di Tizzano		
Tmolus mons, Lydia . .	Bouz Daghs, or the Cold Mountain		

THE above Table contains only the names of such regions and cities, &c. as are mentioned in this Edition of ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY—it does not therefore pretend to be a general Table of Ancient and Modern History.—The ancient political Divisions mentioned, are those which existed prior to the era of Roman conquest or Roman political nomenclature.—Many of the cities mentioned in ancient history have utterly perished, and left no traces of their past existence—these consequently it would have been useless to insert.—Of cities whose remains exist, those only are inserted whose sites have been clearly ascertained.—Such cities as have preserved their ancient names obviously did not require to be enumerated. In constructing a Table of this kind it is impossible to attain that degree of accuracy and fulness which could be wished. Even the best geographers are almost utterly ignorant of the great interior of the Asiatic peninsula—as also of the interior of Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and Illyria—and until great political changes shall have laid these and other ancient countries open to the view of the learned and scientific traveller, every Table of this kind must of necessity be greatly defective.

GENERAL INDEX.

NOTE—The numerals refer to the Volume—the figures to the Page—the Articles marked N. will be found in the Notes.

A.
ABANTAS makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, ii. 84.
Alas, king of Argos, i. 207.
Audolymus is placed upon the throne of Sidon against his will, i. 345. his answer to Alexander, *ibid*.
Alelox, a Spaniard, his treachery, i. 107.
Abian Scythians, inquiry respecting the, i. 580. N.
Abdrates, king of Susiana, engages in Cyrus's service, i. 153. he is killed in the battle of Thyndra, 164.
Abraham goes to Egypt with Sarah, i. 61. the Scripture places him very near Nimrod; and why, 134.
Abrocomas, one of the generals of Artaxerxes Mnemon's army, marches against Cyrus the younger, i. 354.
Abulom, brother of Alexander Jangaus, ii. 271. he is taken prisoner at the siege of Jerusalem, 272.
Abuites, governor of Susa for Darius, surrenders that place to Alexander, i. 563. he is continued in his government, *ibid*.
Abydos, a city of Asia, besieged by Philip, ii. 134, &c. tragical end of that city, 140.
Academy, founded at Alexandria under the name of Museum, ii. 51.
Acarnanians, people of Greece, their courage, ii. 122.
Achaens, settled by Achæus in Peloponnesus, i. 176. institution of their commonwealth, ii. 63. their government, cities, of which the Achaean league is formed at first, *ib*. several cities join, *ib*. afterwards, *ib*. chiefs who rendered that republic so flourishing, 124.—The Achæans enter into a war with Sparta, 95. after many losses they call in Antigonus to their aid, 96. in a war with the Ætolians they have recourse to Philip, 110. they declare for the Romans against that prince, 143. they join with the Romans against Antiochus, 153. their cruel treatment of many Spartans, 171. they subject the Messenians, 179. they send deputies to Rome concerning Sparta, 182. Callicrates, one of their deputies, betrays them, *ib*. &c.—The Achæans resolved to share with the Romans in the dangers of the war against Perseus, 245. they are suspected by the Romans, 231. cruel treatment of them by the Romans, 232, &c., troubles in Achaia, 238. the Achæans declare war against the Lacedæmonians, 239. they insult the Roman commissioners, *ib*. they engage Thebes and Chalcis to join them, *ib*. they are defeated by Metellus, *ib*. and afterwards by Mummius, 240, &c., Achaia is reduced into a Roman province, *ib*.
Achæmenes, brother of Xerxes, i. 317.
Achæmenes, brother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is placed at the head of the army sent by that prince against Egypt, i. 278. he is killed in a battle, *ib*.
Achæus, son of Xuthus, founder of the Achæans, i. 208.
Achæus, cousin of Seleucus Ceraunus, has the administration of the affairs of Egypt, ii. 103. he avenges the death of that prince, *ib*. he refuses the crown, and preserves it for Antiochus the great, *ib*. his fidelity to that prince, *ib*. he revolts against Antiochus, 105. his power, *ib*. he is betrayed and delivered up to Antiochus, and put to death, 109.
Achaia, so called from Achæus.—See Achæans, i. 112.
Acharnians, comedy of Aristophanes; extract from it, i. 435.
Acchillas, young Ptolemy's guardian, ii. 333. he assassinates Pompey, *ib*. he is put to death, 335.
Achoris, king of Egypt, i. 374.
Acbradina, one of the quarters of the city of Syracuse, description of it, i. 323.
Acichorius, general of the Gauls, makes an irruption into Macedonia, then into Greece, ii. 61. he perishes there, 62.
Acilius (Manius), is appointed to command in Greece against Antiochus, ii. 153. he defeats that prince near Thermopylæ, 159. he subjects the Ætolians, 160, &c.
Acilius, a young Roman, his stratagem to make Perseus quit his asylum, ii. 224.
Acisius, king of Argos, i. 207.
Acrotatus, son of Arcus, king of Sparta, ii. 71. valour of that young prince, 72.
Actium, city famous for Antony's defeat, ii. 341.
Ada continued in the government of Caria after the death of Idrus her husband, i. 535.
Adania, (Magarus, or Megomene) city in Cilicia, described, i. 540. N.
Adherbal, general of the Carthaginians, defeats the Romans at sea, i. 94.
Adimantus is appointed general of the Athenians after the death of Arginus, i. 342. by what means he escapes death after his defeat at Ægospotamos, 344.
Admetus, king of the Molossians, gives Themistocles refuge, i. 270. he is intimidated by the Athenians, and sends him away, 274.
Admetus, officer in Alexander's army, i. 543.
Adonis. Feasts celebrated in honour of him at Athens, i. 330.
Adore. Etymology of that word, i. 197. N.
Æacides, son of Arymbas, king of Epirus, is driven out of his dominions by the intrigues of Philip king of Macedonia, he reascends the throne, i. 314.
Æacides, king of Epirus, is banished by his own subjects, ii. 27.
Ægeus, king of Athens, i. 207.
Ægina, little island near Athens, i. 242.
Ægeotomates, famous for Lysander's victory over the Athenians, i. 344.
Ægyptus, name given to Sesostris, i. 20.
Æmilia, sister to Paulus Æmilius; riches left by her to Scipio, at her death, i. 128.

Æmilius (Paulus) is chosen consul, ii. 217. he sets out for Macedonia, 219. exact and severe discipline which he establishes in his army, 220. he gains a famous victory over Perseus near the city of Pydna, 223, &c. he pursues Perseus in his flight, 224. that prince puts himself into his hands, 225. Paulus Æmilius is continued in the command of the army in Macedonia, *ib*. during the winter-quarters he visits the most famous cities of Greece, 226. upon his return to Amphipolis he imparts to the Macedonians the regulations made by himself and the senate in respect to Macedonia, 227, &c. he gives a great feast there, *ib*. he sets out for Rome, and passes through Epirus, the cities of which he abandons to be plundered by the troops, 227. he enters Rome in triumph, 228, &c.
Æmilius, deputy from the Romans, goes to Philip, who was besieging Abydos, and exhorts him in the name of the senate to lay down his arms, ii. 135. he goes to Egypt to take possession of the guardianship of the king in the name of the Roman people, 136.
Æmilius (L. Paulus) is elected consul with Varro, i. 107. he is killed at the battle of Cannæ, 108.
Æna, a very rich temple in Media, ii. 132.
Æneas, supposed by Virgil contemporary with Dido, i. 78.
Ænobarbus, (Domitius) consul, declares for Antony and retires to him, ii. 340.
Ænus, son of Hellen, reigns in Thessaly, i. 208.
Æra of Nabonassar, i. 140. æra of the Seleucids, ii. 34.
Æschines, Athenian orator, suffers himself to be corrupted by Philip's gold, i. 511, &c. he accuses Demosthenes, 474. he is cast and retires into banishment, *ib*.
Æsop the Phrygian; his history, i. 296. he goes to the court of Croesus, *ib*. he is supposed to have been the inventor of fables, 227.
Ætolia, one of the principal parts of Greece, i. 306.
Ætolians. War of the Ætolians against the Achæans and Philip, ii. 110. treaty of peace between them, 120. the Ætolians join the Romans against Philip, 121. they make peace with that prince, 131. they declare against him for the Romans, 142. they condemn the treaty made between Philip and the Romans, 151. they form a resolution to seize Demetrius, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon, by treachery, 156. they call in the aid of Antiochus against the Romans, *ib*. they offer to submit to the Romans, 160. and cannot obtain peace, *ib*. the senate, at the request of the Athenians and Rhodians, grant it them, 170. cruel treatment of the Ætolians by the Romans, 231.
Africa circumnavigated in the reign of Necho, i. 66. Hanno sails round it by order of the senate of Carthage, 76.
Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, i. 207.
Agastis, wife of Megacles. Her father's conduct in choosing her a husband, i. 220.
Agathocles, concubine of Ptolemy Philopator, ii. 109. miserable end of that woman, 133.
Agathocles seizes the tyrant of Syracuse, i. 85. his expeditions against the Carthaginians in Sicily and Africa, *ib*. he brings over Opellias to his side, and then puts him to death, 88. miserable end of that tyrant, *ib*.
Agathocles, governor of Parthia for Antiochus, ii. 77.
Agathocles, brother of Agathoclea, ii. 109. his ascendant over Ptolemy Philopator, *ib*. his measures for obtaining the guardianship of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 133. he perishes miserably, *ib*.
Agatashpes, see Aggia Daglar.
Agasias of Naupactus, ambassador from the allies to Philip. Wisdom of his discourse, ii. 118, &c.
Agasias is elected king of Sparta, i. 364. his education and character, *ib*. he sets out for Asia, 366. he differs with Lysander, 367. his expeditions in Asia, 366. Sparta appoints him generalissimo by sea and land, 369. he commissions Pisander to command the fleet in his stead, *ib*. his interview with Pharnabazus, 370. the Ephori recall him to the aid of his country, 371. his ready obedience, *ib*. he gains a victory over the Thebans, at Coronea, in which he is wounded, 373. he returns to Sparta, *ib*. he always retains his ancient manners, *ib*. he discovers the conspiracy formed by Lysander, *ib*. different expeditions of Agasias in Greece, 374. he causes his brother Teleutias to be appointed admiral, *ib*. Sphodrias is acquitted by his means, 473. Antalcidas rallies him upon his being wounded by the Thebans, *ib*. dispute between Agasias and Epaminondas in the assembly of the allies of Sparta, 474. he causes war to be declared against the Thebans, 475. he finds means to save those who have fled from the battle of Leuctra, 476. his conduct in the two irruptions of the Thebans into the territory of Sparta, *ib*. Sparta sends aid to Tachos, king of Egypt, who had revolted against Persia, 487. actions of Agasias in Egypt, 488. he declares for Nectanebus against Tachos, *ib*. he dies on his return to Sparta, *ib*.
Agasias, uncle on the mother's side to Agis, king of Sparta, ii. 90. he abuses that prince's confidence, 91. violence which he commits when one of the Ephori, 92. he is wounded and left for dead, *ib*.
Agasipolis, king of Sparta with Agasias, i. 468. difference between those two kings, *ib*. he commands the army sent against Olynthus, 469. his death, *ib*.
Agasipolis reigns at Sparta with Lycurgus, ii. 112. he is de-throned by Lycurgus, 207. he retires to the camp of the Romans, *ib*.
Agessistrate, mother of Agis, king of Sparta, ii. 93. her death, *ib*.
Agatis, widow of Agis, king of Sparta, is forced by Leonidas to marry Cleomeneus, ii. 94. death of that princess, 97.

* Agis II. son of Archidamus, king of Sparta, i. 322. he makes war against the people of Elis, 365. he acknowledges Leoty-chides for his son at his death. ib.

Agis III. son of another A. chidamus, king of Sparta, commands the army of the Lacedæmonians against the Macedonians, and is killed in a battle, i. 567.

Agis IV. son of Eudamidas, reigns at Sparta, ii. 89. he endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus, ib. he effects it in part, 90. &c. only Agesilaus prevents the final execution of that design, 91. he is sent to aid the Achæans against the Ætolians, ib. on his return to Sparta he finds a total change there, 92. he is condemned to die, and executed, 93, &c.

Agonothetæ, a name given to those who presided in the public games of Greece. i. 431.

Agriculture. Esteem that the ancients had for it, especially

Agri⁸⁰gentum. Foundation of that city, i. 318. it is subjected first by the Carthaginians, 82. and afterwards by the Romans,

89. Agron, prince of Illyria, ii. 88.

Asasuerns, name given by the Scriptures to Astyages, as also to Cambyses and Darius.—See the names of the last two.

-Alcæus, son of Perseus, king of Mycenæ, and father of Am-

Alcæus, Greek poet, i. 934.

Alcaeus, Greek poet, l. 224.
Alcander, young Lacedæm

eyes, i. 214. Lycurgus's manner of being revenged on him, ib.
Alcetas, king of the Molossians, great grandfather both of

Alcibiades. When very young he carries the prize of valour

in the battle against the Potidaeans, i. 288. character of that Athenian, 314. his intimacy with Socrates, ib. his versatility of genius, 315. his passion for ruling alone, ib. — Alcibiades

Mercury, 319. he sets out for Sicily, without having been able to bring that affair to a trial, *ib.* he takes Catania by surprise, 321. he is recalled by the Athenians to be tried, 322. he flies, and is condemned to die for contumacy, *ib.* he retires to Sparta.

ib. he debauches Timæa, the wife of Agis, and has a son by her. *ib.* he advises the Lacedæmonians to send Cylippus to the

aid of Syracuse, 324.—Al

334. his influence with that satrap, ib. his return to Athens is concerted, 336. he is recalled, 337. he beats the Lacedæmonian

fleet, **ib.** he goes to Tisaphernes, who causes him to be seized and carried prisoner to Sardis, **ib.** he escapes out of prison, **ib.**

and carried prisoner to Samis, b. he escapes out of prison, 1b.
he defeats Mindarus and Pharnabazus by sea and land the same
day, 1b. he returns in triumph to Athens, 238 and is declared

day, ib. he returns in triumph to Athens, 338. and is declared
generalissimo, ib. he causes the great mysteries to be celebra-
ted, 339. he sets sail with the fleet, ib. Thrasybulus accuses
him at Athens of having occasioned the defeat of the fleet near

Ephesus, 340, the command is taken from him, *ib.*, he comes to the Athenian generals at 43; *scenotomes*, 341, the advice he

the Athenian generals at Argosopolamos, 344. the advice he gives them, *ib.* he retires into the province of Pharnabazus, 348. that satrap causes him to be assassinated, *ib.* his character, 349

Alexander, pretended son of Perseus, is driven out of Macedonia, where he had usurped the throne, i. 238.

Alexander, son of Antony and Cleopatra, i. 345.

Alexandria, wife of Alexander Januarius, reigns over the Jewish nation, i. 208, &c.

Alexandria, a city of Egypt, built by Alexander the Great, i. 555. famous libraries of Alexandria, 87, &c. fate of those libraries, ib. &c.

Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great, upon the Iaxartes, i. 573.

Alexandrian Caucasus, see Caucasus.

Alexis, governor of the island of Apamea, betrays Epigenes, Antiochus's general, ii. 104.

Algebra, that science is a part of the mathematics, and ought not to be neglected, ii. 294.

Allobroges, extent of their country, 102.

Alps, mountains famous for Hannibal's passing them, i. 102.

Amasis, officer of Apries, is proclaimed king of Egypt, i. 68. he is confirmed in the possession of the kingdom by Nabuchodonosor, ib. he defeats Apries, who had marched against him, takes him prisoner, and puts him to death, 69. he reigns peaceably in Egypt, ib. his method for acquiring the respect of his subjects, ib. his death, 70. his body is taken out of his tomb, and buried by order of Cambyses, i. 180.

Ambassadors. Fine example of disinterestedness in certain Roman ambassadors, ii. 74. speech of Scythian ambassadors to Alexander, i. 574.

Amouphius, king of Egypt, i. 61, his manner of educating his sons, &c. ii. 1.

Amos, the Red Sea is the Pharaoh of scripture, who was drowned in this sea, ib.

Amestris, wife of Xerxes. Barbarous and inhuman revenge of that princess, i. 260, &c.

Amisus, a city of Asia, besieged by Lucullus, ii. 312. the engineer Callimachus, who defended it, sets it on fire, and burns it, ib.

Ammonians, i. 180. famous temple of that people, i. 555.

Amnesty, famous one at Athens, i. 350. occasions when amnesties are necessary, ib.

Anargus, husband of Pisuthnes, revolts against Darius Nottus, i. 334. he is taken and sent into Persia, ib.

Amosis, king of Egypt. See Thethymothis.

Amphares, one of the Spartan Ephors, ii. 93. his treachery and cruelty to king Ages, ib.

Amphictyon, king of Athens, i. 207.

Amphictyons. Institution of that assembly, i. 207. 406. their power, ib. oath taken at their installation, ib. their concessions for Philip occasioned the diminution of their authority, ib. famous sacred war undertaken by order of this assembly, 507.

Aphropolis, city of Thrace, besieged by Cleon, general of the Athenians, i. 313. Philip takes that city from the Athenians, and declares it free, i. 504. it is soon after taken possession of by that prince, ib.

Amyntas I., king of Macedonia, submits to Darius, i. 237.

Amyntas II., king of Macedonia, father of Philip, i. 473. his death, ib.

Amyntas, son of Perdiccas, excluded from the throne of Macedonia, i. 502.

Amyntas, deserter from Alexander's army, seizes the government of Egypt, i. 556. he is killed there, ib.

Anyrens, one of the generals of the Egyptians, who had revolted against Artaxerxes Longimanus, i. 278. he is assisted by the Athenians, 283. he drives the Persians out of Egypt, and is declared king of it, i. 311. he dies, 312.

Anacharsis, of the Scytho-Nomades by nation, one of the seven sages, i. 226. his contempt for riches, ib.

Anacreon, Greek poet, i. 235.

Anaitis. Fate of one of the statues of this goddess, ii. 344.

Anaxagoras, his care of Pericles, i. 280. his doctrine, 290. the first philosopher who asserted the existence of an intelligent cause, ib. N.

Anaxilaus, tyrant of Zancle, i. 294.

Anaximenes, in what manner he saved his country, i. 533.

Andranodorus, guardian of Hieronymus, king of Syracuse, ii. 290. his strange abuse of his authority, ib. after the death of Hieronymus, he seizes part of Syracuse, 297. he forms a conspiracy for ascending the throne, 298. he is accused and put to death, ib.

Andronicus of Adramyttium, pretends himself son of Perseus, and is declared king of Macedonia, ii. 237. he defeats the Roman army, commanded by the prætor Juventius, ib. he is twice defeated by Metellus, ib. he is taken and sent to Rome, 238. he serves to adorn the triumph of Metellus, 241.

Andronicus, son of Colonus, king of Athens, i. 200.

Andromachus, governor of Syria and Palestine for Alexander, i. 556. sad end of that governor, 557.

Andromachus, father of Achæus, is taken and kept prisoner by Ptolemy Evergetes, ii. 102. Ptolemy Philometor sets him at liberty, and restores him to his son, 105.

Andronicus, general of Antigonus, makes himself master of Tyre, ii. 32. he is besieged in that place by Ptolemy, and forced to surrender, 33.

Andronicus, Perseus's officer, put to death, and why, ii. 216.

Andronicus of Rhodes, to whom the world is indebted for the works of Aristotle, ii. 315.

Androthenes, commander for Philip at Corinth, is defeated by Nicestrus, prætor of the Achaëans, ii. 146.

Angels. Opinions of the Pagans concerning them, i. 383.

Anicius, Roman prætor, is charged with the war against Gentius, king of Illyria, ii. 248. he defeats that prince, takes him prisoner, and sends him to Rome, 250. he receives the honour of a triumph, 252.

Antalides, Laedæmonian, concludes with the Persians a peace disgraceful to the Greeks, i. 374, &c.

Antigona, Philotas's mistress, accuses him to Alexander, i. 570.

Antigone, the daughter-in-law of Ptolemy, wife of Pyrrhus, ii. 50.

Antigonia, city built by Antigonus, ii. 46. and destroyed by Seleucus, 48.

Antigonus, one of Alexander's captains, divides the empire of that prince with the rest of them, ii. 12. he makes war against Eumenes, and besieges him in Nora, 21. he marches into Pisidia against Alecia and Attalus, ib. he becomes very powerful, 22. he revolts against the kings, and continues the war with Eumenes, who adheres to them, 25. he is defeated by that captain, 30. he got Eumenes into his hands by treachery, and causes him to perish in prison, 31. a league is formed against him, ib. he takes Syria and Phœnicia from Ptolemy, ib.

and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege, 32. he marches against Cassander, and gains great advantages over him, ib. he concludes a treaty with the confederate princes, 35. he forms the design of restoring liberty to Greece, 36. he besieges and takes Athens, ib. &c. excessive honours paid him there, 37. he assumes the title of king, 39. he makes preparations to invade Egypt, 40. his enterprise is unsuccessful, ib. he loses a great battle at Ipsus and is killed in it, 47.

Antigonus Gonatas offers himself as a hostage for Demetrius his father, ii. 33. he establishes himself in Macedonia, 62. Pyrrhus drives him out of it, 70. he retires into his maritime cities, ib. sends troops to the aid of the Spartans, against Pyrrhus, 72. marches to the assistance of Argos, besieged by that prince, ib. he takes the whole army and camp of Pyrrhus, and restores the funeral of that prince with great magnificence, 73. besieges Athens, 75. and takes it, ib. his death, 82.

Antigonus Doson, as Philip's guardian, reigns in Macedonia, ii. 23. the Achaëans call him into their aid against Sparta, 36. he occasions their gaining several advantages, 38, &c. he is victorious in the famous battle of Selæus against Cleomenes, 100. he makes himself master of Sparta, and treats it with great clemency, 101. he marches against the Illyrians, and dies after having gained a victory over them, ib.

Antigonus, nephew of Antigonus Doson, Philip's favourite, discovers to that prince the intrigues of his son Demetrius, and the guilt of Perseus, ii. 190. Philip's intentions in respect to him, ib.

Antigonus, a Macedonian lord in the court of Perseus, ii. 219.

Antigonus, the brother of Aristobolus I., is appointed by his brother to transmit the war in Iudæa, ii. 270. at his return his brother puts him to death, 271.

Antigonus, son of Aristobolus II., is sent to Rome by Pompey, ii. 274. he is set upon the throne of Judæa, he is besieged in Jerusalem, he surrenders and is put to death, ib.

Antimachus, officer in the army of Perseus, ii. 214.

Antioch, city built by Seleucus, upon the Orontes, ii. 48.

Antiochus, lieutenant of Alcibiades, attacks the Laedæmonians with ill conduct, and is defeated with great loss, i. 340.

Antiochus I., surnamed Soter, reigns in Syria, and marries Stratonice, his father's wife, ii. 20. he enters into a league with Ptolemy, and marries Berenice, the daughter of that prince, after having repudiated Laodice, ib. he repudiates Berenice, and takes Laodice again, who causes him to be poisoned, 60. Daniel's prophecies concerning him, ib.

Antiochus II., surnamed Theos, commands in the Roman war, enters into a league with his brother Seleucus against Ptolemy, 61. he declares war against Seleucus, gives him battle, and defeats him with great danger of his life, ib. he is attacked and defeated by Eumenes, 82. he retires to Ariarathes, who soon after seeks occasion to rid himself of him, ib. he escapes from prison, and is assassinated by robbers, ib.

Antiochus III., surnamed the Great, begins to reign in Syria, ii. 103. fidelity of Achæus towards him, ib. he appoints Hermias as his prime minister, ib. Molo and Alexander, whom he had appointed governors of Media and Persia, revolt against him, and he marries Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, ib. he sacrifices Epigenes, the most able of his generals, to the jealousy of Hermias, 104. he marches against the rebels, and reduces them, ib. he rides himself of Hermias, ib. he makes a treaty with Ptolemy, 107. Ptolemais, ib.

Cæle-syria, and takes Seleucia, 108. he breaks out again, 108. Antiochus gains many advantages, ib. he loses a great battle at Raphia, ib. he makes peace with Ptolemy, 109. he turns his arms against Achæus, who had revolted, ib. Achæus is put into his hands by treachery, and he enters into a league with Ptolemy, 110. Antiochus enters into Media, 132. Parthia, ib. Hyrcania, 132. Bactriana, ib. and even into India, ib. he enters into an alliance with Philip to invade the kingdom of Egypt, 135. and seizes Cæle-syria and Palestine, ib. he makes war against Attalus, 139. upon the remonstrances of the Romans, he retires, ib. he recovers Cæle-syria, which the Romans had taken from him, 140. Antiochus forms the design of seizing Asia Minor, ib. Hannibal retires to him, 149. the arrival of that general determines him to engage in a war with the Romans, 152. he marches against the Pisidians, and subjects them, 154. he goes to Greece at the request of the Etolians, 157. he attempts to bring over the Achaëans in vain, ib. and afterwards the Boeotians, 158. he makes himself master of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, ib. the Romans declare war against him, ib. he makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsels, ib. he is defeated near those mountains, and escapes to Chalcis, 160. on his return to Ephesus, he ventures a sea fight, and loses it, 161. his fleet gains some advantage over the Rhodians, 162. he loses a second battle at sea, ib. his conduct after this defeat, ib. he makes proposals of peace, 163. which are rejected, ib. he loses a great battle near Magnesia, 164. &c. remarks on his defeat, 165. N. he demands tribute, ib. he obtains it, and on that basis, ib. in order to pay the tribute to the Romans, he plunders a temple in Elymais, 173. he is killed, ib. character of Antiochus, ib. Daniel's prophecies concerning that prince, ib.

Antiochus, the eldest son of Antiochus the great, dies in the flower of his youth, ii. 154. character of that young prince, ib.

Antiochus IV., surnamed Epiphanes, goes to Rome as a hostage, ii. 160. he ascends the throne of Syria, 162. disputes between that prince and the king of Egypt, ib. he marches towards Egypt, 193. and gains a first victory over Ptolemy, ib. then a second, 194. he makes himself master of Egypt, ib. and takes the king himself, 194. upon the rumour of a general revolt, he enters Palestine, ib. besieges and takes Jerusalem, ib. where he exercises the most horrid cruelties, ib. &c. Antiochus renews the war in Egypt, 194. he repudiates Ptolemy Philometor, and with what view, 195. he returns to Syria, ib. he comes back to Egypt, and marches to Alexandria, 196. Popilius, the Roman ambassador, obliges him to quit it, ib.

Antiochus, incensed at what happened in Egypt, vents his rage upon the Jews, 196. he orders Apionius, one of his generals, to destroy Jerusalem, 197. cruelties committed there by that general, 198. Antiochus endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God at Jerusalem, ib. he enters Judea, and commits horrible cruelties, 198, &c. he celebrates games at Daphne, near Antioch, 199. several of his generals defeated by Judas Maccabeus, ib. he goes to Persia, attempts to plu-

der the temple of Elymais, and is shamefully repulsed, 201. upon receiving advice of the defeat of his armies in Judaea, he sets out instantly with the design to exterminate the Jews, ib. he is struck by the hand of God on his way, and dies in the most exquisite torments, ib. Daniel's prophecies concerning this prince, 202.

Antiochus V. called Eupator, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria, ii. 246. he continues the war with the Jews, ib. his generals and himself in person are defeated by Judas Maccabaeus, ib. he makes peace with the Jews, and destroys the fortifications of the temple, 247. Romans discontented with Eupator, 248. his soldiers deliver him up to Demetrius, who puts him to death, ib. 249.

Antiochus VI. surnamed Theos, is placed on the throne of Syria by Tryphon, ii. 253. he is assassinated soon after, ib.

Antiochus VII. surnamed Sidetes, marries Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, and is proclaimed king of Syria, ii. 254. he deposes Tryphon, who is put to death, ib. he marches into Judaea, ib. besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, ib. the city capitulates, 255. he turns his arms against Parthia, 257. where he perishes, 258. an adventure of this prince in hunting, ib.

Antiochus VIII. surnamed Grypus, begins to reign in Syria, ii. 260. he marries Tryphena, the daughter of Phiseon, king of Egypt, 261. designs to crown his son Zebadai, ib. his mother Cleopatra endeavours to poison him, and is poisoned herself, ib. Antiochus reigns some time in peace, ib. war between that prince and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, 261. the two brothers divide the empire of Syria between them, 262. Grypus marries Seleene, the daughter of Cleopatra, and renounces his claim against his brother, 263. he is assassinated by one of his vassals, ib.

Antiochus IX. surnamed the Cyzicene, makes war against his brother Antiochus Grypus, ii. 261. he marries Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had repudiated, ib. after several battles, he comes to an accommodation with his brother, and divides the empire of Syria with him, 262. he goes to the aid of the Samaritans, and is unsuccessful in the war, ib. after his brother's death he endeavours to possess himself of his dominions, 264. he loses a battle against Seleucus the son of Grypus, who puts him to death, ib.

Antiochus X. surnamed Eusebes, son of Antiochus the Cyzicene, causes himself to be crowned king of Syria, and deposes Seleucus, ii. 265. he gains a battle against Antiochus and Philip, brother of Seleucus, ib. he marries Seleene, the widow of Grypus, ib. he is entirely defeated by Philip, and obliged to take refuge amongst the Parthians, ib. by their aid he returns into Syria, ib. he is again expelled, and retires into Cilicia, where he ends his days, ib.

Antiochus XI. son of Grypus, endeavours to revenge the death of his brother Seleucus, ii. 265. he is defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in endeavouring to pass the Orontes, ib. &c.

Antiochus XII. surnamed Dionysius, seizes Coele-syria, and reigns a very short time, ii. 264.

Antiochus XIII. called Asiaticus, sent by Seleene, his mother, to Rome, ii. 266. on his return he passes through Sicily, and receives an enormous affront from Verres, ib. he reigns some time in Syria, 267. Pompey derives him of his dominions, 268.

Antipater, or Antipater, Herod's father, excites great troubles in Judaea, ii. 273. &c. he sends troops to aid Caesar, besieged in Alexandria, 336.

Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant, is appointed by that prince to govern Macedonia in his absence, i. 532. he defeats the Lacedaemonians, who had revolted against Macedonia, 507. Alexander takes his government from him, and orders him to come to him, 534. suspicions entertained of Antipater in respect of Alexander's death, 537. Antipater's expeditions into Greece, after Alexander's death, ii. 14. he is defeated by the Athenians near Larina, to which he retires, ib. he surrenders that place by capitulation, ib. he seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it, 15. he puts Demosthenes and Hyperides to death, 16. he gives Phila, his daughter, to Craterus in marriage, 17. he is appointed regent of the kingdom of Macedonia, in the room of Perdiccas, 20. death of Antipater, 21.

Antipater, eldest son of Antipater, ii. 50. dispute between that prince and his brother Alexander for the crown of Macedonia, ib. he kills his mother Thessalonica, who favoured his younger brother, ib. Demetrius drives him out of Macedonia, ib. he retires into Thracia, and dies there, ib.

Antiphon, courtier of Dionysius. Witty saying which cost him his life, i. 430.

Antony (Mark) contributes by his valour to the re-establishment of Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, ii. 331. &c. when triumvir, he eites Cleopatra before him, and why, 337. his passion for that princess, 338. his ascendancy over him, ib. he carries him with her to Alexandria, ib. Antony returns to Rome, and marries Octavia, Caesar's sister, ib. he makes some expeditions against the Parthians, 339. then goes to Phoenicia to meet Cleopatra, ib. his injurious treatment of Octavia, ib. he makes himself master of Armenia, and returns to Alexandria, where he enters in triumph, ib. he celebrates there the coronation of Cleopatra and her children, ib. open rupture between Caesar and Antony, 340. Antony puts to sea, accompanied by Cleopatra, 341. he is entirely defeated in a sea-fight off Actium, ib. all his troops surrender themselves to Caesar, ib. he returns to Alexandria, ib. he is so enraged at the treatment of Cleopatra, ib. seeing himself betrayed by Cleopatra, he sends to challenge Caesar to a single combat, 342. believing Cleopatra had killed herself, he falls upon his sword, 343. he expires in Cleopatra's arms, ib. that princess celebrates his funeral with great magnificence, ib.

Anysis, king of Egypt, i. 64.

Aornas, a rock of India, besieged and taken by Alexander, i. 97.

Apage, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, and widow of Magnus, ii. 76.

Apaturia. Feast celebrated at Athens, i. 342.

Apaturus. Affair of Seleucus drawn out by a conspiracy against that prince, and poisons him, ii. 303. he is put to death, ib.

Apega, an infernal machine, invented by Nabis, ii. 131.

Appelles, courtier of Philip, ii. 113. abuses his power, ib. he endeavours to humble and enslave the Achaeans, ib. he perishes miserably.

Appelles, Perseus's accomplice in accusing Demetrius, is sent ambassador to Rome by Philip, ii. 129. after the death of Demetrius, he escapes into Italy, 130.

Appelles, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, endeavours to make Mattathias strike to idols, ii. 137. Mattathias kills him with all his followers, ib.

Appellion, an Athenian, library erected by him at Athens, ii. 315.

Apis, an ox adored under that name by the Egyptians, i. 53. killed by Cambyse, 121.

Apis, king of Argos, i. 207.

Apollonius. Temple erected in honour of him at Delphi, i. 419. Apollonius, eldest son of Dionysius the younger, commands in the citadel of Syracuse, in the room of his father, i. 459. he surrenders that place to Dion, and retires to his father, 461.

Apolloderus, of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's officers, i. 50.

Apolloderus, friend of Cleopatra, favours the entrance of that princess into Alexandria, and in what manner, ii. 334. Apolloderus, governor of Gaza for Lathyrus, defends that place against Alexander Jannaeus, ii. 271. he is assassinated by his brother Lysimachus, ib.

Apollonius, officer in the army of Eumenes, occasions the loss of a battle, ii. 20. he is seized and put to death, ib.

Apollonides, magistrate of Syracuse, ii. 299. his wise discourse in the assembly of the people, ib.

Apollonius, a lord in the court of Antiochus Epiphanes, is sent ambassador by that prince, first to Egypt, ii. 193. then to Rome, ib. Antiochus sends him with an army against Jerusalem, with orders to destroy that city, 196. his cruelties there, ib. he is defeated by Judas Maccabaeus, and killed in the battle, 197.

Apollonius, governor of Coele-syria and Phoenicia, marches against Jonathan, and is defeated, ii. 251. he forms a plot against the life of Ptolemy Philometor, ib.

Apollonophanes, physician of Antiochus the Great, discovers to that prince the conspiracy formed against him by Hermias, ii. 403. salaried officer which he gives Antiochus, ib.

Appian (Claudius) Roman consul, sent into Sicily to aid the Mamertines, i. 29. he defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusans, ib.

Appius (Claudius), Roman senator, prevents the senate from accepting the offers of Pyrrhus, ii. 66.

Aprus (Claudius) Roman, commands a body of troops, and is beaten near Uscuna, against which he marched with design to plunder it, ii. 214.

Aprus assumes the throne of Egypt, i. 67. success of that prince, 68. Zedeckiah, king of Judah, implors his aid, ib. he declares himself protector of the Jews, ib. Egypt revolts against him, ib. and sets Amasis on the throne, ib. he is obliged to retire into Upper Egypt, ib. Amasis defeats him in a battle, in which he is taken prisoner, and put to death, ib.

Aquilus (Manius), Roman proconsul, is defeated in a battle by Mithridates, who takes him prisoner and puts him to death, ii. 38.

Arabs (Nabathean) character of that people, ii. 341.

Aracus, Lacedaemonian admiral, i. 470.

Araspe, a Median nobleman, is appointed by Cyrus to keep Panthas prisoner, i. 159. passion which he conceives for that prince, ib. his goodness of Cyrus in respect to him, ib. that prince great service in going as a spy amongst the Assyrians, ib.

Aratus, son of Clinias, escapes from Sicyon, to avoid the fury of Abantides, ii. 85. he delivers that city from the tyranny, ib. and unites it with the Achaean league, ib. he apprehends a sedition upon the part of Archonius at Sicyon, ib. &c. he is elected general of the Achaeans, 86. he takes Corinth from Antigonus, ib. &c. he makes several cities enter into the Achaean league, 87. he has not the same success at Argos, 88. he marches several leagues over them, 94. Aratus's envy of that prince, 95. he calls in Antigonus to aid the Achaeans against the Lacedaemonians, ib. he marches against the Aetolians, and is defeated near Caphyri, 110. Philip's affection for Aratus, ib. Appelles, Philip's minister, accuses him falsely to that prince, 114. he is declared innocent, ib. he persuades Philip to aid Aetolians, his expeditions against the Aetolians, Lacedaemonians, and Eleans, 115. Philip causes him to be poisoned, 120. his funeral solemnized magnificently, ib.

Aratus the younger, son of the great Aratus, is chief magistrate of the Achaeans, ii. 112. Philip causes him to be poisoned, 120.

Arbaees, governor of the Medes for Sardanapalus, revolts against that prince, and founds the kingdom of Media, i. 139.

Arbaees, general in the army of Artaxerxes Mnenon, against his brother Cyrus, i. 554.

Arbela, city of Assyria, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, i. 361.

Aresilas, Alexander's lieutenant. Provinces that fell to his lot after that prince's death, ii. 12.

Archagathus, son of Archibolus, commands in Africa after his father's departure, i. 88. he perishes there miserably, ib.

Archagathus, governor of Syria for Alexander, i. 369.

Archelaus, general for Antigonus, marches against Aratus, who besieged Corinth, and is taken prisoner, ii. 27. Aratus sets him at liberty, ib.

Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, takes Athens, ii. 310. he is driven out of it by Sulla, 311. he is defeated by the same captain, first at Cheronia, 312. and then at Orchomenus, 313. he escapes to Chalcis, ib. and has an interview with Sulla, near Delium, 314. Archelaus goes over to Murrana, 315. he engages the latter to make war against Mithridates, 316.

Archelus, son of the former, is made high priest and sovereign of one part of the kingdom of Egypt, ii. 328. he is killed in a battle with the Romans, ib.

Archelus, son of the latter, enjoys the same dignities as his father, ii. 258. he marries Glaphyra, and has two sons by her, ib.

Archelaus, second son of Archelus and Glaphyra, ascends the throne of Cappadocia, ii. 288. Tiberius does him great services with Augustus, ib. he draws the revenge of Tiberius upon himself, 289. he is cited to Rome, and why, ib. he is very ill received there, ib. he dies soon after, ib.

Archias, a Corinthian, founder of Syracuse, i. 206.

Archias, a Theban, is killed by the conspirators at a feast given by Philadas, one of them, to the Brotarchs, i. 472.

Archias, comedian, delivers up the orator Hyperides and several other persons to Antipater, ii. 16.

Archibius. His attachment to Cleopatra, ii. 344.

Archidamia, Lacedaemonian lady. Heroic action of hers, ii. 71. she is put to death by order of Amphares, 33.

Archidamius, king of Sparta, i. 222. he saves the Lacedaemonians from the fury of the Helots, 223. he commands the troops of Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 228. he becomes king, 230.

Archidamius, son of Agesilaus, gains a battle against the Arcadians, ii. 478. his valour during the siege of Sparta by Epaminondas, 482. he reigns in Sparta, 488.

Archidamus, brother of Agis, escapes from Sparta to avoid the fury of Leonidas, ii. 9. Cleomenes recalls him, ib. he is assassinated in returning home, ib.

Archimedes, ambassador of the Ætolians, endeavours to engage the Achæans to declare for Antiochus, i. 157.
 Archimedes, Greek poet, inventor of lumbic verses, i. 223, character of his poetry, i. 157.
 Archimedes, famous geometrician, ii. 294. he invents many machines of war, i. 294. he invents many machines, 301. he is killed at the taking of Syracuse, 304. his tomb discovered by Cicero, i. b.
 Architecture, oriental, its excellence overrated by Rollin, i. 194. N.
 Archon, one of Alexander's officers. Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, i. 12.
 Archon, is elected chief magistrate of the Achæans, ii. 214. his resolution which he makes that people take, 215. Archons instituted at Athens, i. 404. their functions, i. b.
 Ardis, king of Lydia, i. 149.
 Areopagus, its establishment, i. 404. authority of that senate, i. b. Pericles weakens its authority, i. b.
 Arctas, king of Arabia Petraea, submits to Pompey, ii. 329.
 Arctes during the banishment of Dion, is married to Timocrates, i. 456. Dion receives her again, 461. her death, 462.
 Arctus, a fountain famous in fabulous history, i. 241.
 Arcus, one of the Spartan exiles, is reinstated by the Achæans, and carries accusations against them to Rome, ii. 177. the Achæans condemn him to die, 178. his sentence is annulled by the Romans, 179.
 Arcus, grandson of Cleomenes, reigns at Sparta, ii. 71.
 Arcus, another king of Sparta, ii. 80.
 Argæus is placed by the Achæans upon the throne of Macedonia, i. 503. is defeated by Philip, 504.
 The Agilian; a name given to the slave who discovered Pausanias's conspiracy, i. 269.
 Arginæ, Isles famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians, i. 34.
 Argos, king of Lydia, i. 148.
 Argos, foundation of that kingdom, i. 207. kings of Argos, i. b. they refuse to aid the Greeks against the Persians, 304. Argos besieged by Pyrrhus, ii. 72. Aratus endeavours to bring that city into the Achæan league, 88. but without success, i. b. Argos is subjected by the Lacedæmonians, 97. and afterwards by Antigonus, i. b. Argos surrenders to Philotes, one of Philip's generals, 142. the latter puts it again into the hands of Nabis, 143. it throws off the yoke of that tyrant, and re-establishes its liberty, 151.
 Argus, king of Argos, i. 207.
 Ariæus, of Alexandria, philosopher, Augustus Cesar's esteem for him, ii. 344.
 Ariæus commands the left wing of Cyrus's army at the battle of Cunaxa, i. 354. he flies upon advice of that prince's death, 355. the Greeks offer him the crown of Persia, 357. he refuses it, and makes a treaty with them, i. b.
 Ariamnes, an Arabian, deceives and betrays Crassus, ii. 279.
 Ariamnes, king of Cappadocia, ii. 286.
 Ariarathes I., king of Cappadocia, ii. 286.
 Ariarathes II., son of the former, reigns over Cappadocia, ii. 286. he is defeated in a battle by Ptolemy, who seizes his dominions and puts him to death, i. b.
 Ariarathes III., escapes into Armenia after his father's death, ii. 286. he ascends the throne of his ancestors, i. b.
 Ariarathes IV., king of Cappadocia, ii. 286.
 Ariarathes V., marries Antiochia, daughter of Antiochus the Great, ii. 82. the Romans lay a great fine upon him for having aided his father in-law, 173. he sends his son to Rome, and with what view, 207. he declares for the Romans against Perses, i. b. death of Ariarathes, 233.
 Ariarathes VI., goes to Rome, and why, ii. 207. he refuses to reign during his father's life, 233. after his father's death he ascends the throne of Cappadocia, i. b. he renews the alliance with the Romans, 213. he is dethroned by Demetrius, 234. he implores aid of the Romans, i. b. Attalus re-establishes him upon the throne, i. b. he enters into a confederacy against Demetrius, i. b. he marches to aid the Romans against Aristonicus, and is killed in that war, i. b.
 Ariarathes VII., reigns in Cappadocia, ii. 287. his brother-in-law Mithridates causes him to be assassinated, i. b.
 Ariarathes VIII., is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by Mithridates, ii. 287. he is taken prisoner, i. b.
 Ariarathes IX., king of Cappadocia, is defeated by Mithridates, and driven out of his kingdom, ii. 287.
 Ariarathes X., ascends the throne of Cappadocia, ii. 288. Sigeia disputes the possession of it with him, and carries it again from him, i. b. Ariarathes reigns a second time in Cappadocia, i. b.
 Ariarathes, son of Mithridates, reigns in Cappadocia, ii. 308. he is dethroned by the Romans, i. b. he is reinstated a second, 309. and then a third time, i. b.
 Ariarthes, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, deceived by his brother Ochus, kills himself, i. 480.
 Arideus, hasty brother of Alexander, is declared king of Macedonia after the death of that prince, i. 598. Olympias causes him to be put to death, i. 27.
 Arimanius, a deity adored by the Persians, i. 198.
 Arimanius, Sogdian governor of Petra Oxiana, refuses to surrender to Alexander, i. 575. he is besieged in that place, i. b. he submits to Alexander, who puts him to death, 576.
 Ariobarzanes, satrap of Phrygia, under Artaxerxes Mnemon, ascends the throne of Pontus, he revolts against that prince, i. 453.
 Ariobarzanes I., is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by the Romans, ii. 287. he is twice dethroned by Tigranes, i. b. Pompey reinstates him in the quiet possession of the throne, i. b.
 Ariobarzanes II., ascends the throne of Cappadocia, and is killed soon after, ii. 288.
 Ariobarzanes III., reigns in Cappadocia, ii. 288. Cicero suppresses a conspiracy formed against him, i. b. decides with Pompey against Cesar, i. b. the latter lays him under contribution, i. b. he refuses an alliance with Cesar's murderers, i. b. Cassius attacks him, and having taken him prisoner, puts him to death, i. b.
 Ariobarzanes, governor of Persia for Darius, puts himself at the pass of Susa, to prevent Alexander from passing it, i. 563. he is put to flight, i. b.
 Aristagoras is established governor of Miletus by Histæus, i. 229. he joins the Ionians in their revolt against Darius, i. b. he goes to Lacedæmon for aid, i. b. but ineffectually, 229. he goes to Athens, i. b. that city grants him some troops, i. b. he is defeated and killed in a battle, 240.
 Aristander, a soothsayer in the train of Alexander, i. 558.
 Aristander, officer in the train of Ochus, i. 496.
 Ariston, citizen of Argos, gives Pyrrhus entrance into that city, ii. 72.

Aristarchus, chief magistrate of the Achæans, engages them to declare war for the Romans against Philip, ii. 140. &c.
 Aristides, one of the generals of the Athenian army at Marathon, resigns the command to Miltiades, i. 243. he distinguishes himself in the battle, 244. he is banished, 246. he is recalled, 254. he goes to Themistocles at Salamis, and persuades him to fight in that strait, 259. he rejects the offers of Mardonius, 261. he gains a famous victory over that general at Plataea, 263. he terminates a difference that had arisen between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 264. confidence of the Athenians in Aristides, 267. his condescension for that people, 268. he is placed at the head of the troops sent by Athens to deliver the Greeks from the Persian yoke, i. b. his conduct in that war, i. b. he is charged with the administration of the public revenues, 270. his death and character, 273.
 Aristides, painter, his works greatly esteemed, ii. 240.
 Aristion usurps the government at Athens and acts with great cruelty, ii. 310. he is besieged in that city by Sylla, i. b. he is taken and put to death, 311.
 Aristippus, philosopher, his desire to hear Socrates, i. 284.
 Aristippus, citizen of Argos, excites a sedition in that city, ii. 72. he becomes tyrant of it, 88. he is killed in a battle, 89. continual terrors in which that tyrant lived, i. b.
 Aristobolus I., son of John Hyrcanus, succeeds his father in the high-priesthood and sovereignty of Judæa, ii. 270. he assumes the title of king, i. b. he causes his mother to be put to death, i. b. then his brother Antigonus, 271. he dies soon after himself, i. b.
 Aristobolus II., son of Alexander Jannæus, reigns in Judæa, ii. 273. dispute between that prince and his brother Hyrcanus, i. b. Pompey takes cognizance of it, i. b. Aristobolus's conduct makes him his enemy, i. b. Pompey puts him in irons, 274. and sends him to Rome, i. b.
 Aristocracy, form of government, i. 209.
 Aristocrates commands the left wing of the Athenians at the battle of Arginus, i. 341.
 Aristodemus, chief of the Heraclidæ, possesses himself of Peloponnesus, i. 208.
 Aristodemus, guardian of Agesipolis, king of Sparta, i. 372.
 Aristodemus of Miletus is left at Athens by Demetrius, ii. 37.
 Aristogenes, one of the generals of the Athenians at the battle of Arginus, i. 341.
 Aristogiton conspires against the tyrants of Athens, i. 221. his death, i. b. statues erected in honour of him by the Athenians, i. b.
 Aristomache, sister of Dion, is married to Dionysius the tyrant, i. 244.
 Aristomachus, tyrant of Argos, ii. 88. his death, i. b.
 Aristonides, Acarnanian, is charged with the education of Ptolemy Epiphanes, ii. 136. he quashes a conspiracy formed against that prince, 149. Ptolemy puts him to death, i. b.
 Ariston of Syracuse, comedian, discovers the conspiracy formed by Andranodorus against his country, ii. 298.
 Ariston, pilot, counsel which he gives the Syracusans, i. 231.
 Ariston possesses himself of the dominions of Atalos, ii. 256. he defeats the consul Crassus Muricianus, and takes him prisoner, 259. he is beaten and taken by Perperna, i. b. the consul sends him to Rome, i. b. he is put to death there, i. b.
 Aristophanes, famous poet, i. 455. character of his poetry, i. b. faults with which he may justly be reproached, i. b. extracts from some of his pieces, i. b.
 Aristophon, Athenian captain, accuses Iphicrates of treason, i. 492.
 Aristotle, Philip charges him with the education of Alexander, ii. 505. his application in forming that prince, i. b. suspicions of him in respect to the death of Alexander, ii. 315. list of his works, 561.
 Armenes, son of Nabis, goes a hostage to Rome, ii. 152.
 Arms, used by the ancient Persians, i. 194.
 Arphaxad, name given by the Scripture to Pharoetes. See Pharoetes.
 Archion, Pancratiast. Combat of that athlete, i. 425.
 Arsaces, son of Darius. See Artaxerxes Mnemon.
 Arsaces I., governor of Parthia for Antiochus, revolts against that prince, ii. 77. he assumes the title of king, 83.
 Arsaces II., Parthian king, is taken prisoner by Antiochus, ii. 132. he sustains a war with that prince, 276. he comes to an accommodation with Antiochus, who leaves him in peaceable possession of his kingdom, 278.
 Arsames, natural son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is assassinated by his brother Ochus, i. 480.
 Arses reigns in Persia after the death of Ochus, i. 497. Bagaces causes him to be assassinated, i. b.
 Arsine, daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, is married to Lysimachus, king of Thrace, ii. 48. after the death of that prince, her brother Chremon marries her, 59. fatal sequel of the marriage, i. b. she is banished into Samothracia, i. b.
 Arsinoe, another daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, marries her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, ii. 75. death of that princess, 78.
 Arsinoe, sister and wife of Ptolemy Philometor, ii. 108. her death, 109.
 Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes: Cesar's sentence in her favour, ii. 334. she is proclaimed queen of Egypt, i. b. Cesar carries her to Rome, and makes her serve as an ornament in his triumph, 335. Antony, at the request of Cleopatra, causes her to be put to death, 336.
 Arsinoe, wife of Magas. See Apama.
 Arsites, satrap of Phrygia, occasions the defeat of the Persians at the Granicus, i. 533. he kills himself through despair, 534.
 Art. See Arts.
 Artaban, uncle of Pharnaces, causes himself to be crowned king of Parthia, and is killed soon after, ii. 259.
 Artabanes, brother of Darius, endeavours to divert that prince from his enterprise against the Scythians, i. 234. he is made arbiter between the two sons of Darius, in respect to the sovereignty, 240. his wise discourse to Xerxes upon that prince's design to attack Greece, 248. &c.
 Artabannus, the Hyrcanian captain of the guards to Xerxes, conspires against that prince and kills him, i. 272. he is killed himself by Artaxerxes, 273.
 Artabazanes, after the death of Darius, disputes the throne of Persia with Xerxes, i. 246. he continues in civit with his brother, and loses his life in his service at the battle of Salamis, 247.
 Artabazanes, king of Atropatene, submits to Antiochus, i. 10.
 Artabazanes, a Persian lord, officer in the army of Mardonius, i. 262. his counsel to that general, i. b. he escapes into Asia after the

battle of Plataea, 353. Xerxes gives him the command of the coasts of Asia Minor, and with what view, 358. he reduces the Egyptians, who had revolted against Artaxerxes, 378.

Artabazus, governor of one of the provinces of Asia for Ochus, revolts against that prince, i. 491. supported by Chares the Athenian, he gains several advantages, ib. he is overpowered, and retires into Macedonia, ib. Ochus receives him again into favour, 497. &c. his fidelity to Darius, 365.

Artageres, officer of Artaxerxes Mnemon, is killed in the battle of Cunaxa, i. 355.

Artamita, niece of Xerxes, i. 266. violent passion of that prince for her, ib. fatal sequel of that passion, ib.

Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for his brother Darius, wishes to compel the Athenians to reinstate Hippias, i. 222. he marches against the island of Naxos, with design to surprise it, 228. he is besieged at Sardis by the Athenians, 240. he discovers the conspiracy of Histiaeus, ib. he marches against the revolted Ionians, ib.

Artaphernes, ambassador of Artaxerxes to the Lacedaemonians, i. 310.

Artarius, brother of Artaxerxes Longimanus, i. 279.

Artavasdes, king of Armenia, i. 256.

Artaxerxes I. surnamed Longimanus, by the instigation of Artabanes, kills his brother Darius and ascends the throne of Persia, i. 272. he rids himself of Artabanes, ib. he destroys the party of Artabanes, 273. and that of Histaspes his elder brother, 274. he gives Themistocles refuge, ib. his joy for the arrival of that Athenian, ib. alarmed by the conquests of the Athenians, he forms the design of sending Themistocles into Africa at the head of an army, 277. Egypt revolts against him, 278. he compels it to return to its obedience, ib. he gives up Inarus to his mother, contrary to the faith of a treaty, 279. he permits Ezra to return to Jerusalem first, and then Nehemiah, ib. he concludes a treaty with the Greeks, 283. he dies, 310.

Artaxerxes II. surnamed Mnemon, is crowned king of Persia, i. 347. Cyrus his brother attempts to murder him, ib. Artaxerxes sends him back to his government of Asia Minor, ib. he marches against him, 348. Cyrus, 375. &c. he judges the affair of Tiribazus, his expedition against the Caducians, 378. &c.

Artaxerxes sends an ambassador into Greece to reconcile the states, i. 478. he receives a deputation from the Greeks, ib. honours which he pays to Pelopidas, ib. he undertakes to reduce Egypt, ib. that to extirpate miscreants, ib. he meditates a second attempt against Egypt, 487. most of the provinces of his empire revolt against him, 488. troubles at the court of Artaxerxes concerning his successor, ib. death of that prince, 490.

Artaxerxes III. before called Ochus. See Ochus.

Artaxias, king of Armenia, ii. 199.

Artemidorus invested with the supreme authority at Syracuse, ii. 291.

Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, supplies Xerxes with troops in his expedition against Greece, i. 252. her courage in the battle of Salamis, 257.

Artemisia, wife of Mausolus, reigns in Caria after the death of her husband, i. 494. honours which she renders to the memory of Mausolus, ib. she takes Rhodes, ib. her death, ib.

Artemisium, promontory of Euboea, famous for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, i. 459.

Artemon, Syrian. Part that queen Ladiæ makes him play, ii. 80.

Aristonra, daughter of Cyrus, wife of Darius, i. 228.

Artotaxes, eunuch of Darius Nottus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, i. 11. he is put to death, ib.

Arts, Origin and progress of the arts, i. 194. arts banished from Sparta by Lycurgus, 215. and had in honour at Athens by Solon, 219.

Artyphtus, son of Megabyzus, revolts against Ochus, i. 310. he is suffocated in ashes, 311.

Aspucies, king of Assyria, i. 414.

Asa, king of Judah, defeats the army of Zara, king of Ethiopia, i. 64.

Asdrubal, Hamilcar's son-in-law, commands the Carthaginian army in Spain, i. 99. he builds Carthago, ib. he is killed treacherously by a Gaul, ib.

Asdrubal, surnamed Calvus, is made prisoner in Sardinia by the Romans, i. 110.

Asdrubal, Hannibal's brother, commands the troops in Spain after his brother's departure, i. 101. he receives orders from Carthage to march to Italy to the aid of his brother, 111. he sets forward, and is defeated, 112. he loses a great battle near the river Metaurus, and is killed in it, ib.

Asdrubal, Gisco's brother, commands the Carthaginian troops in Spain, i. 112.

Asdrubal, surnamed Heodus, is sent by the Carthaginians to Rome to demand peace, i. 114.

Asdrubal, Masinissa's grandson, commands in Carthage during the siege of that city by Scipio, i. 124. another Asdrubal causes him to be put to death, 125.

Asdrubal, Carthage's general, is condemned to die; and wherefore, i. 122. the Carthaginians appoint him general of the troops without their walls, 124. he causes another Asdrubal, who commanded within the city, to be put to death, 125. N. his cruelty to the Roman prisoners, ib. after the taking of the city, he intrudes in the temple of Asclepius, 126. he surrenders himself to Scipio, ib. tragical end of his wife and children, ib.

Ashes. Smothering in ashes a punishment amongst the Persians, i. 310.

Asmonean family. Duration of their reign in Judaea, i. 275.

Aspasia, celebrated courtesan, i. 267. she marries Pericles, 290. accusatim formed against her at Athens, ib. her great knowledge occasions her being ranked amongst the sophists, ib.

Aspis. serpent whose bite is mortal, ii. 58.

Aspis, governor for Artaxerxes in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia, revolts against that prince, i. 379. he is punished soon after, ib.

Assur, son of Shem, who gave his name to Assyria, i. 134.

Assyrians. First empire of the Assyrians, i. 133. duration of that empire, ib. kings of the Assyrians, 135. &c. second empire of the Assyrians, both of Nineveh and Babylon, 140. subversion of that empire by Cyrus, 166.

Aster, of Amphipolis, shoots out Philip's right eye, i. 508. that prince puts him to death, ib.

Astology, judgment of the world, the object of that science, i. 196.

Astronomy. Nations that applied themselves first to it, i. 56. 196.

Astages, king of the Medes, called in scripture Ahasperus, i. 448. he gives his daughter in marriage to Cambyses, king of Persia, ib. causes Cyrus his grandson to come to his court, ib.

Astymedes, deputy to Rome by the Rhodians, endeavours to appease the anger of the senate, ii. 239.

Asychis, king of Egypt, author of the law concerning loans, i. 64. famous pyramid built by his order, ib.

Asyndes, king of Scythia, is defeated by Philip, against whom he had declared war, i. 518.

Athenaea, or Panathenaea: feasts celebrated at Athens, i. 416.

Athenicus, general of Antigonus, is sent by that prince against the Nabataean Arabians, ii. 34. he perishes in that expedition, ib.

Athenicus, brother of Eumenes, is sent ambassador by that prince to Rome, ii. 182.

Athenicus, governor for Antiochus in Judaea and Samaria, is sent to reduce the Jews to their religion, ii. 187.

Athenion, courier of Ptolemy Euergetes, goes to Jerusalem by order of that prince, ii. 83.

Athens. Athenians. Foundation of the kingdom of Athens, i. 207. kings of Athens, ib. the Archons succeed them, 208.

Draco, the legislator, 216. how Solon is elected, 217. first laws of Athens, 220. &c. the Athenians recover their liberty, 222. Hippias attempts in vain to re-establish the tyranny, ib.

the Athenians, in conjunction with the Ionians, burn the city of Sardis, 239. Darius prepares to avenge that insult, ib. famous campaigns at that time, 240. Darius's hercules are put to death there, 243. the Athenians under Miltiades win a famous victory over the Persians at Marathon, ib. moderate reward granted Miltiades, 245.

The Athenians, attacked by Xerxes, choose Themistocles general, 254. they resign the honour of commanding the fleet to the Lacedaemonians, 257. they are reduced to abandon their city, ib. Athens is burnt by the Persians, 258. battle of Salamis, in which the Athenians acquire infinite glory, ib. they abandon their city a second time, 260. the Athenians and Lacedaemonians cut the Persian army to pieces near Plataea, 264. they defeat a Persian fleet in the straits near Mytilene, 266. they rebuild the walls of their city, 266. the command of the Greeks in general transferred to the Athenians, 268.

The Athenians, under Cimon, gain a double victory over the Persians near the river Eurymedon, 277. they support the Egyptians in their revolt against Persia, 278. their considerable losses in that war, ib. seeds of division between Athens and Sparta, 282. peace re-established between the two states, 283. the Athenians gain several victories over the Persians, which obliges Artaxerxes to conclude a peace highly glorious for the Greeks, ib. jealousy and differences between Athens and Sparta, 284. the Athenians begin to quarrel with the two states, ib. the Athenians besiege Samos, ib. they send aid to the Corecyans, 288. they besiege Potidaea, ib. open rupture between Athens and Sparta, 289. beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 288. reciprocal ravages of Attica and Peloponnesus, 289.

Plataea, 292. the Persians are defeated by the Athenians, 292. they send forces against the siege of Lesbos, 305. and make themselves masters of Mitylene, 306. the plague breaks out again at Athens, 308. the Athenians take Pylus, ib. and are besieged in it, ib. they take the troops shut up in the isle of Sphacteria, ib. they make themselves masters of the isle of Cythera, 312. they are defeated by the Thebans near Delium, ib. trace for a joint treaty between Athens and Sparta, 313. the Athenians are defeated near Amphipolis, ib. treaty of peace for fifty years between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, 314.

The Athenians, at the instigation of Alcibiades, the war against Sparta, 315. Alcibiades, by his advice, in the war with Sicily, ib. Athens appoints Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, generals, 318. triumphant departure of the fleet, 320. it arrives in Sicily, 321. the Athenians recall Alcibiades, and condemn him to die, ib. after some relations, the general is recalled, 323. the Athenians do works that reduce the city to extremities, 325. they are defeated by sea and land, 326. &c. they hazard a second battle by sea, and are defeated, 331. they resolve to retire by land, ib. they are reduced to surrender themselves to the Syracusans, 332. their generals are put to death, 335. the Athenians are abandoned by their allies, 334. the return of Alcibiades to Athens is concerted, 335. the Four Hundred invested with full authority at Athens, 336. their power is annulled, 337. Alcibiades is recalled, ib. he occasions the going of several great advantages by Lysander, capitulation and surrender, 345.

Thirty tyrants appointed to govern Athens, by Lysander, 349. he recovers her liberty, 351. &c. she enters into the league formed against the Lacedaemonians, 371. Corion rebuilds the walls of Athens, 374. the Athenians and the Thebans exiles, 479. they reject it presently after, 479. the Athenians are defeated by the Thebans, 473. they declare against the latter for the Lacedaemonians, 478. many of the Athenian allies revolt, 491. generals employed to reduce them, ib. &c. alarm of the Athenians, occasioned by the preparations for war made by the king of Persia, 493. they send aid to the king, 495. they are defeated by the king, 496. the Athenians suffer themselves to be ejected by Philip, 504. Demosthenes endeavours in vain to rouse them from their lethargy, 508. &c. Athens joins the Lacedaemonians against Philip, 514. the Athenians under Phocion drive Philip out of Euboea, 515. &c. they are reduced to retire to the city, 516. Perinthus and Byzantium, 519. they form a league with the Thebans against Philip, 520. they lose the battle of Chaeronea, 521. they make a treaty with Philip, ib. immoderate joy of Athens upon that prince's death, 524. the Athenians form a league against Alexander, 530. that prince reduces them, 531. conduct of the Athenians in regard to Hannibal, 532.

Comotions at Athens upon the news of Alexander's death, ii. 13. the Athenians march against Antipater, 14. they are victorious at first, ib. and are afterwards reduced to submit, 15. Antipater makes himself master of the city, 16. the Athenians are obliged to retire to Perinthus, 22. Cassander takes Athens, 25. he makes choice of Demetrius Phalerus to govern the republic, ib. Athens taken by Demetrius Poliorcetes, 26. excessive honours paid to Antigonus and his son Demetrius by the Athenians, 37. Athens besieged by

Cassander, and delivered by Demetrius, 46. excessive flattery of Demetrius by the Athenians, *ib.* Athens shuts its gates against Demetrius, and takes that city, 50. Athens declares against Antigonus Gonatas, 74, and is taken by that prince, who puts a garrison into it, *ib.*—The Athenians carry their complaints against Philip to Rome, 136, that prince besieges their city, *ib.* decrees of Athens against Philip, 138, she sends their famous Philosophers upon an embassy to Rome, and wherefore, 235. Athens taken by Archelaus, 310. Aristion makes himself tyrant of that city, *ib.* his cruelties there, *ib.* it is besieged and retaken by Sylla, *ib.* &c.—Government of Athens, 1. 401. foundation of the government instituted by Solon, *ib.* abuses introduced into the government by Pericles, 281. inhabitants of Athens, 402. schute, *ib.* Areopagus, 403. magistrates, 404. assemblies of the people, 405. other tribunals, *ib.* revenues of Athens, *ib.* education of youth, 407. different species of troops of which the armies of Athens were composed, 400. choice of the generals, 425. equipment of generals at Athens, 500. exemptions and honours granted by that city to those who had rendered it great services, 501. orations pronounced by order of the state in honour of those who had died for their country, 522. of religion, 415. feasts of the Panathenæa, *ib.* Bacchus, 416. and Eleusis, 417.—Peculiar character of the people of Athens, 412. easily enraged, and soon appeased, *ib.* sometimes ungrateful to their generals, and those who had served them best, 341. humane to their enemies, 350. taste of the Athenians for the arts and sciences, 414. their passion for the representations of the theatre, 424. common character of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, 414.

Athlete. Etymology of the word, 1. 424. exercises of the Athlete, *ib.* trial through which they passed before they fought, *ib.* rewards granted to them when victorious, 428.

Athlotetes, their function, 1. 424.

Atians, famous monarchs of Macedonia, 1. 250.

Atossa, wife of Artaxerxes Mnemon, 1. 429.

Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and wife of Cambyses first, and after of Smerdis the Magian, 1. 183. she is last married to Darius, 228. Democedes cures her of a dangerous distemper, 230. she persuades Darius to send him into Greece, and why, *ib.* she is called Vautia, 231.

Atreus, son of Pelops, king of Mycenæ, 1. 207.

Atropates, one of Alexander's generals: provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, *ib.* 15. causes himself to be declared king of them, 20.

Attalus I. king of Pergamus, *ib.* 82. war between that prince and Seleucus, 103. Attalus joins the Romans in the war against Philip, 121, gains several advantages over that prince, 134. dies, 143. his magnificent use of his riches, *ib.*

Attalus II. surnamed Philadelphus, prevails upon the Acædians to take their revenge against the Romans, 1. 213. comes ambassador to Rome, 229. reigns in Cappadocia as guardian to Attalus his nephew, 234. war between Attalus and Prusias, *ib.* death of Attalus, 256.

Attalus III. surnamed Philometor, goes to Rome, and why, *ib.* 254. ascends the throne of Cappadocia after the death of his uncle, and causes him to be much regretted through his vices, 256. dies, and by his will leaves his dominions to the Roman people, *ib.*

Attalus, Srausan, discovers the intelligence held by Marcellus in Syracuse to Epicydes, *ib.* 362.

Attalus, Philip's lieutenant, is sent by that prince into Asia Minor, 1. 523. marriage of his niece Cleopatra with Philip, *ib.* Alexander's quarrel with Attalus in the midst of the feast, 524. Alexander causes him to be assassinated, 530.

Attica divided by Cæcrops into twelve cantons, 1. 207. See Athens.

Atys, descendants of Atys, 1. 148.

Atys, son of Cressus, good qualities of that prince, 1. 151. his death, *ib.*

Augury: puerilities of that science, 1. 418.

Augustus. See Cæsar Augustus.

Auxarchates, governor of Asia for Artaxerxes Mnemon, is charged by that prince with the war against Datanes, 1. 380. is defeated, *ib.* retires into his government, *ib.* joins with the provinces of Asia in their revolt against Artaxerxes, 488.

Axiocles, Athenian, takes upon him the defence of the geonians condemned to die after the battle of Arginæssa, 1. 342.

Axithæa, wife of Nicicles, kills herself, *ib.* 33.

Azarias, one of the three Hebrews miraculously preserved in the midst of the flames, 1. 143.

Azotus, a city of Palestine, 1. 33.

B

BAAL. See Bel.

Babel, description of that tower, 1. 137.

Babylon, Babylonians: foundation of the city of Babylon, 1. 133. description of that city, 135. kings of Babylon, 141. duration of its empire, *ib.* siege and taking of that city by Cyrus, 168. its revolt against Darius, 231. that prince reduces it to obedience, 232. Alexander makes himself master of Babylon, 500. Destruction of Babylon foretold in several parts of the Scripture, 166. curse pronounced against that city, 170. eager desire of princes to destroy it, *ib.* the Babylonians laid the first foundation of astronomy, 1. 196.

Bacchides, eunuch of Mithridates, *ib.* 318.

Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, under Antiochus Epiphanes and Demetrius Soter, is defeated in many engagements by Judas Maccabæus, *ib.* 347.

Bacchis, whose descendants reigned at Corinth, 1. 208.

Bacchos, feasts instituted at Athens in honour of him, 1. 416.

Bacchylides, Greek poet, 1. 293.

Bætica, part of old Spain, 1. 79.

Bægoras, eunuch of Oechus, commands a detachment during that prince's expedition against Egypt, 1. 496. poisons Oechus, 497. places Arsæ upon the throne of Persia, *ib.* causes that prince to be put to death, and places Darius Codomannus upon the throne in his stead, *ib.* falls into the hands of Alexander, 508. gains an ascendancy over that prince, *ib.* causes by his intrigues Orsines to be put to death, 501.

Bæsophanes, governor of the citadel of Babylon, surrenders to Alexander, 1. 561.

Bægorazus, Artaxerxes's eunuch, is put to death by order of Xerxes, 1. 310.

Bæla. See Alexander Bala.

Balænes islands: why so called, 1. 79.

Barca. See Hamilcar, surnamed Barca.

Barsina, wife of Alexander, *ib.* 11. Polysperchon puts her to death, 35.

Basket. Procession of the basket at Athens, 1. 418.

Barstads: law of Athens against them, 1. 303.

Bastarne, people of Sarmatia in Europe; their character, *ib.* 205.

Battalion, sacred, of the Thebans, 1. 474.

Battles and combats celebrated in ancient history. Near the coast of Asia, 1. 94. near Ecomus, *ib.* of Tienus, 104. of Trebia, 105. of Thymus, 106. of Canne, 107. of Zama, 113. of Thymbra, 116. of Marathon, 243. of Thermopylæ, 254. of Artemisium, 262. of Salamis, 268. of Plataea, 261. of Mycale, 265. of the river Lorymedon, 276. of Arginæssa, 341. of Argos, 343. of Cunaxa, 354. of Leuctra, 423. of Mantinea, 422. &c. of Chæronea, 520. of the Granicus, 533. of Issus, 539. of Arctela, 540. of the Hydaspes, 564. of Ipsus, *ib.* 47. of Salamis, 99. of Raphia, 108. of Caphsa, 110. of Elis, 122. &c. of Oecolopy, 132. of Cynoscephalæ, 144. of mount Coryncus, 161. of Cleus, 162. of Myonesus, 183. of Magness, 164. of Bethsur, 201. of the river Perseus, 312. of P' dora, 222. of Leucopetra, 239. of Canne, 260. of Cabira, 318. of Arsamia, 323. of Actium, 341.

Bæ's name given to Sophocles, 1. 432.

Bæ's civility adored by the Assyrians; temple erected in honour of him, 1. 137.

Bæsis, king of Babylon. See Nabonassar.

Belgians, at the head of the Gauls, makes an irruption into Macedonia, *ib.* 61. defeats Cæranus, and is soon after defeated himself, *ib.*

Belisazzar, king of Babylon, called also Labyrit, or Nabonid, 1. 144. is besieged in Babylon by Cyrus, 149. gives a great feast to his whole court the same night that his city is taken, *ib.* he is killed in his palace, 169. his death foretold in Scripture, 144.

Belus, name given to Amenophis, 1. 61. and to Nimrod, 137.

Belus, the Assyrian, 1. 134.

Berenice, wife of Ptolemy Soter, *ib.* 53. influence of that

princess over her husband, *ib.*

Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, marries Antiochus Theos, *ib.* 79. Antiochus repudiates her, *ib.* Lædæce causes her to be put to death, 80.

Berenice, wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, *ib.* 86. Ptolemy Philopator causes her to be put to death, 106. Berenice's hair, 81.

Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Lathyrus. See Cleopatra.

Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, marries to Egypt during her father's absence, *ib.* 331. marries Seleucus Cysicenes, and then causes him to be put to death, 332. regains Archelaus, *ib.* Ptolemy puts her to death, *ib.*

Berenice, wife of Mithridates, *ib.* 318. unhappy death of that

princess, *ib.*

Berosus, historian, *ib.* 76.

Bessus, chief of the Bactrians, betrays Darius and puts him

in chains, 1. 565. assassinates that prince, 566. is seized and delivered up to Alexander, 572. that prince causes him to be executed, 573.

Bithynia (M. Calpurnius), is sent by the Romans against Jugurtha, 1. 131. his conduct in that war, *ib.*

Bethulia, city of Israel: siege of that city by Holophernes, 1. 147.

Bias, one of the seven sages of Greece, 1. 226.

Biblus, commander in Aetolia for the Romans, *ib.* 231. his

conduct in that province, *ib.*

Biblos, city of Phœnicia, 1. 545.

Bibulus (M. Calpurnius), is appointed by the Romans to

command in Syria, after the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians, 1. 284. his incapacity, *ib.*

Birs-Nemrod, a mass of ruins at Babylon, supposed to have

been the temple of Belus, 1. 171. N.

Bisalite, people of Thrace: valiant action of one of the kings, 1. 255.

Bithynia, province of Asia Minor, historical inquiry respecting its name, extent, and population, *ib.* 75. N. its political

state, *ib.* N. Kings of Bithynia, Mithridates possesses himself

of it, *ib.* 210. it is reduced into a province of the Roman empire,

316.

Biton and Cleobis, Argives, models of fraternal friendship, 1. 150.

Bocchus, king of Mauritania, Jugurtha's father-in-law, 1. 132. delivers up his son to the Romans, *ib.*

Bœotarch, principle magistrate of Thebes.

Bœotia, part of Greece, 1. 205. unjust prejudice against that

country, 424.

Bœotians. See Thebans.

Boges, governor of Eione for the king of Persia, 1. 275. his

excess of bravery, 276.

Bolis, Cretan: his stratagem and treason to Archæus, *ib.* 109.

Comilcar, Carthaginian general, makes himself tyrant of

Carthage, 1. 26. is put to death, *ib.*

Bosphorus, Cimærian, country subject to Mithridates, *ib.* 328.

Bostar, commander of the Carthaginians in Sardinia, is murdered by the mercenaries, *ib.* 98.

Brachmans, Indian philosophers, 1. 585. their opinions, employment, and manner of living, 586. &c.

Brachidae, family of Melitus, settled by Xerxes in the

Upper Asia, and destroyed by Alexander the Great, 1. 572.

Brasidas, Lacedæmonian general, distinguishes himself at

the siege of Pylos, 1. 208. his expeditions into Thrace, 312. takes

Amphipolis, *ib.* determines that place against Cleon, and receives

a wound of which he dies, 323.

Brennus, general of the Gauls, makes an irruption into Pan-

nonia, *ib.* 61. Macedonia, *ib.* and Greece, *ib.* perishes in the last

enterprise, 62.

Briatium, quarter of the city of Alexandria, *ib.* 335.

Briatium, city built by Alexander, 1. 520.

Bucephalus, war-horse, backed by Alexander, 1. 529. wenders

related of that horse, *ib.*

Burial of the dead in the earth, 1. 260. burial of kings amongst

the Scythians, 223. care of the ancients to procure burial for

the dead, 240.

Burning-glass, by the means of which Archimedes is said to

have burnt the Roman fleet, *ib.* 301.

Busris, king of Egypt, 1. 60.

Busris, brother of Amenophis, infamous for his cruelty, 1. 61.

Byblus, city of the isle of Proconessus, 1. 278.

Byrsa, name of the citadel of Carthage, 1. 125.

Byzantium, city of Thrace, delivered by the Greeks from the

power of the Persians, 1. 268. submits to the Athenians,

338. besieged by Philip, 516.

C

CANIRE, city of Asia, famous for Lucullus's victory over Mithridates, *ib.* 318.

Cardiz, city of Spain, 1. 79.

Cadmus, Phœnian, surnamed Bœotia, and builds Thebes there,

1. 208. it was he who introduced the use of letters into Greece,

1. 63.

Cadusians, people of Assyria, submit to Cyrus, i. 160, revolt against Artaxerxes, 378. Tiribazus makes them return to their duty, ib.

Caelestin, Urania, or the moon, goddess of the Carthaginians, i. 71.

Cæsar (Julius,) his power at Rome, ii. 324, restores Ptolemy Auletes, 330, goes to Egypt in hopes of finding Pompey there, 333, makes himself judge between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra, 334, his passion for that princess, ib. battles between his troops and the Alexandrians, 335, he gives the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra and Ptolemy, 336, confirms the Jews in their privileges, ib. gains a great victory over Pharnaces, and drives him out of the kingdom of Pontus, 337, is killed soon after, ib.

Cæsar (Octavius,) afterwards surnamed Augustus, joins with Antony and Lepidus to avenge Cæsar's death, ii. 337, quarrels with Antony, 339, gains a great victory over him near Actium, 342, goes to Egypt, ib. besieges Alexandria, ib. interview of Cæsar and Cleopatra, 343, is deceived by that princess, whom he was in hopes of deceiving, ib.

Cæsarion, son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, ii. 336, is proclaimed king of Egypt, jointly with his mother, 340.

Cæsarea, city of Pontus, taken from Mithridates by Pompey, ii. 328.

Cairo, its famous castle in Egypt, i. 44.

Calanus, Indian philosopher, comes to the court of Alexander the Great, i. 586, dies voluntarily upon a funeral pile, 592, &c.

Calceides, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, concludes a treaty with Thebes, i. 334.

Callas, son of Harpalus, officer in Alexander's army, i. 533.

Callias, citizen of Athens, is cited before the judges upon account of Aristides, i. 271, is appointed plenipotentiary for Athens to Artaxerxes, 283.

Callicubus, Spartan, is appointed governor of the citadel of Athens, i. 345.

Callierates, Spartan, kills Epaminondas in the battle of Mantinea, i. 483.

Callierates, deputed by the Achæans to Rome, betrays them, ii. 121, prevents the Achæans from adding the two brothers, the Ptolemies, against Antiochus, 195, impeaches to the Romans all the Achæans who had seemed to favour Perseus, 231.

Calliocrates succeeds Lysander in the command of the Lacedæmonian fleet, i. 340, goes to the court of Cyrus the Younger, 341, is defeated near the island of Arginusæ, and killed in the battle, ib.

Callimachus, polemarch at Athens, joins the party of Miltiades, i. 243.

Callimachus, governor of Amisus for Mithridates, defends that city against Lucullus, and then sets it on fire, ii. 318.

Callippus, Athenian, associates Dionysius with himself, the tyranny of Syracuse, i. 461, &c. is soon after assassinated himself, 462.

Callisthenes, philosopher in the train of Alexander, i. 579, that prince causes him to be put to death, ib. character of that philosopher, ib.

Callicrates, Athenian orator, accuses the Athenian generals falsely in the senate, i. 342, is punished soon after, 343.

Calpurnius Bestia. See Bestia.

Calvinus (Domitius,) commands in Asia for Cæsar, ii. 335.

Calumniators, or false accusers, punishment of them in Egypt, i. 51.

Cambylus, general in the service of Antiochus, betrays Achæus, and delivers him up to that prince, ii. 109.

Cambyses, father of Cyrus, king of Persia, i. 152.

Cambyses, son of Cyrus, ascends the throne of Persia, i. 179, enters Egypt with his army, ib. and makes himself master of it, 180, his rage against the body of Amasis, ib. his expedition against Ethiopia, ib. on his return he plunders the temples of the city of Thebes, 181, kills the god Amis, ib. puts his brother Smerdis to death, ib. kills Meroë, his sister and wife, ib. prepares to march against the Ethiopians, and is murdered, and the throne, 182, dies of a wound which he gives himself in the thigh, ib.

Camisares, Carian, governor of Lenço-Syria, perishes in the expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians, i. 379.

Cansanides, origin of that people, i. 59.

Candaules, king of Lydia, i. 143.

Candia, island. See Crete.

Candidus, Antony's lieutenant, ii. 342.

Canna, city of Apulia, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, i. 108.

Caphis, Phœnician, Sylla's friend, is sent by that general to Delphi, to receive the treasurer of it, ii. 310, religious terror of Caphis, ib.

Caphysæ, a city of Peloponnesus, known by the defeat of Aratus, ii. 110.

Cappadocia, province of Asia Minor, kings of Cappadocia, it is reduced into a Roman province, ii. 309.

Capua, a city of Italy, abandons the Romans, and submits to Hannibal, i. 100, is besieged by the Romans, ib. the tragical end of its principal inhabitants, 111.

Carnarus, first king of Macedonia, i. 203.

Carbo, oppressor, not mentioned by him at Rome, ii. 313.

Cardia, city of the Chersonesus, i. 513.

Caridemus, of Orea, is banished Athens, i. 531, persecuted by Alexander, and retires to Darius Codomanus, ib. his sincerity occasions his death, 537, &c.

Carmania, province of Persia, i. 391.

Carre, a city famous for the defeat of Crassus, ii. 280.

Carthage, Carthaginians. Foundation of Carthage, i. 78, its augmentation, ib. conquests of the Carthaginians in Africa, ib. in Sardinia, 79, they possess themselves of the Balearic Isles, ib. in Spain, ib. they land in Spain, ib. and in Sicily, 80, first treaty between Rome and Carthage, ib. the Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes, ib. are defeated in Sicily by Gelon, ib. take several places in Sicily under Hannibal, ib. and Imileo, 82, make a treaty with Dionysius, ib. war between the Carthaginians and Dionysius, 83, they besiege Syracuse, ib. are defeated by Dionysius, ib. the plague rages in Carthage, 84, second treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, ib. the Carthaginians endeavour to seize Sicily, after the re-establishment of Dionysius the Younger, ib. are defeated by Timoleon, 84, war of the Carthaginians with Agathocles, at first in Sicily, 85, and after in Africa, ib. they sustain a war in Sicily against Pirrhus, 88, are called in to aid the Mamertines, who give them a possession of their island, i. 89, are driven out of it by the Romans, ib. send a numerous army into Sicily, ib. lose a battle, which is followed by the taking of Agrigento, at first a place of arms, ib. are beaten at sea, first near the coast of Myla, 90, and after at Regulus, ib. sustain the war against Regulus in Africa, ib. punishment inflicted by them upon that ge-

neral, 93, they lose a battle at sea, in sight of Sicily, ib. their ardour in defence of Lilybæum, ib. their fleet is entirely defeated near the coast of Agrigento, 94, they make a treaty of peace with the Romans, which terminates this war, 95, war of the Carthaginians with the mercenaries, ib. the Carthaginians are obliged to abandon Sardinia to the Romans, 98, besiege and take Saguntum, 100, war renewed between the two states, 101, the Carthaginians pass the Rhodæ, ib. then the Alps, 102, their entrance into Italy, 103, they gain several victories over the Romans near the Tienus, ib. near Trebia, 104, near Thraymenus, 105, lose several battles in Spain, 107, gain a famous victory over the Romans at Cannæ, ib. had success of the Carthaginians, 108, &c. they are attacked in Africa by the Romans, 111, recall Hannibal from Italy, 112, are entirely defeated at Zama, 113, demand peace of the Romans, 114, and obtain it, ib. disputes between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, 120, third war of the Carthaginians and Romans, 122, Cæthago sends deputies to Rome, to declare that it submits to the discretion of the Romans, 123, the latter order the Carthaginians to abandon their city, ib. the Carthaginians resolve to defend themselves, 124, the Romans besiege Carthage, ib. it is taken and demolished by Scipio, 125, &c. Carthage is rebuilt by Cæsar, 126, Scipio destroyed it entirely, ib. — Carthage formed upon the model of Tyre, 70, religion of the Carthaginians, ib. their barbarous worship of Saturn, 71, government of the Carthaginians, 72, Suffetes, ib. senate, ib. people, 73, tribunal of the hundred, ib. defects in the government of Carthage, ib. the courts of justice and the finances reformed by Hannibal, ib. the Carthaginians send colonies to different countries, 74, commerce of Carthage, the principal source of its riches and power, ib. discovery of the gold and silver mines in Spain by the Carthaginians, second source of the riches and power of Carthage, ib. military power of Carthage, 75, arts and sciences in little esteem there, the character, manners, and qualities of the Carthaginians, 77.

Carthaginiæ, city of Spain, i. 99.

Carthago, commander of the auxiliary troops of the Carthaginians, declared guilty of treason, and why, i. 122.

Cassander, general of the Thracians and Pæonians, in the army of Alexander, i. 533.

Cassander, son of Antipater, i. 597, provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, ii. 39, he puts Demades and his son to death, ib. is associated with Polyperchon in the regency of Macedonia, ib. he takes the Athenians, 341, he banishes Demetrius Poliorcetes in the government of it, ib. puts Olympias to death, 27, confines Roxana, the wife of Alexander, with Alexander her son, in the castle of Amphipolis, ib. re-establishes the city of Thebes, 28, enters into the league formed against Antigonus, 31, concludes a treaty with him, and breaks it immediately, 32, sets to death the young king, Alexander, with his mother Roxana, 35, besieges Athens, of which Demetrius Poliorcetes had made himself master, 46, the latter obliges him to raise the siege, and defeats him near Thermopylae, ib. Cassander concludes a league against Antigonus and Demetrius, ib. after the battle of Ipsus, he divides the empire of Alexander with three other princes, 47, his death, 49.

Cassander, Macedonian, by Philip's order massacres the inhabitants of Maronea, ii. 135, that prince causes him to be put to death, ib.

Cassius (Lucius,) Roman general, is defeated by Mithridates, ii. 310.

Cassius, quaestor of Crassus's army in the war with the Parthians, ii. 278, puts himself at the head of the remains of that army, and prevents the Parthians from seizing Syria, 285, forms a conspiracy against Cæsar, 337, is entirely defeated by Antony, ib.

Cat, veneration of the Egyptians for that animal, i. 180.

Catacræ, of the Nile, i. 46.

Cato (M. Porcius,) surnamed the Censor, serves as lieutenant-general of the army of Scipio Africanus, ii. 150, his valour at the pass of Thermopylae, ib. he speaks in favour of the Rhodians in the senate, 220, obtains the return of the exiles for the Achæans, 233, his conduct in respect to Carneades, and the other Athenian ambassadors, 235.

Cato, son of the former, acquires prodigies of valour at the battle of Pydna, ii. 233.

Cato (Uticensis,) is appointed by the commonwealth to depose Ptolemy king of Cyprus, and to confiscate his treasures, ii. 268.

Cato, tribune of the people, opposes the re-establishment of Ptolemy, ii. 331.

Caythæans, people of India, subjected by Alexander, i. 585.

Cebalinus discovers the conspiracy of Dymnus against Alexander, i. 570.

Cecrops, founder of Athens, i. 297, he institutes the Areopagus, ib.

Celæne, a city in Phrygia, ii. 65, supposed route of Xerxes from Celæne to Sardis, ib. famous for the river of Marsyas, i. 536.

Cendebæus, general of Antiochus Sidetes, is defeated in Jerusalem by Julius and John, ii. 257.

Censorius (L. Marcus,) consul, marches against Carthage, i. 123, notifies the senate's orders to that city, ib. forms the siege of Carthage, 124.

Cerasus, a city of Cappadocia, famous for its cherries, i. 361.

Ceres, goddess; feasts instituted in honour of her at Athens, i. 417.

Corethrius, one of the generals of the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece, ii. 61.

Corycæ, priests at Athens, i. 417.

Cæsar. See Cæsar.

Crown, offensive arms of the Aethiæ, i. 425.

Chabrias, Athenian, without order of the commonwealth, accepts the command of the auxiliary troops of Greece in the pay of Acharis, i. 486, is recalled by the Athenians, ib. serves Themocles against without their consent, in the battle of 489, he employs them to fight against their allies, 491, he dies at the siege of Chio, ib. praise of Chabrias, ib.

Chæronion, disciple of Socrates, i. 383.

Chæronœa, a city of Boeotia, famous for Philip's victory over the Athenians and Thebans, and for that of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates, ii. 280.

Chalcidæes, a temple of Minerva at Sparta, ii. 91.

Chalcis, city of Attolia, i. 205.

Chalcidians, addicted to the study of judicial astrology, i. 196, the sect of Sabæus formed of them, 198.

Chelone, a sea-tortoise, which was worshipped in Africa under the name of Jupiter Ammon, i. 60.

Cheros, one of the generals of the Athenians in the war with the allies, i. 491, his little capacity, 492, he writes to Athens

against his two colleagues, *ib.* suffers himself to be corrupted by Artabazus, *ib.* is recalled to Athens, *ib.* sent to the aid of the Chersonesus, 516, the cities refuse to open their gates to him, *ib.* is defeated at Chersonesa by Philip, 521.

Chares, of Lindus, makes the Colossus of Rhodoss, *ib.* 44.

Charilaus made king of Sparta by Lycorgus, *ib.* 210.

Chariots armed with scythes much used by the ancients in battles, *ib.* 191.

Charitimus, Athenian general, supports Inarus in his revolt against the Persians, *ib.* 278.

Charon, *ib.* his boat; origin of that fable, *ib.* 55.

Charon, Theban, receives Pelopidas and the conspirators into his house, *ib.* 471, is elected Boetarch, 472.

Charondas is chosen legislator at Thurium, *ib.* 297, kills himself upon his having broken one of his own laws, *ib.*

Chase, or hunting; exercise much used among the ancients, *ib.* 408.

Chelidonis, daughter of Leotyichidas and wife of Cleonymus, *ib.* 71, her passion for Acrotatus, *ib.*

Chelonis, wife of Cleombrotus, *ib.* 92, her tenderness for her husband, *ib.*

Cheops and Cepheus, kings of Egypt, brothers equally inhuman and iniquitous, *ib.* 63.

Chilo, one of the seven sages of Greece, *ib.* 325.

Chilo, Lacedæmonian, attempts to ascend the throne of Sparta, but ineffectually, *ib.* 113.

Chios, a Grecian island famous for its excellent wine, *ib.* 205.

Chrysiphus, Lacedæmonian, is chosen general by the troops that made the retreat of the ten thousand, *ib.* 361.

Chittim, son of Javan, and father of the Macedonians, *ib.* 206.

Chinese, deputy from the Ætolians to Sparta to persuade that city to enter into the treaty concluded with the Romans, *ib.* 523.

Choaspes, a river of Babylonia, famous for the goodness of its waters, *ib.* 562.

Chrexis, measure of corn amongst the ancients, *ib.* 308, N.

Chorus incorporated with tragedy, *ib.* 331.

Christians; the refusal of the Jews to work in rebuilding the temple of Belus, a lesson of instruction for many Christians, *ib.* 597.

Chrysantas, commander in the army of Cyrus at the battle of Thymbra, *ib.* 163.

Chrysalidans. See Saracens.

Cicero, (M. Tullius), his military exploits in Syria, *ib.* 284, he refuses a triumph, and why, 285, by his influence he causes Pompey to be appointed general against Mithridates, 324, his opposition to Lentulus, upon retreating Ptolemy Auletes, 332, he discovers the tomb of Archimedes, 304, parallel between Cicero and Demosthenes, 16.

Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, loses a battle against Demetrius, who takes him prisoner, *ib.* 33.

Cimmerians, people of Scythia, they are driven out of their country, and go to Asia, *ib.* 199, Halyattes, king of Lydia, obliges them to quit it, *ib.*

Cimon, son of Miltiades, when very young signalizes himself by his piety to his father, *ib.* 245, encourages the Athenians by his example to abandon their city, and to embark, 256, distinguishes himself at the battle of Salamis, 240, commands the fleet sent by the Greeks to deliver their allies from the Persian yoke, in conjunction with Aristides, 268, the Athenians place Cimon at the head of their armies after Themistocles retires, 275, he makes several conquests in Thrace, and settles a colony there, *ib.* makes himself master of the Isle of Scyros, where he finds the bones of Theseus, which he brings to Athens, 276, his conduct in the division of the booty with the allies, *ib.* he gains two victories over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon, in one day, 277, worthy use which he makes of the riches taken from the enemy, *ib.* he makes new conquests in Thrace, *ib.* marches to the aid of the Lacedæmonians, attacked by the Helots, 283, is banished by the Athenians, *ib.* quits his retreat, and repairs to his tribe to fight against the Lacedæmonians, *ib.* is recalled from banishment, *ib.* re-establishes peace between Athens and Sparta, 283, gains many victories, which oblige the Persians to conclude a treaty highly glorious for the Greeks, *ib.* dies during the conclusion of the treaty, 284, character and praise of Cimon, 275, use which he made of riches, 276.

Cineas, Thessalian, famous orator, in the court of Pyrrhus, *ib.* 64, his conversation with that prince, *ib.* Pyrrhus sends him ambassador to Rome, 66, his conduct during his stay there, *ib.* idea which he gives Pyrrhus of the Roman senate, *ib.*

Cinna, his oppressions and cruelties at Rome, *ib.* 313.

Cios, city of Bithynia, Philip's cruel treatment of the inhabitants of that city, *ib.* 134.

Clarus, city of Ionia, famous for the oracles of Apollo, *ib.* 420.

Claudius (Appius). See Appius.

Claudius (Cento), Roman officer, is sent by Sulpitius to the aid of Athens, *ib.* 136, ravages the city of Chalcis, *ib.*

Claudius (C.) sent by the Romans into Achaia; his conduct towards that people, *ib.* 231.

Clazomenæ, city of Ionia, *ib.* 209.

Cleades, Theban, endeavours to excuse the rebellion of his country to Alexander, *ib.* 531.

Cleander, Alexander's lieutenant in Media, assassinates Parmenio by his order, *ib.* 571.

Clearchus, Lacedæmonian captain, takes refuge with Cyrus the younger, *ib.* 352, is placed at the head of the Greek troops in that prince's expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, 354, is victorious on his side at the battle of Cunaxa, *ib.* commands the Greek troops in their retreat after the battle, 357, is seized by Artaxerxes, and sent to Artaxerxes, who causes him to be put to death, 358, praise of Clearchus, *ib.*

Cleobis and Biton, brothers, model of fraternal affection, *ib.* 150.

Cleobulus, one of the seven sages of Greece, *ib.* 326.

Cleomenes, of Corinth, appears the dispute between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians after the battle of Platæa, *ib.*

Cleombrotus king of Sparta, marches against the Thebans, *ib.* 474, is killed at the battle of Leuctra, 475.

Cleombrotus, son-in-law of Leonidas, causes himself to be elected king of Sparta to the prejudice of his father-in-law, *ib.* 91, is de throne soon after by Leonidas, 92, and banished from Sparta, *ib.*

Cleomenes, governor of Egypt for Alexander, *ib.* 566.

Cleonænes, king of Sparta, refuses to join the Ionians in their revolt against the Persians, *ib.* 239, marches against the people of Ætolia, 252, effects the liberation of his country, and drives them from the throne, *ib.* reduces the people of Ægina, and dies soon after, *ib.*

Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, marries Agnitis, *ib.* 94, ascends the throne of Sparta, *ib.* enters into a war with the Achæans, *ib.* gains many advantages over them, 95, reforms the govern-

ment of Sparta, and re-establishes the ancient discipline, *ib.* gains new advantages over the Achæans, *ib.* 96, sends his mother and children as hostages into Egypt, 97, takes Megalopolis by surprise, 98, is defeated at Sclasia by Antigonus king of Macedonia, 100, &c. retires into Egypt, 101, Ptolemy's reception of him, *ib.* he cannot obtain permission to return into his country, 111, unfortunate death of Cleomenes, *ib.* his character, 94.

Cleon, Athenian, his extraction, *ib.* 259, by his influence with the people he prevents the conclusion of a peace between Sparta and Athens, 308, reduces the Lacedæmonians, shut up in the island of Sclateria, 309, marches against Brasidas, *ib.* and advances to the walls of Amphipolis, *ib.* surprised by Brasidas, he flies and is killed by a soldier, 313.

Cleonymus, Spartan, being disappointed of the throne, retires to Pyrrhus, and engages him to march against Sparta, *ib.* 71, Cleopatra, niece of Antinous, marries Philip, king of Macedonia, *ib.* 523.

Cleopatra, Philip's daughter, is married to Alexander, king of Epirus, *ib.* 523, Antigonus causes her to be put to death, *ib.* 53.

Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus the Great, is promised, and then given in marriage, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, *ib.* 553, after her husband's death she is declared regent of the kingdom, and her son's guardian, 183, death of that princess, 192.

Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Epiphanes, makes an accommodation between her father, Ptolemy Philometor, and Euergetes, *ib.* 192, after the death of Philometor her husband, she marries Phiseon, 252, that prince puts her away to marry one of her daughters, 259, the Alexandrians place her upon the throne in Phiseon's stead, *ib.* she is obliged to take refuge in Syria, *ib.*

Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, is married to Alexander Bala, *ib.* 251, her father takes her from Alexander, and marries her to Demetrius, 251, whilst her husband is kept prisoner by the Parthians, she marries Antiochus Sidetes, 254, after the death of Sidetes, she returns to Demetrius, 259, causes the gates of Ptolemy to be shut against him, *ib.* kills Seleucus, her eldest son, 261, dies of poison which she intended to give her second son, Grypus, *ib.*

Cleopatra, Philometor's daughter, marries Phiseon, *ib.* 252, after her husband's death, she reigns in Egypt with her son Lathyrus, whom she first obliges to renounce his eldest sister Cleopatra, and to marry his youngest sister Seleuce, 261, gives her son Alexander the kingdom of Cyprus, 262, takes from Lathyrus his wife Seleue, drives him out of Egypt, and gives his younger brother Alexander upon the throne, 263, aids this prince against his brother, *ib.* marries Seleue to Antiochus Grypus, *ib.* Alexander causes her to be put to death, 263.

Cleopatra, Phiseon's daughter, and wife of Lathyrus, is repudiated by her husband, *ib.* 261, gives herself to Antiochus the Cyziceniæ, *ib.* Tryphanna her sister causes her to be murdered, *ib.*

Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy, See Berenice.

Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, ascends the throne of Egypt in conjunction with her eldest brother, *ib.* 333, is de throne by the young king's guardians, *ib.* raises troops to re-estate herself, *ib.* repairs to Cesar, and with what view, 334, Cesar establishes her queen of Egypt jointly with her brother, 336, she puts her brother to death, and reigns alone in Egypt, 337, after Cesar's death she declares for the Triumvirs, *ib.* goes to Antony at Tarsus, *ib.* carries him to Alexandria, 338, her jealousy of Octavia, 339, coronation of Cleopatra and her children, *ib.* the accomplices of Antony in his expedition, 340, the Romans declare war against her, *ib.* she flies at the battle of Actium, 341, and returns to Alexandria, *ib.* endeavours to gain Augustus, and designs to sacrifice Antony to him, 342, retires into the tombs of the kings of Egypt to avoid Antony's fury, 343, that Roman expires in her arms, *ib.* she obtains permission from Cesar to bury Antony, *ib.* she flies at the battle with Cesar, *ib.* to avoid serving as an ornament in Cesar's triumph she dies by the bite of an asp, 344, character of Cleopatra, 337, 342, her arts to keep Antony in her chains, 339, the taste she retained for polite learning and the sciences in the midst of her excesses, 338.

Cleophe, mother of Assacanus, king of Massaga, reigns after the death of her son, *ib.* 522, surrenders to Alexander, who reinstates her in her deminions, *ib.*

Cleophon, Athenian orator, animates the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians, *ib.* 338, his character, *ib.*

Clinias, citizen of Sicily, is put to death by Aphantidas, *ib.* 54.

Clinias, Greek of the Isle of Cos, commands the Egyptians in their revolt against Ochus, and is killed in a battle, *ib.* 496.

Clisthenes, a tyrant of Sicily; his mode of choosing a son-in-law, *ib.* 183.

Clisthenes, of the family of the Alconideæ, forms a faction at Athens, *ib.* 220, is obliged to quit that place, but returns soon after, *ib.*

Clisthenes, Carthaginian philosopher, *ib.* 76.

Clistus, Alexander's captain, saves the life of that prince at the battle of the Granicus, *ib.* 534, Alexander gives him the government of the provinces of Artabazus, 576, and kills him the same day at a feast, 577, &c.

Critus, commander of Antipater's fleet, gains two victories over the Athenians, *ib.* 14, Antigonus takes the government of Lydia from him, 32.

Clodius, Roman, is taken by pirates, against whom he had been sent, *ib.* 269, requests Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, to send him money for paying his ransom, *ib.* in resentment to Ptolemy, he sends an order from the Roman people for dispossessing him of his deminions, *ib.*

Clodius (Appius) is sent by Lucullus to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates, *ib.* 318, 319, his discourse occasions the army to revolt against Lucullus, 323, character of Clodius, *ib.*

Cleodorus, general of the Gauls, called in by Perscus to his aid, *ib.* 206.

Clypea and Aspie, different names of a small town in Africa, *ib.* 90, N.

Cnidus, a maritime city of Asia Minor, famous for Conon's victory over the Lacedæmonians, *ib.* 572.

Codrus, the king of Athens, *ib.* 230.

Conus, one of Alexander's captains, speaks to him in behalf of his soldiers, *ib.* 567, his death, *ib.* his cruelty, *ib.*

Colonias, advantages derived from them by the ancients, *ib.* 74.

Colossus of Rhodes, description of it, *ib.* 44, fate of that famous statue, *ib.*

Comalæ, celebrated of the ancients. See Bantia.

Comata, public ones of Greece, *ib.* 425, &c. *ib.* encouraged, *ib.* rewards granted to the victors, 423, difference of the Greeks

and Romans in their taste for these combats, 429. disputes for the prizes of poetry, 430.
 Comedian. The profession of a comedian not dishonourable amongst the Greeks, i. 431, &c.
 Comedy: its early stage and origin, i. 433. comedy divided into three classes; the ancient, the middle, and the new, 434.
 Conon, Athenian general, is shut up by Callieratas in the port of Mytilene, i. 342. is delivered soon after, ib. returns into Cyprus, after the defeat of the Athenians at Zegostomus, 364. goes to Artaxerxes, who makes him admiral of his fleet, 372. defeats the Lacedæmonians near Cnidus, ib. rebuilds the walls of Athens, 374. is sent by the Athenians to Tiribazus, who imprisons him, ib. death of Conon, ib. immunities granted by the Athenians to himself and his children, 361.
 Conon, of Samos, mathematician, i. 81.
 Conquerors: in what light the conquerors so much boasted in history, are to be considered, i. 178.
 Consuls, Roman: solemnity of their setting out upon expeditions, ii. 302.
 Coregia, island in the Ionian sea, with a city of the same name, i. 205. its inhabitants promise aid to the Greeks against the Persians, 253. dispute between Coregia and Corinth, 288.
 Curlience, see Carduen.
 Corinth, city of Greece; its different forms of government, i. 208. dispute between this city and Coregia, which occasions the Peloponnesian war, 308. Corinth sends aid to the Syracusans besieged by the Athenians, 324. enters into a league against Sparta, 371. is besieged by Agesilaus, 374. sends Timoleon to the aid of Syracuse against Dionysius the Younger, 484. is obliged by the peace of Antalcidas to withdraw her garrison from Argos, 470. gives Agesilaus the freedom of the city, 595. enters into the Achaean league, ii. 89. insults the deputies sent by Metellus to appease the troubles, ii. 239. the Romans destroy Corinth entirely, ib.
 Cornelia, Roman lady, mother of the Græci, rejects Phscon's proposal to marry her, ii. 248.
 Cornelia, Pompey's wife, sees her husband assassinated before her eyes, ii. 333.
 Coronea, a city of Boeotia, famous for the victory of Agesilaus over the Thebans, 340.
 Corvus (or Crane,) machine of war, i. 90.
 Coryphaeus, person employed in theatrical representations, i. 432.
 Cos, island of Greece, Hippocrates's country, i. 301.
 Cossis, brother of Orestes, commands the army of the Albanians, ii. 327. Pompey kills him in a battle, ib.
 Cosmi, magistrate of Crete, i. 400.
 Cossians, a very warlike nation of Media, subjected by Alexander, i. 585. his conduct misrepresented, ib. N.
 Couthan, name of the poet of Carthage, i. 346.
 Cotta, Roman consul, is defeated by Mithridates, ii. 316. his cruelties in Hæcæta, 320.
 Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, declares for Perseus against the Romans, ii. 208.
 Courier, invention of warriors, i. 189.
 Course, or racing. Exercise of it by the Greeks, i. 426. of the foot-race, ib. of the horse-race, 427. of the chariot-race, ib.
 Cræsus, king of Athens, i. 207.
 Cræsus, consul, marches against the Parthians, ii. 277. he plunders the temple of Jerusalem, ib. continues his march against the Parthians, ib. is entirely defeated near Arræ, 280. the Parthians, under pretence of an interview, seize and kill him, 283.
 Cræsus, son of the former, accompanies his father in his expedition against the Parthians, ii. 278. perishes in the battle of Carræ, 281.
 Craterus, one of the principal officers of Alexander, draws on the ruin of Phileas by his discourse, i. 570. speaks to Alexander in the name of the army, and upon what occasion, 589. Alexander gives him the government of Macedonia, which Antipater had before, 584. provinces which it fell to him, after Alexander's death, ii. 32. marries Phila, Antipater's daughter, 17. is defeated by Eumenes, and killed in the battle, 19.
 Cratesicles, mother of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, is sent by her son as a hostage into Egypt, ii. 97. generous sentiments of that princess, ib.
 Crætopolis, wife of Alexander the son of Polysperchon, corrects the insolence of the Sicyonians who had killed her husband, and governs that city with wisdom, ii. 28.
 Cresphontes, one of the chiefs of the Hæcæti, re-enters Peloponnesus, where Messina falls to him by lot, ii. 235. laws of Crete instituted by Minos, 369. the Cretans refuse to join the Greeks attacked by Xerxes, 253. they passed for the greatest liars of antiquity, 401.
 Crispinus (Q.) succeeds Appius, who commanded with Marcellus at the siege of Syracuse, i. 301.
 Critias, one of the thirty tyrants at Athens, causes Tharmenes, one of his colleagues, to be put to death, i. 350. prohibits the instruction of the youth by Socrates, ib. is killed fighting against Tharsylus, ib.
 Critio, intimate friend of Socrates, cannot persuade him to escape out of prison.
 Critolaus, Peripatetic philosopher, his embassy to Rome, ii. 235.
 Critolaus, one of the chiefs of the Achæans, animates them against the Romans, ii. 238, &c. is killed in a battle, 239.
 Crodelle, amphipol, killed, and buried in Egypt, i. 35.
 Cronus, king of Lydia, i. 141. his conquests, 150. his means to try the veracity of the oracles, 151. deceived by the answer of the oracle of Delphi, he undertakes a war with the Persians, ib. loses a battle against Cyrus, 158. is defeated near Thymbra, 164. Cyrus imprisons him in Sardis, 166. and takes him prisoner, ib. in what manner he escaped the punishment to which he had been condemned, ib. character of Cronus, 149. his riches, ib. his protection of the learned, ib. his reception of Solon, ib. his conversation with that philosopher, ib. on what occasion he dedicated a statue of gold in the temple of Delphi, to the woman who baked his bread, i. 422.
 Cromwell. His death compared with that of Dionysius the Tyrant, i. 452.
 Cronon, city of Greece, built by Myseus, ii. 296.
 Crowns granted to the victorious combatants in the games of Greece, i. 423.
 Ctesius of Cnidus, practises physic in Persia with great reputation, i. 285. his works have caused him to be placed in the class of historians, ib.
 Ctena, a city of Persia, famous for the battle between Artaxerxes and his brother Darius, i. 351.
 Cyaxares, i. reigns in Media, i. 147. forms the siege of Nineveh, ib. an irruption of the Scythians into Media obliges him

to raise the siege, ib. besieges Nineveh again, and takes it, ib. his death, 148.
 Cyaxares, called in Scripture Darius the Mede, ascends the throne of Media, i. 148. sends to demand aid of Persia against the Assyrians, 154. expedition of Cyaxares and Cyrus against the Babylonians, 158. Cyaxares gives his daughter to Cyrus in marriage, 161. goes to Babylon with that prince, and forms in concert with him the plan of the whole monarchy, 174. death of Cyaxares, 174.
 Cycliades, president of the assembly of the Achæans, held at Argos, eludes Philip's proposals, ii. 136.
 Cylon, known by taking the citadel at Athens, i. 289.
 Cynagirus, Athenian. His tenacious fierceness against the Persians in a sea-battle with them, i. 344.
 Cynisea, sister of Agesilaus, disputes the prize in the Olympic games, and is proclaimed victorious, i. 435.
 Cyrocephale, a hill in Thessaly, famous for the victory of the Romans over Philip, ii. 134.
 Cyprus, island in the Mediterranean, delivered from the Persian yoke by the Greeks, i. 268. revolt of that island against Oechus, i. 495. it submits, ib. terrible and bloody tragedy that occurs there at the death of Nicoteles, 451. after having been governed sometimes by the kings of Egypt, and sometimes by the kings of Syria, it is seized by the Romans, ii. 349.
 Cyselus, Corinthian, usurps the supreme authority at Corinth, and transmits it to his son, i. 208.
 Cyrene, city upon the coast of the Mediterranean; in what manner the dispute between this city and Carthage, concerning their limits, terminated, ii. 75. she shows herself with great pomp to the newly conquered people, 173. goes to Persia, ib. at his return he carries Cyrenas to Babylon, and forms the plan of the whole monarchy in concert with him, ib. after the death of Cyrenas, he reigns over the Medes and Persians, 174. passes a famous diet in favour of the Jews, ib. last years of Cyrus, 176. his death, and discourse with his children before his death, ib. eulogy and character of Cyrus, 177. his continual attention to render to the Divinity the worship he thought due to him, 178. difference between Herodotus and Xenophon in respect to Cyrus the Great, 179.
 Cyrus the younger son of Darius, is made governor in chief of all the provinces of Asia Minor by his father, i. 312. his father recalls him, 344. after the death of Darius, he forms the design of assassinating his brother, 347. is sent back into Asia Minor, to direct his father's troops against his brother, 353. sets out for Sardis, ib. the battle of Cunaxa, 354. he is killed in it, 355. eulogy of Cyrus, 356.
 Cythera, island of Greece, facing Laconia, i. 312.
 D
 DEBALA, a country of India, subdued by Alexander, i. 561.
 Demoon, or familiar spirit of Socrates, i. 523.
 Damascus, site and description of, ii. 106. N. its antiquity, and importance, ib. beauty of its environs, ib. pretended antiquities exhibited, ib. N. description of its castle, gate, mosque, &c. ib. its population, manufactures, &c. 107. its political history, ib. N.
 Damiptus, Syracusan, sent by Epicles to negotiate with Philip, king of Macedonia, ii. 202.
 Dancæles learns by his own experience that the life of Dionysius the tyrant was not so agreeable as it seemed, ii. 181.
 Dancoricus deputy of Nabiz by the Ætolians, ii. 153. his insolent answer to Quintius, 156. is made prisoner of war at the siege of Hæcæta, 160.
 Dancoricus, chief magistrate of the Achæans, causes war to be declared against the Lacedæmonians, ii. 238.
 Dancus, brother of Pylthias. Trial to which their friendship was put, i. 451.
 Danaus, forms a design to murder Sesostris his brother, i. 245. retires into Peloponnesus, where he seizes the kingdom of Argos, ib.
 Dancus, cultivated by the Greeks, i. 407.
 Daniel, the prophet, is carried into captivity to Babylon, i. 142. explains Nabuchodonosor's first dream. b. and the second, ib. is raised to the principal offices of the state, 143. discovers the fraud of the priest of Bel, and causes the dragon to be killed, ib. the prophet Daniel, 175. he explains Belshazzar the vision which that prince had at a banquet, 174. is made superintendent of the affairs of the empire, 174. thrown into the lion's den, ib. at his request Cyrus grants the edict whereby the Jews are permitted to return to Jerusalem, ib. Daniel's skill in architecture, 175. reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, ib.
 Daricks, pieces of gold, struck by Darius the Mede, i. 174.
 Darius the Mede: Craxares II. king of the Medes, is so called in Scripture. See Cyaxares.
 Darius, son of Hystaspes. He enters into the conspiracy against Smerdis the Magian, 163. runs him through with a sword, ib. is made king of Persia by an artifice of his groom, 164. the esteem he acquires by his wisdom and prudence, 184. he quits the name of Oechus to assume that of Darius, 224. marriages of Darius, ib. his method for transmitting to posterity the manner in which he attained the sovereignty, ib. order which he establishes in the administration of the finances, ib. his moderation in imposing tributes, 220. the Persians give him the surname of the Merchant, ib. he sends Dancæles the Physician into Greece, 230. confirms the edict of Cyrus in favour of the Jews, 321. his gratitude to Silesen, whom he re-establishes king of Samos, ib. — Darius reduces Babylon after a siege of twenty months, 232. expedition of Darius against the Scythians, ib. Artabanus's remonstrances to Darius, 234. harshness of Darius to the three children of Oechus, 255.
 Darius, son of Darius, is made governor of the province of Media, 258. he re-establishes himself master of Xerxes, ib. the Ionians revolt against Darius, 258. he re-establishes the Tyrans in their ancient privileges, ib. his resentment against the Athenians who had shar-

ed in the burning of Sardis, 239, his expedition against Greece, 240, he sends heralds into Greece to demand the states, and demand their submission, 242, his army is defeated at Marathon, 243, &c. he resolves to go in person against Egypt and Greece, 246, chooses his successor, ib. his death, 247, his epitaph, ib. his character, ib. &c. dispute between two of his sons for the crown, 246.

Darius, the eldest son of Xerxes. His marriage with Artintata, i. 266, he is murdered by his brother Artaxerxes, 272. Darius Nothus takes arms against Sogdianus, and puts him to death, i. 310, ascends the throne of Persia, and charges his sons from Delos to Darius, 311, causes his brother Arsites, who revolted against him, to be smothered in ashes, ib. puts a stop to the rebellion of Pisathides, ib. and punishes the treason of Artaxerxes his principal council, ib. quells the revolt of Egypt, ib. and that of Media, 312, gives the government of Asia Minor to Cyrus his young son, ib. the instructions which he gives him on sending him to his government, 330, he recalls Cyrus to court, 344, death of Darius Nothus, 346, his memorable words to Artaxerxes, his successor, at his death, 347.

Darius, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, conspires against his father's life, i. 349, his conspiracy is discovered and punished, ib.

Darius Codomanus is placed by Bagas upon the throne of Persia, i. 397, loses the battle of the Granicus against Alexander, 534, orders Mnemon the Rhodian to carry the war into Macedonia, 537, resolves to command in person, 538, Carionius, his free remonstrance to Darius, ib. &c. death of Darius's army, 539, famous victory of Alexander over Darius near the city of Issus, 540, — interview of Alexander with the wife and family of Darius, 542, Darius's haughty letter to Alexander, 544, second letter of Darius to Alexander, 551, Darius receives advice of his wife's death, 557, his prayer to the gods among his tent in what manner such had been treated by Alexander, ib. Darius proposes new conditions of peace to Alexander, which are not accepted, 558, famous battle of Arbela, wherein Darius is defeated, 560, &c. retreat of Darius after that battle, ib. he quits Ecbatana, 565, his speech to his principal officers to induce them to march against the enemy, ib. he is betrayed and laid in chains by Bessus and Nabarzanes, 566, unhappy death of that prince, ib. his last words, ib.

Darius, king of the Medes, is subdued by Pompey, ii. 397.

Datames, Carian, succeeds his father Cimicaris in the government of Louso-Syria, i. 379, reduces Phrysus, governor of Partholonia, who had revolted, ib. Darius, king of Persia, receives the command of the army designed against Egypt, ib. is ordered to reduce Aspis, ib. revolts against Artaxerxes, 380, and gains several advantages over the troops sent against him, ib. is assassinated by order of Artaxerxes, ib.

Datis commands the army of the Persians at the battle of Marathon, i. 243.

Debis. Law of the Egyptians in respect to those who contract debts, i. 51, Solon's law for annihilating debts, 217.

Decelia, fort of Attica, i. 324, is fortified by the Lacedæmonians, 327.

Deidamia, daughter of Æacides, marries Demetrius, son of Antigonus, ii. 48, her death, ib.

Deioce forms the design of ascending the throne of Media, i. 144, is elected king by unanimous consent, 145, conduct of Deioce in governing his kingdom, ib. he builds Ecbatana, ib. means used by him for acquiring the respect of his subjects, 148.

De-jotarus, prince of Galatia: Pompey gives him Armenia Minor, ii. 328.

Delium, place in Boeotia. Battle there between the Athenians and Thebans, i. 132.

Delos, one of the Cyclades. The common treasures of Greece deposited in that island, i. 270, the Athenians send a ship every year to Delos, 391, Archelaus subjects Delos, and restores it to the Athenians, ii. 310.

Delphi, city of Phocis, famous for Apollo's oracle there, i. 420, the Pythia and Sibyl of Delphi, ib. &c. temple of Delphi burnt and rebuilt, 322.

Delta, or lower Egypt, i. 407.

Deluge of Deucalion, i. 293, that of Ogyges, ib.

Demades opposes the admission of Demosthenes, ii. 510, is taken prisoner at the battle of Cheronæa, 522, goes ambassador to Alexander from the Athenians, 531, prepares the decree for the death of Demosthenes, ii. 15, Demades with his son killed by Cassander, 21.

Demarata, wife of Andrannodorus: persuades her husband not to submit to the yoke of Syracuse, ii. 298, is killed, ib.

Demaratus, king of Sparta, expelled the throne by Cleomenes, his colleague, i. 242, his fine and noble answer to Xerxes, 253, vain and insolent demand of Demaratus to Artaxerxes, 273.

Demetrius (Phaleræus), is obliged to quit Athens, and is condemned to die in his absence, ii. 22, Cassander settles him there to govern the republic, 24, his wisdom and ability in the government, 25, &c. statues are erected to him out of gratitude, 30, reflection upon the great number of statues erected in honour of Demetrius Phaleræus, 32, Demetrius opposes the taking of Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes, 36, his statues are thrown down and he is condemned to die at Athens, 38, takes refuge with Cassander, and afterwards in Egypt, ib. is made superintendent of king Ptolemy's library, 55, his death, 53, character of his eloquence, 52, his character, 51, Demetrius, son of Antigonus, surnamed Poliorcetes: his character, ii. 40, &c. he begins to distinguish himself in Asia Minor, 32, loses a battle at Gaza against Ptolemy, 33, gains one soon after against Cilices, the same Ptolemy's lieutenant, ib. is sent by his father to Babylon to oppose Seleucus, 34, Demetrius raises the siege of Halcarnassus, 35, makes himself master of Athens, 36, and re-establishes the democratical government, ib. &c. excessive gratitude of the Athenians to him, 39, he besieges Salamis, 39, and takes it, ib. receives the title of king, ib. his conduct in war and peace, 40, Demetrius forms the siege of Rhodes, ib. &c. makes Cassander raise the siege of Athens, 46, excessive honours which he receives in that city, ib. he marries Deidamia, ib. is proclaimed general of the Greeks, and initiated into the greater and lesser mysteries, ib. is defeated at the battle of Ipsus, 47, Alcibiades heretofore against him, 48, he takes that city, ib. forms the design of subverting the Lacedæmonians, ib. loses almost at the same time all his dominions in Asia, ib. Demetrius called in to the aid of Alexander, Cassander's son, destroys him, and is proclaimed king of Macedonia, 51, he makes great preparations for recovering his empire, 52, he is obliged to abandon Macedonia, ib. surrenders himself to Seleucus, who keeps him prisoner, 53, his death, ib.

Demetrius, brother of Antigonus Gonatas, is put to death in Apamea's bed, ii. 77.

Demetrius, son and successor of Antigonus Gonatas, i. xxviii, his death, ii. 67.

Demetrius of Pharus, prince of Illyria, ii. 88, advises Philip, king of Macedonia, to carry the war into Italy, 120.

Demetrius, son of Philip, king of Macedonia, is given as a hostage to the Romans, ii. 146, the Romans send him back to his father, 160, Philip sends Demetrius ambassador to Rome, 178, Demetrius justifies his father to the Romans, 183, returns into Macedonia, ib. Perseus's secret plot against his brother Demetrius, 184, he accuses him to his father, ib. Demetrius's defence against the accusations of Perseus, 186, Philip causes him to be put to death, 190.

Demetrius Soter, after having been long a hostage at Rome, demands permission to return into Syria, ii. 236, escapes from Rome, 239, ascends the throne of Syria, and receives the surname of Soter from the Babylonians, ib. makes war against the Jews, 250, &c. places Heliophras upon the throne of Cappadocia, 250, the Romans acknowledge him king of Syria, ib. he abandons himself to feasting and voluptuousness, ib. conspiracy against him, ib. he endeavours to engage the Jews in his interests, ib. is killed in a battle, ib.

Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter, claims the crown of Syria, 261, marries the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, ib. drives Alexander the usurper out of Syria, and obtains in quiet possession of the throne, ib. excesses of Demetrius, 252, Jonathan sends him aid against the people of Antioch, ib. he is driven out of Syria, 254, his manner of living at Laodicea, whether he is married, ib. he is taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians, 254, Demetrius marries Rhinocora, daughter of Mithridates, king of Parthia, ib. makes ineffectual attempts to return into his kingdom, 257, recovers his dominions, 258, is defeated in a battle by Alexander Zebina, 260, his death, ib.

Demetrius Eucherus is established king of Damascus, ii. 264, Demetrius, magistrates among the Achæans, ii. 142.

Democedes, physician of Crotona; he cures Darius, i. 270, history of that physician, ib. he returns into Greece, ib. settles at Crotona, where he marries the daughter of Milo, the Athenian, ib.

Demochares, one of the murderers of Agis, king of Sparta, ii. 93, &c.

Democles, surnamed the Fair, ii. 46, throws himself, to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a vessel of boiling water prepared for that purpose, 47, is put to death, 393.

Demophilantes, general of the horse to the Athenians, is killed by Philopemen before the city of Elis, ii. 123.

Demosthenes is chosen by the Athenians commander of a fleet for the aid of Nicias in Sicily, i. 327, makes an attempt against the Sicilians, 329, is reduced to surrender at discretion to the Syracusans, 332, is put to death, 333.

Demosthenes, the orator. Abridgment of his life to the time when he begins to appear in the tribunal of harangues, i. 497, &c. he appears for the first time in public, and encourages the Athenians against the preparations for war made by Artaxerxes, 498, his oration in favour of the Megalopolitans, ib. he speaks for the Rhodians, ib. proposes and occasions the passing of a law for the equipment of fleets, which occasions another very heavy upon the poorer citizens, 500, his discourse in defence of the law that granted exemptions, 501, &c. upon occasion of Philip's attempt to seize Thermopylæ, he harangues the Athenians, and animates them against that prince, 509, is sent ambassador to Philip, 511, his oration upon the peace, 514, that upon the Chersonesus, ib. he presses the Athenians to declare for the Lacedæmonians against Philip, ib. his Philipics, 515, his oration to illustrate the effects of Philip's letter to the Athenians, 517, his advice, after the taking of Elatea by that prince, 519, he is sent upon an embassy to Thebes, ib. flies in the battle of Cheronæa, 521, is cited to a trial before the people, who acquit him, and pay him great honours, ib. Æschines accuses him of ingratitude, Demosthenes to his accuser, ib. his memorable day for Philip's day of glory, 524, he animates the people against Alexander, 530, dissuades the Athenians from delivering up the orators to Alexander, 531, suffers himself to be bribed by Harchalus, 533, is condemned and banished, ib. is recalled from banishment, ii. 13, quits Athens before the arrival of his condemnation, 14, Demetrius, son of Antigonus, kills his life by poison, ib. the Athenians erect a statue of brass to him, ib.

Dercylidas, surnamed Sisyphus, receives the command of the Lacedæmonian troops to the room of Thybrenus, i. 364, takes Alcibiades, who has fled from the Athenians, by putting his mother-in-law Daina to death, ib. shuts up the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus, ib. truce concluded between Dercylidas, Pharnabazus, and Tissaphernes, 365.

Deucalion, king of Thessaly, i. 298, deluge of Deucalion, ib.

Deucetius, chief of the people called Sicilians. His history, i. 295.

Dipus, one of the chiefs of the Achæans, sows discord amongst them, ii. 238, &c. takes upon him the command of the army against the Crotonians, 239, his unfortunate end, 240.

Dionarus, the Melian, is condemned at Athens for teaching atheism, i. 322.

Dialects. The four dialects of the Greeks, i. 209.

Diecearchus, formerly admiral of Philip, king of Macedonia, is deputed by him to Socopus in the conspiracy against Ptolemy Epiphanes, 149.

Diecearchus, brother of Thoas, general of the Ætolians, is deputed by them to Antiochus, ii. 153.

Didas, governor of Pannonia, puts Demetrius to death by order of Philip, ii. 160.

Dido, her history, i. 78, &c.

Dinocrates, architect, presides in building the temple of Diana at Ephesus, i. 535, singular design of a temple proposed by him to Ptolemy Philadelphus, ii. 79.

Dinomenes, one of the commanders of the army sent by the Syracusans to the aid of Marcus, ii. 300.

Dionon, governor of Damascus, ii. 106.

Diocles, one of the generals of the Syracusans: his advice concerning the Athenians taken prisoners in Sicily, i. 332.

Diocles, Ætolian, takes Demetrius, ii. 156.

Diodorus, the Megarian, opposes the putting to death of the inhabitants of Mitylene, i. 206.

Diogenes the Cynic refuses to be initiated in the mysteries of Ceres at Eleusina, i. 417, he receives a visit from Alexander the Great, 522.

Dionysius, philosopher, is sent on an embassy to Rome by the Athenians, ii. 275.

Dionysius, admiral of Antiochus the Great, ii. 108.

Dionedon, one of the generals condemned by the Athenians to die for having left unburied the bodies of those who were

killed in the battle of Arginouse. His speech before his death, i. 342.

Dion of Syracuse; his character and friendship with Plato, i. 441. he persuades Dionysius the Elder to have some conversation with Plato, 445. his marriage with Arete, daughter of Dionysius, 451. his magnanimous generosity to Dionysius the Younger, 452, &c. he becomes odious to the courtiers, ib. induces Dionysius to invite Plato to his court, 453. the courtiers spare no pains to discredit him with Dionysius, ib. he is banished, 454. resides at Athens, 455. visits the other cities of Greece, ib. Dionysius causes Dion's estate and effects to be sold, ib. and makes his wife Arete marry Timocrates, ib. Dion determines to attack him with open force, ib. & embarks on board two merchant ships for Syracuse, 457. appears before the walls of the city, ib. success of his enterprise, 458. he defeats the troops of Dionysius, ib. ingratitude of the Syracusans to Dion, 459. he retires to Leontium, ib. is recalled by the Syracusans, 460. delivers Syracuse, and pardons his enemies, ib. & enters the citadel, which is surrendered to him by the son of Dionysius, and is reconciled to his wife Arete, 461. reflection upon Dion's modesty, ib. he suffers Hieracides to be put to death, ib. Calippus conceives the design of assassinating Dion, and puts it in execution, 462, &c.

Dion, famous philosopher, sent by the Egyptians ambassador to Rome against Ptolemy Auletes, ii. 331.

Dionysius the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse; his peculiar characteristics, i. 439. means which he uses for possessing himself of the tyranny, 440. &c. is appointed generalissimo with unlimited powers, 442. succeeds in having guards assigned him, ib. and establishes himself tyrant, ib. attempts at Syracuse and in Sicily against him, ib. &c. he makes preparations for a war with the Carthaginians, 443. &c. the people of Rhegium refuse to ally themselves with the tyrant, 444. he marries two wives at the same time, ib. his tyrannical and desperate conduct, ib. he besieges and takes Motya, 445. is defeated at sea, 446. the Syracusan troops gain an advantage over the Carthaginians in the absence of Dionysius, ib. new movements at Syracuse against him, 447. he entirely defeats the Carthaginians, and obliges them to quit Sicily, ib. &c. punishes the inhabitants of Rhegium, 448. &c. violent passion of Dionysius for poetry, ib. &c. reflections upon that taste of his, 449. he sends his brother Thearides to Olympia to contest in his name the prizes of the chariot-race and poetry, ib. new enterprises of Dionysius against the Carthaginians, 450. he carries the prize of poetry at Athens, ib. death of Dionysius, 451. his character, ib. &c.

Dionysius the Younger succeeds his father, i. 452. his conduct in the beginning of his reign, ib. his good qualities, 453. Dion induces Dionysius to cause Plato to come to his court, ib. in what manner Plato is received there, 454. wonderful change occasioned by the presence of that philosopher, ib. Dionysius banishes Dion, ib. dismisses Plato, 455. presses him to return to Syracuse, with which Plato complies, 456. Dionysius grants Plato permission to return into Greece, ib. embassy from Dionysius to Dion, who had possessed himself of Syracuse, 458. death of Dionysius's troops, ib. method which he uses for restoring Dion suspected, ib. he retires into Italy, 459. reascends the throne, 463. Ictas obliges him to shut himself up in the citadel of Syracuse, 464. Dionysius treats with Timoleon, who sends him to Corinth, 465. &c. wise answer of Dionysius to a stranger, ib.

Dionobanes, Achaean, compels Seleucus to raise the siege of Pergamus, ii. 162.

Diopithes, chief of a colony sent by the Athenians into the Chersonesus, makes an irruption into the lands of Philip, king of Macedonia, i. 513. is accused by Philip's pensioners, and defended by Demosthenes, 514.

Discoboli. Those who exercised themselves in throwing the discus, i. 425.

Diseus. Kind of athletic combat, i. 425.

Distribution of lands instituted at Sparta by Lycurgus, i. 219. reflections upon that institution, 213.

Divinity. Idea of the Divinity implanted in the hearts of all mankind, ii. 62. See God.

Dodanum, the fourth of the sons of Javan, i. 203.

Dodona, oracle of Dodona, i. 355.

Dolphins, machine used by the Romans, i. 532.

Domitius Enobarbus, sent commissioner by the Romans into Achaia, where he commits the most enormous oppressions, ii. 119, &c.

Donations. How regulated by Solon, i. 219.

Doric dialect, i. 304.

Dorimachus, general of the Etolians, ii. 113.

Doris, country of ancient Greece; origin of its inhabitants, i. 208.

Doris, wife of Dionysius the Elder, i. 444.

Dorus, second son of Helen, gives his name to Dorus, i. 208.

Dorylaos, one of Mithridates's generals, is defeated by Sulla in the plains of Orchomenus, ii. 313.

Doryphori. Body of troops, guards of the kings of Persia, i. 191.

Draco, legislator of Athens, i. 216. his laws are annulled by Solon, 217.

Drypetis, Hephæstion's widow. She is destroyed perfidiously by Roxana, i. 12.

Dulcius, consul, commands the first fleet fitted out by the Romans, i. 30. is the first of the Romans who triumphed for a victory at sea, ib.

Dymus conspires against Alexander, i. 570. runs himself through with his sword, 571.

Dynasty of Egypt, i. 59.

Ephyra, sent Epidamnium.

E

ECBATANA, now called Hamadan, i. 145. N. capital city of Media; its foundation, ib. description of that city, 146. See Hamadan.

Education of children, among the Persians, i. 152. at Sparta, 112. in Crete, 399. at Athens, 400. fatal effects of a bad education, especially to princes, 202.

Eetion, admiral of the Athenians, is defeated by Clitus, commander of the Macedonian fleet, ii. 14.

Egesmarchus, one of Alexander's army. Rashness that costs him his life, i. 524.

Egesta, city of Sicily; its foundation, i. 218. its inhabitants immerse the aid of Athens against the Syracusans, ib.

Eggs, a snare in which the Egyptians hatch them with out hens, i. 57.

Egypt divided into three parts, i. 43. Upper Egypt, or Thebaïs, ib. Middle Egypt, or Heliopolis, ib. Lower Egypt, or Delta, 43. fertility of Egypt, 57. Egyptian monarchy, 53.

Egypt subjected by the Persians, 186. by the Macedonians, ii.

Egyptians; manner and customs of the Egyptians, i. 50. of their kings and government, ib. of their laws, ib. of the priests and religion of the Egyptians, 52. absurd worship of different divinities, ib. reasons for this worship, 53. funeral ceremonies, 54. of the soldiery and wars of the Egyptians, 55. of the manner in which they cultivated the arts and sciences, 56. of their husbandmen, shepherds, and artificers, ib.

Eion, city of Thrace; unhappy fate of that city, i. 275.

Elatare, Simon's brother, high-priest of the Jews, exercises that office during the minority of Onias, ii. 51.

Eleazar, doctor of the law, prefers death to eating impure meats, ii. 198.

Eleazar, one of the sons of Matthias, sacrifices himself in a battle to deliver his people, ii. 246.

Elmaris, of the sect of the Pharisees, forms a false accusation against Hyrcanus, ii. 362.

Electron, king of Mycenæ, i. 207.

Elephants; description of those animals, i. 581. manner of taking them, ib. &c.

Eleusis, a small city of Attica, where the Athenians celebrated a feast in honour of Ceres, i. 417.

Elis, province of Peloponnesus, where the Olympic games were celebrated, i. 365.

Elisa. See Dido.

Elisban, son of Javan, settles in Peloponnesus, i. 206.

Elit, a city of Judæa, the destruction of it, i. 286. of what elevation united with the love of the public good is capable, i. 520. how necessary it is to a prince or a statesman, 514. it was the principal study of the youth of Athens and Rome, i. 468. defects contrary to true eloquence, i. 522.

Embalming. Manner of embalming bodies among the Egyptians, i. 52.

Emilius (Q.) gives Pyrrhus advice of the design to poison him, ii. 68.

Empedocles, of Agrigentum, Pythagorean philosopher, having gained the prize in the Olympic games, regales the people, i. 43.

Empires. See Kingdom.

Envy, a disease of the mind scarce ever cured, ii. 29.

Ephaniopolis, Theban, his character, i. 470. his conduct in the conspiracy against the tyrants of Thebes, ib. he goes to Sparta in quest of peace, 474. gains a great victory over the Lacedæmonians near Lencra, 475. ravages Laconia, 476. and advances to the gates of Sparta, 477. at his return he is accused before the people and acquitted, ib. marches against Alexander, tyrant of Thebes, and delivers Pelopidaspis of his hands, 480. returns to Thebes, 481. is placed at the head of the Theban army, 482. his second attempt against Sparta, ib. his famous victory at Mantinea, 483. he is mortally wounded in battle, ib. his death, 484. and eulogy, ib. &c.

Ephorus, by the influence of Apelles, Philip's minister, is appointed governor of the Achæans, ii. 113. he is held in universal contempt, 118.

Ephesus, city of Ionia, i. 209.

Ephialtes, orator, endeavors to prevent the Athenians from aiding the Lacedæmonians, i. 282.

Ephebi, magistrates of Sparta; their institution, i. 210. their authority, ib.

Epicerides, of Cyrene; his generosity to the Athenians, i. 501.

Epici poem, its origin, i. 431.

Epirotes, one of the generals of Antiochus the Cyprian, betrays the secrets of that prince, and treats secretly with Hyrcanus, ii. 262.

Epirates, porter at Athens; rally of that Athenian upon the deputies that had been sent into Persia, i. 479.

Epirotes, Athenian, his little courage and advice, i. 253. he sends his little force brought over by Themistocles, 254.

Epirotes, Carthaginian, sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, remains with that prince, ii. 997. after the death of Hieronymus, he demands to return to Himball, 298. is elected magistrate of Syracuse, 299. marches to the aid of Leontium, and is put to flight by Marcellus, 300. usurps the supreme authority at Syracuse, after having caused the magistrates to be put to death, ib. retires to Agrigentum, when he sees Marcellus master of Syracuse, 303.

Epistamnium, or Dyrrachium, a maritime city of Macedonia i. 386.

Epigonis; signification of that word, ii. 592.

Epipolæ, part of the city at Syracuse, i. 323.

Epirus; geographical description of, i. 205.

Episthenes of Amphipolis, officer in the army of Cyrus the Younger, i. 355.

Equality. It is the soul of popular governments, i. 217. it is the basis and tie of liberty, 399.

Erastiodotes, one of the Athenian captains who gained the battle of Arginouse, i. 341. on his return he is condemned to die with his colleagues, 342.

Erastus, an Egyptian, famous for his address and penetration in discovering the cause of Antiochus's sickness, ii. 59.

Erectheus, king of Athens, i. 207.

Eretria, city of Eubœa, supports the Ionians in their revolt against the Persians, i. 239. it is destroyed by the Persians, 243.

Erginus, Corinthian, supplies Aratus with the means of seizing the citadel of Corinth, ii. 86.

Ershaddon ascends the throne of Assyria, i. 141. makes himself master of Babylon and the land of Israel, ib. carries away Manasseh, king of Judah, ib. his death, ib.

Esculapius, inventor of medicine, i. 195. his knowledge occasions his being ranked in the number of the gods, ib.

Ether causes the fatal edict of Ahasuerus against the Jews to be revoked, i. 187.

Etiolia. See Etolia.

Etolians. See Etolians.

Evagoras, king of Salamis, i. 375. brief history of that prince, ib. his war with Artaxerxes Mnemon, 376. &c. character and panegyric of Evagoras, 377.

Evagoras, son of Nicomachus, is deprived of the throne of Salamis by Protogenes, i. 475. he demands in vain to be reinstated, 496. tragical end of that prince, ib.

Evilinos, general of the Lacedæmonian cavalry, is killed in a battle by Pyrrhus, ii. 72.

Evander, of Cræte, general of the Auxiliaries to Perseus, is saved by that prince from a desperate Pompeius, i. 207. he prevents Pompeius from preventing the Romans who had gained over the Romans, 212. attachment of Evander to Perseus, 224. that prince causes him to be killed, ib.

- Eubon, isle of Greece, i. 205, subjected by the Athenians, 257. The Lacedæmonians seize it, 337. Antiochus takes that island, ii. 153. It is soon after taken from him by the consul Agrippa, 160.
- Euchidas, of Platæa, undertakes to bring the sacred fire from Delphi, i. 204, he dies at his return, ib.
- Euchlid, of Megara, the murderer of the Megarean seer, his order to hear Socrates, i. 384.
- Euchidas, Lacedæmonian. His brother Cleomenes, king of Sparta, ankes him reign with him, ii. 95. he is routed at the battle of Selesia, where he commanded part of the army, 100.
- Eudemides, Lacedæmonian, commands in the war against Oritheus, i. 469.
- Evergetæ, a people of Persia, why so called, ii. 161. N.
- Evil-merodach, king of Babylon, i. 143.
- Eulaus, eunuch, bad education which he gives Ptolemy Philometor, whose governor he was, ii. 194.
- Eumenes, general in Alexander's army. Provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, ii. 12. his marriage with Baringa, ib. he returns to Perdiccas, who puts him in possession of Capadocia, 18. victory of Eumenes over Neoptolemus, and then over Craterus and Neoptolemus together, 19. he kills the latter with his own hand in the battle, ib. is defeated by Antigonus, and retires into the castle of Nora, where he is besieged, 20. is betrayed by his troops, 31, delivered up to Antigonus, ib. and put to death, ib. praise of Eumenes, ib.
- Eumenes I. nephew of Philaretus, succeeds his uncle in the kingdom of Pergamus, ii. 75. he gains a great victory over Antiochus Soter, who came to possess himself of his dominions, 76. attacks Antiochus Hierax, who was engaged in a war against his brother, 82. abandons himself to excesses, which occasion his death, ib.
- Eumenes II. succeeds his father Attalus in the kingdom of Pergamus, ii. 143. he refuses the alliance of Antiochus, 153. is besieged in his capital by Seleucus, 162. the Romans deliver him, ib. &c. he offers a considerable sum to the Achæans, and with that view, 175. war of Eumenes with Prusias, 180. and Pharnaces, 182. he sends deputies to Rome, to complain of Philip, ii. 190. to Rome, ii. 193. he informs the Romans of the secret intrigues of Perseus, 206. Perseus endeavours to rid himself of Eumenes, first by assassination, 207. and then by poison, ib. Eumenes gives ear to the proposals of Perseus, 219. he is suspected by the Romans and cannot obtain permission to enter Rome, 224. the senate and the consuls determine to secure to his conduct, ib. death of Eumenes, ib. his panegyric, 231. famous library founded by him at Pergamus, ib.
- Eumolpides, priests of Ceres, successors of Eumolpus, who first exercised that office, i. 417.
- Eumenes. The use of them is induced by Cyrus in the East, i. 172. influence and power which they acquired with their princes, ib.
- Eupolis, comic poet, i. 436.
- Euripides makes a detachment of the Eleans to ravage the territory of Sicyon, ii. 113. he falls into the hands of Philip, ib.
- Euripides, tragic poet, i. 83. character of that poet, ib. &c.
- Euripolemus undertakes the defence of the generals condemned by the Athenians after the battle of the Arginusæ, i. 343.
- Euribiades, Lacedæmonian, is appointed generalissimo of the Greeks in preference to Themistocles, i. 254. the latter persuades him to retire in the straits of Salamis, 259. the Lacedæmonians decree him the prize of valour, 260.
- Eurydice, wife of Amyntas, king of Macedon, prevails upon Iphicrates, by her entreaties, to reinstaate her children upon the throne of their father, i. 503.
- Eurydice, wife of Aristeus: Olympias causes her to be put to death, ii. 27.
- Eurydice, Athenian, wife of Ophellias, ii. 36. after her husband's death she marries Demetrius, ib.
- Eurydice, widow of Ptolemy Soter, marries her daughter Ptolemæus to Demetrius, ii. 52.
- Euryelus, an eminence near Syracuse, leading to Epipolæ, i. 420.
- Eurylochus, chief magistrate of the Magnetæ, influences them against the Romans, ii. 153.
- Eurymedon, general of the Attizians, is condemned to pay a great fine, and why, i. 317. goes into Sicily to the aid of Nicias, 227. is killed in a battle, 230.
- Eurytheus, king of Mycenæ, famous for the twelve labours which he made Hercules undertake, i. 207.
- Euthyretes, chief magistrate of Olynthus, puts that city into Philip's hands, i. 370.
- Euthydemus, appointed by the Athenians to command, jointly with Nicias, forces that general to engage in a sea-fight, wherein he is worsted, i. 320.
- Euthydemus, king of Bactria, makes an honourable peace with Antiochus, who intended to dethrone him, ii. 64.
- Exemption, or Immunities, granted by the Athenians, to those who had rendered their country great services, i. 500.
- Exenetes, of Agrigentum, victor in the Olympic games, enters that city in triumph, ii. 440.
- Exiles, many times expelled by the Athenians from Nabis from Sparta, ii. 131. supported by the Achæans, they commit great cruelties at Sparta, 170. they accuse the Achæans at Rome, 177. consequence of that accusation, 181, &c.
- Ezra obtains permission of Artaxerxes Longimanus to return to Jerusalem, i. 270. arranges the Holy Scriptures in their proper order, 280.
- F
- FABRIS MAXIMUS (Quintus), is appointed dictator, i. 106. his cautious conduct in respect to Hannibal, ib. &c. the people give Minucius, general of the horse, equal power with him, 117. Fabius transfers him out of a danger in which his ill conduct had engaged him, ib.
- Fabius Maximus, son of Paulus Æmilius, distinguishes himself in the war against Perseus, ii. 221.
- Fabulos. Authors to whom the invention of tales is ascribed, ii. 226. use of fables in respect to the education of children, 227.
- Fabritius is deputed by the Romans to Pyrrhus, ii. 66. commands in the war against that prince, 69.
- Faith. It is the surest bulwark of a state, i. 312. and a quality essential to a prince, 312. breach of it has often one of the principal causes of the ruin of empires, 303.
- Famine in Egypt in the time of the emperor Trajan, i. 59.
- Fannius (C.) Roman officer, distinguishes himself at the siege of Carthage, i. 127.
- Farmers of Taxes, i. 407. &c. their want of humanity, ii. 319.
- Festivals, celebrated at Athens, i. 416. and at Lacedæmon, 261.
- Fimbria, commander of the Romans in Asia, defeats the troops of Mithridates, ii. 313. kills Flaccus, seizes that consul's army, and marches against Mithridates, 314. upon being abandoned by his troops, he kills himself in despair, ib.
- Flaccus (L. Valerius), is elected consul, and marches against Mithridates, ii. 313. is killed by Fimbria, 314.
- Flamininus (Quintus), is deputed by the Romans to Prusias, i. 118. is elected consul, and marches against Philip, king of Macedonia, ii. 130. gains a first advantage over that prince, 140. different expeditions of Flamininus in Phœciæ, 141. is continued in the command as proconsul, 142. has an ineffectual interview with Philip, ib. gains a great victory over that prince near Scotusa and Cynosephale, 143. and concludes a peace with him, ib. bestows and applauds which he receives in the Isthmian games, 147. makes war against Nabis, 150. besieges him in Sparta, ib. and grants him peace, 151. enters Rome in triumph, 152.
- Flamininus (C.) consul, marches against Hannibal, i. 105. is defeated and killed near the lake of Thrasymene, 106.
- Flattery. Causes of the propensity of princes to be seduced by flattery, i. 150.
- Fortifications of the ancients, ii. 193.
- Four hundred men invested with all authority at Athens, and abuse it tyrannically, i. 336. their power is annulled, 337.
- French. Idioms which are entertained of the ancient Gauls, ii. 172. &c. what passed at the siege of Philipburgh ought to undeceive those who have the same idea of the modern French, ib. see Gauls.
- Friendship, fundamental law of it, i. 366.
- Friendship, Antiochus's wife, very active at Rome for her husband's interests, ii. 338.
- Funerels. Funeral ceremonies in Egypt, i. 52. at Athens, 300. see Burial.
- G
- GADINIUS, Pompey's lieutenant, subjects part of Syria, ii. 327. commands there as proconsul, 332. upon the earnest request of Pompey, he re-establishes Ptolemy Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, ib.
- Gadus, a province of Assyria, submits to Cyrus, i. 160.
- Gala, Masiæ's father, joins the Carthaginians against the Romans, i. 120.
- Galatia, or Gallo-Græcia, a province of Asia Minor, inhabited by the Gauls after their irruption into Greece, ii. 62.
- Gallia. Free saving of that emperor, ii. 21.
- Gallus, or Gallus, a name of the religion of the ancients, i. 422. solemn games of Greece: the Olympic, the Pythian, the Nemean, the Isthmian, 423. rewards granted to the victors in those games, 428. ladies admitted to dispute the prize in the Olympic games, 473.
- Gaunymenes, Ptolemy's eunuch, supplants Achillas and becomes prime minister of Egypt in his place, ii. 335. his stratagems against Cæsar during his war to Egypt, ib.
- Gaus, admiral to Artaxerxes, revolts against that prince, and on that occasion, i. 378.
- Gardens. The famous gardens of Babylon, i. 136.
- Gaugamela, or Camel's house, place famous for Alexander's second victory over Darius, i. 236.
- Gauls. They dispute the passage of the Alps with Hannibal, i. 182. &c. irruption of the Gauls into Greece, ii. 61. their attempt to sack the temple of Delphi, ib. 62.
- Gaza, in Palestine, besieged and taken by Alexander, i. 551. destruction of Gaza by Alexander Jannæus, ii. 271.
- Gela, city of Sicily, i. 318.
- Gelanor, king of Argos, i. 207.
- Gelon, citizen of Agrigentum, his noble use of riches, i. 440. Gelon possesses himself of supreme authority at Syracuse, ii. 292. reasons that prevent him from aiding the Greeks when attacked by Xerxes, 253. he defeats Himilcar, general of the Carthaginians, 281. his wise conduct during his reign, ib. his death, 283. respect which the Syracusans retained for his name, 284.
- Gelon, son of Hiero, espouses the party of the Carthaginians against the Romans, ii. 296. dies soon after, ib.
- Genius. Height to which the ancients carried genius, ii. 301.
- Genus, king of Illyrium, becomes subject by the Romans to Marcus Cæsar, i. 219. he is taken prisoner, 219. declares against the Romans, and imprisons their ambassadors, 220. the Romans send the prætor Anicius against him, ii. Gentius is obliged to throw himself at his feet, and implore his mercy, ib. Anicius sends him to Rome with all his family, ib.
- Gergis, son of Ariarxes, one of the six generals of Xerxes's army, ii. 42.
- Ghizee, river of, see Caphenes.
- Gibbon.
- Girgenti, see Agrigentum.
- Gisgo, son of Himilcar, is punished for his father's ill success, and is banished, i. 21.
- Gisgo, Carthaginian, endeavours to suppress the revolt of the mercenaries, i. 95. Spendius, their general, puts him to death, 96.
- Gisgo endeavours to prevent the Carthaginians from accepting the offer of peace proposed by Scipio, ii. 114.
- Glabbio (Mar. Aclius), obtains Buthypia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded before, ii. 324. his discourse on his arrival augments the licentiousness of Lucullus's troops, ib.
- Glauces, king of Illyrium, takes Pyrrhus under his protection, and re-establishes him in his dominions, ii. 49.
- Glucio, a young Athenian, desirous of having a share in the administration of the public affairs, i. 365. Socrates, in a conversation, obliges him to own his incapacity for them, ib.
- Gobryas, an Assyrian nobleman, puts himself and family under the protection of Cyrus, i. 160. puts himself at the head of a body of troops at the siege of Babylon, 169. enters into the conspiracy against Smerdis the Magian, 183. his interpretation of the present given to Darius by the Scythians, 236.
- Gobryas, a Persian nobleman, commands in the army of Artaxerxes in the battle of Cunæa, i. 234.
- God. Answer of Simondeus to a prince who asked him what God was, i. 224. one supreme God acknowledged by Socrates, 366.
- Gordania, see Carducia.
- Gordium, capital city of Phrygia, famous for the chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied which Alexander cut, ii. 537. different opinions on this, ib. N. site of Gordium, ib.
- Gorgias, sophist, is sent deputy from the Leontines to Athens to demand aid against the Syracusans, i. 317.
- Gorgias, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, marches with Nicænor against Judas Maccabæus, ii. 200. his troops are put to flight, ib.
- Gorgidas, Theban, joins Pelopidas to expel the tyrants of Thebes, i. 472.

Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes: smart saying of that child, i. 220.

Government. Different kinds of government, i. 336, which would be the most perfect, *ib.* aim and end of all government, 337.

Græchus (Theripus), distinguishes himself at the siege of Carthage, i. 127 being tribune of the people, he proposes a law concerning the will of Attalus, and is killed soon after, *ib.* 128.

Grandes. Example how little their friendship is to be relied on, i. 251. blindness too common to the great, 273. mistaken ambition sufficiently common to the great, *ib.* 28. &c. See *Famous Kings*.

Granicus, river of Phrygia, now called Oostrola, i. 533. N. famous for the victory of Alexander over the Persians, *ib.* description of it, 534.

Gratitude: the principal virtue of the Egyptians, i. 52.

Greece. Geographical description of ancient Greece, i. 205. particular description of its boundaries and extent, *ib.* N. mountains and their elevations, 205. N. history of Greece divided into four ages, 206. primitive origin of the Greeks, *ib.* different states of which Greece was composed, 207. migrations of the Greeks into Asia Minor, 208. &c. settlement of the Greeks in Sicily, 318. manners and customs of the Greeks, 389. &c. republican government instituted almost universally in Greece, 210. Monsieur Bossuet's reflections upon that kind of government, 604. love of liberty the peculiar characteristic of the Greeks, *ib.* 242. different kind of troops that composed the armies of the Greeks, i. 419. ships and naval forces, 411. people of Greece very warlike, all famous, 408. origin and cause of courage and military virtue amongst the Greeks, 409. religion of the Greeks, i. 415. of the auguries, 418. of the oracles, 419. famous games and combats of Greece, 422. d. Florence of taste of the Greeks and Romans in respect to public shows, 423. disputes for the prize of wit, shows, and representations of the theatre, 430. illustrious men who distinguished themselves most in arts and sciences amongst the Greeks, 318. See the articles Athenians and Lacedæmonians, for what relates to the wars of Greece with the Persians and Macedonians. Greece becomes a Roman province, *ib.* 240. reflections upon the causes of the grandeur, decline, and fall of Greece, 434.

Greeks—famous retreat of the 10,000 Greeks after the battle of Canaxa, interesting geographical inquiries respecting the various places on their march, &c. &c. see *Retreat*.

Grypus. See Antiochus Grypus.

Gulonus, son of Menisipia, divides the kingdom with his two brothers after his father's death, i. 430.

Gyges kills Candaules, king of Lydia, whose principal officer he was, and ascends the throne in his stead, i. 148. what Plato says of his reign, *ib.*

Gyris, one of Parysatis's women, confesses the poisoning of Sistra, i. 363. is put to death, *ib.*

Gylippus, Lacedæmonian, goes to the aid of Syracuse, besieged by the Athenians, i. 325. his arrival in Sicily changes the face of things, 326. he obliges the Athenians to surrender at discretion, 329. his sordid avarice sullies the glory of his great actions, 345.

Gymnastic, or forming the athlete, i. 424.

Gynæcea, or apartments of the ladies amongst the Greeks, i. 423.

H

Hæmus, mountain between Thrace and Thessaly, *ib.* 189.

Hæmus, river of Peræria, *ib.* 81.

Haliartus, city of Boeotia, sides with Persus, *ib.* 209. the prætor Lucretius takes and entirely demolishes it, 213.

Halicarnassus, city of Ionia, i. 206. famous as being the birth place of Herodotus, Dionysius, Herclitus and Calimachus, besieged and taken by Alexander, 335.

Hallyattes, king of Lydia, i. 149. war of that prince with Cyaxares, 147. he contiques the siege of Miletus begun by his father, 149. raises the siege of that city, and wherefore, *ib.*

Hannan, (formerly Echmatus,) description of the city, i. 14. N. affords great room for conjecture, research, 146.

Hannestris, wife of Teriteuchus, i. 347.

Hannibal commands the army sent by the Carthaginians into Sicily at the request of Xerxes, i. 81. it is defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, *ib.* his death, *ib.*

Hannibal, son of Gisco, commands the Carthaginian army against Agathocles, and gains a great victory over him, i. 34. falls alive into the hands of the Syracusans whilst besieging their city, 46. is put to death, *ib.*

Hannibal, surnamed Barea, general of the Carthaginians, i. 85. boldness and ability of that general, 86. he commands the army against the mercenaries, 97. and takes it, *ib.* he goes to Spain, which he conquers in a short time, *ib.* is killed in a battle, *ib.*

Hannibal, surnamed Rhodanus, a Carthaginian, goes into the camp of Alexander by order of Carthage, i. 88. at his return he is put to death, *ib.*

Hannibal, son of Gisco, is placed at the head of the troops sent by the Carthaginians into Sicily to the aid of the people of Segesta, i. 81. actions of that general in Sicily, *ib.* he dies there of the plague, 82.

Hannibal commands the Carthaginian fleet, and is defeated by the consul Dullius, i. 90. besieges the mercenaries in Tunis, 97. falls into their hands and is crucified, *ib.*

Hannibal, surnamed the Great, at nine years of age goes with his father, who was sent to command in Spain, *ib.* 99. is appointed to command there after Asdrubal's death, *ib.* after several conquests he returns to Carthage, *ib.* and takes it, *ib.* he prepares for his march into Italy, 101. he goes to Cadix, and with what view, *ib.* begins his march, *ib.* his expeditions as far as the Rhone, *ib.* he passes that river, *ib.* his march afterwards, *ib.* he passes the Alps, 102. enters Italy, 103. defeats the Romans near the river Trebia, *ib.* then at Trebia, 104. marches to Tuscany, 105. loses an eye in passing the Apennines, *ib.* gains a battle near the lake of Trasymenus, *ib.* concludes a treaty with Philip, and sends ambassadors to him, *ib.* 119. his conduct in regard to Fabius, *ib.* 106. his manner of extricating himself from the wrong step he had taken at Canusium, *ib.* he gains a famous victory over Cnaeus, 108. sends deputies to Carthage with the news of his victory, and to demand reinforcements, 109. winters at Capua, *ib.* and suffers the courage of his troops to be enervated by the luxury of that place, *ib.* makes a treaty with Hieronymus, *ib.* 233. —[His bad success, i. 110. he flies to the aid of the besieged, *ib.* he is surprised, *ib.* to make a diversion, he marches suddenly back against Rome, *ib.* after various attempts, he abandons that enterprise, 111. is recalled into Africa, 112. has an interview with Scipio, 113. followed by a battle in which he is defeated, 114. escapes to

Carthage, *ib.* causes a peace to be concluded with the Romans, *ib.* undertakes and effects the reformation of the courts of justice at Carthage, 115. pursued by the Romans, he retires to Antiochus, 116. his discourse to that prince, and the advice he gives him, 117. goes into Syria and Phenicia to fetch ships from thence, *ib.* 161. is defeated at sea by the Rhodians, 162. retires first to the island of Crete, *ib.* 118. then to Frusius, *ib.* 163. but that prince great services, *ib.* betrayed by Frusius he poisons himself, *ib.*

Hannibal, young Carthaginian, sent to Hieronymus by Hannibal the Great, *ib.* 297.

Hanno, citizen of Carthage, forms the design of making himself master of the commonwealth, i. 23. is discovered and punished, *ib.*

Hanno, Carthaginian, is placed at the head of the troops against Agathocles, i. 86. is killed in battle, *ib.*

Hanno, general of the Carthaginians, is defeated by the Romans near the islands, 194. the Carthaginians give him the command of their troops against the mercenaries, 96. the command is taken from him, *ib.* the Carthaginians place him again at the head of their troops, 98. Hanno opposes in vain the undertaking of the second Punic war, 99.

Harmodius conspires against the tyrants of Athens, i. 221. his death, *ib.* statues erected in honour of him by the Athenians, *ib.*

Harmonia, wife of Themistius, is put to death by order of the people of Syracuse, *ib.* 298.

Harpagus, officer of Astyages, is ordered by that prince to make war with Cyrus, i. 170. rage of Astyages upon discovering that Harpagus had disobeyed his orders, and the revenge he takes on him, *ib.*

Harpalus, governor of Babylon for Alexander, quits the service of that prince, and retires to Athens, i. 393. succeeds in bribing Demosthenes with his presents, *ib.* the Athenians drive Harpalus out of their city, *ib.*

Harpalus, son of Tiribaeus, assassinates Arsames by order of Ochus, *ib.* 429.

Hecataus, one of Alexander's officers, causes Attalus to be assassinated by that prince's order, i. 330.

Hecater, son of Phrycanus, general, defeats the Alexandrians, and takes their general Mithras prisoner, *ib.* 259.

Hegestilla, wife of Miltiades, and mother of Cimon, i. 241.

Hegestorides, Thesian, exposes his life for the safety of his city, besieged by the Athenians, i. 277.

Hecuba, daughter of Tyniaraus, and wife of Menelaus, carried away by Paris, son of Priamus, king of Troy, i. 208.

Heculeus, son of Pyrrhus, accompanies his father to the siege of Argos, *ib.* 72. enters the city with a body of troops, which occasions a confusion, in which his father perishes, 73.

Helopolis, machine of war invented by Demetrius, *ib.* 42.

Helorus, of Syzrus, mathematician, *ib.* 34.

Heliodorus, prime-minister to Seleucus Philopater, goes to Jerusalem to take away the treasures of the temple, *ib.* 191. chastisement which he receives from God on that account, *ib.* he poisons Seleucus and usurps the crown, *ib.* is expelled by Eumenes, 192.

Helios, city of the Lower Egypt, famous for its temple dedicated to the sun, *ib.* 49. furious actions of Cambyses there, *ib.*

Hellanaetides: name of those who presided in the athletic games of Greece, *ib.* 424.

Hellias, son of Deuelion, king of Thessaly, from whom the Greeks derive their name Hellenes, i. 208.

Hellasport, strait between Europe and Asia, *ib.* 251.

Helots. Origin and condition of the Helots, i. xxx. cause of their degraded state, 282. N. cruelties of the Lacedæmonians in respect to them, *ib.* 216. revolt of the Helots against the Lacedæmonians, 192.

Hemerodromi: runners or couriers among the Greeks, *ib.* 136.

Hephæstion, Alexander's favourite: mistake of the captive princesses in respect to him, i. 343. he receives a wound at the battle of Arbela, 500. Alexander makes him his heir, 501. his last moments, *ib.* 502. his extraordinary honours which that prince causes to be paid him after his death, 505. &c.

Hephtanemus, or Middle Egypt: description of it, *ib.* 42.

Hercules, city of Pontus: tyrants who governed it, xl. description of it, that it was destroyed by Cæsar, *ib.* 23.

Hercules, in Etolia, besieged and taken by the consul Acilius, *ib.* 160.

Hercules, wife of Zoippus, of the family of Hiero, is massacred with her children, by order of the people of Syracuse, *ib.* 298.

Herculidae, or descendants from Hercules. They succeed the Ayvada in the kingdom of Lydia, i. 148. seize Peloponnesus, and are soon after driven out of it, 207. re-enter Peloponnesus, and seize Lacedæmon, 208. endeavour to oppose the aggrandizement of the Athenians, who defeat them in a battle, 209. Hercules, minister of Seuthes, king of Thrace: his perfidy, *ib.* 202.

Herculides, exile of Syracuse, comes to the aid of his country against Dionysius, i. 458. the Syracusans choose him admiral, *ib.* his envy of Dion, 459. he is obliged to call in Dion to the aid of Syracuse, *ib.* and is put to death, *ib.* 460.

Hercules restores him to command, in chief by sea, *ib.* Hercules renews his intrigues against Dion, 461. Dion is obliged to suffer him to be killed, *ib.*

Herculides, Philip's minister, his character, *ib.* 139. Philip sacrifices him to gain the affection of the Macedonians, *ib.* 140. he obliges him to quit the kingdom, *ib.* he is deputed by Scipio Africanus, *ib.* 163.

Herculides, treasurer of the province of Babylon, is banished by Demetrius Soter, *ib.* 249. is appointed by Ptolemy, Attalus, and Ariarathes to prepare Alexander Bala for poisoning the son of Antiochus, 249. enters him in order to his reigning instead of Demetrius, 250. enters him to Rome, where he succeeds in causing him to be acknowledged king of Syria, *ib.*

Hephestus, city of Sicily, i. 443.

Hercules, son of Jupiter and Alcmena, subjected to Eurythides by the fraud of Juno, i. 50.

Hercules, son of Alexander and Parsina, *ib.* 12. is put to death by Polysperchon, 55.

Hieripipides, Spartan: his too rigid exactness compels Spithridates, to abandon the party of the Lacedæmonians, i. 370.

Hermias, Carian, is declared prime minister of Antiochus, *ib.* 106. Cassandrus, *ib.* he removes Euphenes, the most able of Antiochus's generals, *ib.* Antiochus causes him to be assassinated, 105.

Hermocrates, Syracusan, encourages his citizens to defend themselves against the Athenians, i. 335. is elected general, *ib.*

Hermolaus, officer in the train of Alexander, conspires against that prince, i. 379, is discovered and punished, ib.
 Herod, Idumean, is made governor of Galilee, ii. 252, escapes from Jerusalem to avoid falling into the hands of the Parthians, ib. goes to Rome and is declared king of Judaea by the senate, ib. forms the siege of Jerusalem, 273, goes to Samaria, and espouses Mariamne, ib. makes himself master of Jerusalem, and ascends the throne of Judaea, ib.
 Herodius, one of the principal persons of Thessaly: unhappy fate of that prince and his family, ii. 184.
 Herodotus, Greek historian; his birth, i. 212, applauds him for he received at the Olympic games, on reading his history there, 247.
 Herodotus, friend of Demetrius, son of Philip, is seized on that prince's account, ii. 189, is put to the rack, and dies under the torture, ib.
 Hercules. Times most famous for the history of the heroes, i. 225, description of most of the heroes so much boasted of in history, 178.
 Hesiod, Greek poet, i. 227.
 Hezekiah, king of Judah, is cured miraculously, i. 140, shows the ambassadors of the king of Babylon his riches and his palace, ib. God menaces him by his prophet, ib. accomplishment of those threats, ib.
 Hydarnes, Persian of great quality, Satrap's father, i. 347.
 Hyempsal, son of Melchisa, king of Numidia, i. 330. Jugurtha causes him to be murdered, 334.
 Hierax, of Antioch, becomes prime minister to Phrycon, ii. 255, that prince puts him to death, ib.
 Hiero I. brother of Gelon, reigns after him in Syracuse, i. 293, his character, ib. suspicions which he forms against his brother, ib. he attracts learned men about him, ib. his goodness to the children of Anaxilaus, 234, his death, ib.
 Hiero II. His birth, ii. 290, he is chosen captain-general of the Syracusans, 291, and soon after elected king, ib. quits the party of the Carthaginians, and espouses that of the Romans, ib. aids the Romans against the mercenaries, ib. his maritime genius, 292, particularly favours agriculture, ib. distinguished proofs which he gives of his attachment to the Romans in the second Punic war, ib. 293, takes advantage of the skill of Archimedes, who makes abundance of machines of war for him for the defence of a place, 294, galleys which Archimedes builds for him, 295, he dies at a great age, much lamented by his people, 296.
 Hierocles, father of Hiero, causes his son to be exposed, and then to be brought back to his house where he educates him with great care, ii. 240.
 Hieronymus, significant of the word, i. 44.
 Hieronymus, Hiero's grandson, reigns after him at Syracuse, and by his vices causes him to be much regretted, ii. 296, makes an alliance with Hannibal, 298, is killed in a conspiracy, ib.
 Hierophantes: name given the person who presided at the ceremony of the Feast of Eleusis, i. 417.
 Hillel, the seat of ancient Babylon, i. 171, N.
 Himera, city of Sicily; its foundation, i. 318, its destruction, 504.
 Himereus, brother of Demetrius Phalereus, is delivered up to Antipater, who puts him to death, ii. 16.
 Himilcon, Carthaginian general, comes to Sicily to drive the Romans out of it, ii. 301, perishes there, 302.
 Hipparcha, city of Africa, refuses at first to join the mercenaries, i. 36, and joins them afterwards, 97.
 Hipparchus, son of Diestrate, governor at Athens, after his father's death, i. 221, his taste for literature, ib. is killed in the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton, ib.
 Hipparchus, brother of Dionysius, drives Callippus out of Syracuse, and reigns there two years, i. 462.
 Hippasus, son of Histiaeus, retains the sovereignty after the death of his father, i. 221, finds means to frustrate the conspiracy formed by Harmodius and Aristogiton, ib. is compelled to quit Attica, and goes to settle in Phrygia, ib. takes refuge in Asia with Artaphernes, 222, engages the Persians in the war against the Greeks, and serves them as a guide, 243, is killed at Marathon fighting against the country, 244.
 Hippocrates, famous physician; his great ability, i. 195, his disinterestedness, 301.
 Hippocrates, native of Carthage, is sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, and resides at his court, ii. 297, becomes one of the principal ministers of Syracuse, 299, marches to the aid of Leontium, ib. and is forced to fly, ib. he and Epicydes possess themselves of all authority at Syracuse, ib. he makes war in the field against Marcellus, 301, 302, the plague destroys him and his troops, ib.
 Hippocrax, satiric poet, known by his verse against Eupalus and Athens, i. 224.
 Holophernes, general for the king of Assyria, marches against the Israelites, and besieges Bethulia, i. 146, Judith cuts off his head, 147.
 Holophernes, supposed brother of Ariarthes, of Cappadocia, dethrones him, and reigns in his stead, ii. 287, is driven out by Attalus, and retires to Antioch, ib. enters into a conspiracy against Demetrius his benefactor, ib. that prince imprisons him, ib.
 Homer, famous poet, i. 222, &c. to what perfection he carried the species of poetry which he applied himself, ib.
 Hophra, king of Egypt. See Apries.
 Horse: the Horse, or the Knights, a comedy of Aristophanes, i. 435.
 Hoshea, king of Samaria, revolts against the king of Assyria, i. 18, is taken with chains by Salmanassar, and put in prison for the remainder of his life, ib.
 Hyacinthus: feasts celebrated in honour of him at Lacedaemon, i. 262.
 Hybla, a city of Sicily, famous for its honey, i. 318.
 Hydrades commands the Persians called the Immortals, in the army of Xerxes, i. 252.
 Hydronates, river of India, i. 585.
 Hyperbolus, Athenian, his character, i. 316, he endeavours to irritate the people against Nicias and Alcibiades, ib. is banished by the ostracism, ib.
 Hysierata, one of the wives of Mithridates: her masculine courage, ii. 326.
 Hyrcanians, people in the neighbourhood of Babylonia, subjected by Cyrus, i. 158.
 Hyrcanus, son of Joseph, is sent by his father to the court of Alexandria, to demand the king upon the birth of his son Philometor, ii. 175, distinguishes himself there by his address and magnificence, ib.
 Hyrcanus (John), son of Simon, is declared high-priest and prince of the Jews after his father's death, ii. 257, is besieged by Antiochus Sidetes in Jerusalem, ib. and surrenders by ca-

pitulation, ib. renders himself absolute and independent, 258, renews the treaty with the Romans, 260, augments his power in Judaea, 262, takes Samaria, and demolishes it, ib. becomes an enemy to the Pharisees, ib. dies, 263.
 Hyrcanus, son of Alexander Jannaeus, is made high-priest of the Jews, ii. 272, after the death of Alexander, he takes possession of the throne, 273, is obliged to submit to Aristobolus his younger brother, ib. has recourse to Pompey, who replaces him upon the throne, ib. &c. is again dethroned by Ptolemy, son of Orodes, and delivered up to Antigonus, who causes his execution, ii. 275, the Parthians carry him into the East, ib. he returns to Jerusalem, where Herod puts him to death, ib.
 Hyrtaspes, father of Darius, governor of Persia, i. 184.
 Hyrtaspes, second son of Xerxes, is made governor of Bactria, i. 266, his remoteness from court makes way for his brother Artaxerxes to ascend the throne, 272, Artaxerxes undertakes to reduce him, 274, and entirely ruins his party, ib.
 Hyrtaspes, tyrant of Miletus, prevails upon the generals of Ionia not to abandon Darius, then employed in a war with the Scythians, i. 257, Darius grants him a territory in Thrace, where he builds a city, ib. that prince recalls him to court, ib. Hyrtaspes secretly supports the revolt of the Ionians, 283, he forms a conspiracy against the government, 293, is discovered, ib. is taken by the Persians, delivered up to Artaphernes, and put to death, 240, character of Hyrtaspes, ib.
 I
 IACCHUS. See Bacchus.
 Ialysus, founder of Rhodes, represented in a painting by Protagoras, ii. 45.
 Iamblichus, proper for tragedy, i. 434.
 Iberians: people of Asia, subjected by Pompey, ii. 327.
 Ibis, animal adored by the Egyptians, i. 52, 53.
 Ictetas, of Syracuse, tyrant of the Leontines, causes the wife and mother-in-law of Dion to be put to death, i. 462, the Syracusans revolt in his aid against Dionysius, and elect him their general, 463, he conceives the design of making himself master of Syracuse, 464, and seizes great part of the city, ib. Timoleon marches against him, and obliges him to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines, 466, Ictetas revolts against Timoleon, who punishes him and his son with death, 467.
 Ichneumon: animal adored in Egypt, i. 53.
 Idolatry: which the most ancient and most general, i. 197. See Religion.
 Iudaeans, people of Palestine: Hyrcanus obliges them to embrace Judaism, i. 270.
 Inulo, son of Hanno, is sent lieutenant to Hannibal on his going to command in Sicily, i. 21, takes Agrigentum, 22, puts an end to the war by treaty with Dionysius, and returns to Carthage, ib. returns to Sicily at the head of an army, 83, the plague sweeps in his army, ib. he is defeated by Dionysius, ib. leaves his troops to the mercy of the enemy, and retires to Carthage, where he kills himself, ib.
 Immortality of the soul. See Soul.
 Immortals: guards of the Persian kings so called, i. 191.
 Immutables. See Exemplars.
 Impossi. See Truants of Taxes.
 Inachus, king of Argos, i. 207.
 Inarus, prince of the Libyans, is chosen king by the Egyptians, and supports their revolt against the Persians, i. 278, treats with Megabyzus, general of the Persians, and surrenders himself, ib. is delivered to the mother of Artaxerxes, and put to death, 279.
 Ineeet, common amongst the Persians, i. 181.
 Inubathrus, king of the Scythians, attacked by Darius, i. 234, answer of that prince to Darius, who sent to demand fire and water, 235.
 India, region of Asia, divided into two parts, i. 580, manners of its inhabitants, 581, rarities of that country, ib. &c. history of the commerce with that country from Solomon's time to the present, i. 49, very singular dispute between two Indian women after the death of their common husband, ii. 29, expedition of Scander into India, 337, conquest of India by Darius, 237, then by Alexander, i. 559.
 Informers, how punished in Persia, i. 157, definition of them by Plutarch, 457. See Calumniators, or False-accusers.
 Ingratitude punished most severely amongst the Persians, i. 157.
 Intaphernes, a Persian lord: his insolence and punishment, ii. 229.
 Interest of money amongst the Romans, ii. 319. See Usury.
 Iolas, second son of Antipater, and cup-bearer to Alexander, is suspected of having poisoned that prince, i. 597.
 Ion, son of Xuthus, who gave his name to Ionia, i. 208.
 Ion, favourite of Perseus, delivers up that prince's children to Octavius, ii. 225.
 Ionia, province of Asia Minor, i. 205, from whom it takes its name, ib.
 Ionians. Revolt of the Ionians against Darius, i. 238, they burn the city of Sardis, 239, their party is entirely ruined, 240, they throw off the Persian yoke after the battle of Salamis, and unite with the Greeks from thenceforth, 241.
 Ionian, a surname bestowed to aid Coreyas, i. 473, is placed at the head of the Grecian troops in the expedition of Artaxerxes against Egypt, 486, retires to Athens, where Tharnaxas causes him to be accused of making the expedition miscarry, 487, the Athenians employ him in the war with the Achaean, 491, he is accused by Chares, and cited to take his trial, 492, means which he employs for his defence, ib. &c. he re-establishes Perdiccas upon the throne of Macedonia, 503, praise of Iphicrates, 491, military discipline which he establishes amongst the troops, ib.
 Iopsea, city of Phrygia, famous for the victory of Ptolemy, Cassander, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, over Antigonus and Demetrius, ii. 48.
 Irony attributed to Socrates, i. 327.
 Isagoras, Athenian, forms a faction in Athens after the expulsion of the tyrants, i. 222.
 Ischolas, Spartan, guards an important pass during the interruption of the Thebans into Laconia, and distinguishes himself in a peculiar manner, i. 476.
 Isle, part of the city of Syracuse: description of it, i. 223.
 Ismenias, Theban, is made prisoner with Pelopidas, by Alexander, ii. 480, is delivered up to him, and delivered by Epaminondas, 481.
 Ismerius, polemarch of Thebes, is seized by Leontides, and carried prisoner to the citadel, i. 469, is condemned and executed, ib.
 Isocrates, Greek orator: services which he endeavoured to render the Athenians by his writings, i. 492, his death, 531.

Isocrates, Greek grammarian, is sent prisoner to Rome for having endeavoured to justify the assassination of Ctesias, ii. 230.
Issus, city of Cilicia, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, i. 539.
Ishtar, or Persepolis, see Persepolis.
Isthmian, solemn games of Greece, i. 423.
Italians massacred in Asia Minor by order of Mithridates, ii. 209.
Ithobal, king of Tyre, when besieged by Nebuchodonosor, i. 143.
Itrura, part of Cœle-syria, ii. 271; the Itrurans are compelled by Aristobulus to embrace Judaism, 270.

J

JADDUS, high-priest of the Jews, implores the protection of God against Alexander, i. 552; honours paid him by that prince, ib. his death, 561.
Jason, tyrant of Phœria, is declared generalissimo of the Thes-salians, i. 479; death puts a stop to his designs, ib.
Jason supplants his brother Onias, high-priest of the Jews, ii. 192; is supplanted himself by his brother Menelaus, 193; takes Jerusalem, and obliges Menelaus to retire into the citiadel, ib.
Javan, or Ion, son of Japhet, father of all the people known under the name of Greeks, i. 206.
Javelins: exercise of the javelin, i. 426.
Jealousy or Envy, an incurable disease of the mind, ii. 95; it susses the glory of the glorious actions, ii. 335.
Jecphonias, or Jehoichon, king of Judah, is led captive to Babylon, i. 142; is set at liberty after an imprisonment there of thirty-seven years, 143.
Jehohaz, king of Judæa, led captive into Egypt, where he dies, i. 67.
Jehoiakim is placed by Necho upon the throne of Judæa in the room of his brother, Jehoahaz, i. 67; is conquered by Nebuchodonosor, i. 142; revolts against that prince, ib. his death, ib.
Jerusalem, city of Palestine, i. xxxiii. taking of that city by Necho, 67; is besieged, and taken by Nebuchodonosor, 142; its fortifications demolished by that prince, ib. and rebuilt by order of Artaxerxes, 240. Alexander's entrance into Jerusalem, i. 552; it is besieged and taken by Ptolemy, ii. 41; is taken and plundered by Antiochus Epiphanes, 194; its temple is profaned, ib. it is taken by Antiochus Sidetes, who causes its fortifications to be demolished, 257. Pompey takes Jerusalem by storm, 274. Cæsar permits its walls to be rebuilt, which Pompey had caused to be demolished, 275. Herod takes Jerusalem, ib.
Jesus Christ: his kingdom foretold by Daniel, i. 176; contrast between the kingdoms of the world and the kingdom of Christ, ib.
Jews: massacre of the Jews by order of Sennacherib, i. 146; version of the Jews for the Samaritans, ib. captivity of the Jews at Babylon, and its duration, ib. &c. Cyrus's edict for their return to Jerusalem, 174; the rebuilding of their city opposed by the Samaritans, ib. Darius confirms Cyrus's edict in their favour, 231; his edict against the Jews revoked at the solicitation of Esther, 187; the Jews are confirmed in their privileges by Xerxes, 247; and afterwards by Artaxerxes, 279. Necho carries a great number of Jews captive into Egypt, i. 416; the Jews refuse to submit to Alexander, 552; they obtain great privileges from that prince, 554; refuse to work at the building of the temple of Belus, 547. The Jews settle at Alexandria in great numbers, ii. 34; all those who were slaves in Egypt, were set at liberty, 64; the Jews submit to Antiochus the Great, 139; cruelties which they suffer from Antiochus Epiphanes, 194; &c. they gain great victories under Judas Maccabeus, first over the generals of that prince, then over those of Antiochus Eupator, and over himself in person, 198, 199, 200; make peace with Antiochus, 247; gain new victories over the generals of Demetrius Soter, 249; are declared friends and allies of the Romans, ib. build a temple in Egypt, 260, &c. revenge themselves on the inhabitants of Antioch, for the evils they had suffered from them, 252; renew the treaties with the Romans, 253; are subdued by Antiochus Sidetes, 257; history of the Jews under Ptolephus, 270. Alexander Jannæus, 271. Alexandria, ii. Aristobulus, 274. Hyrcanus, 274. Antigonus, 275; the sovereignty over the Jews transferred to a stranger, 276.
Jonathan, Jew and Sadducee, brings over Hyrcanus to his sect from that of the Pharisees, 365.
Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabeus, succeeds him in the government of Judæa, ii. 249; accepts of the high-priesthood from Alexander Bala, and aids that prince against Demetrius Soter, 350; undertakes to drive the Greeks out of the citadel which they had in Jerusalem, 252; &c. Demetrius Nicator orders him to attend him upon that affair, ib. Jonathan aids that prince against the people of Antioch, ib. disgusted by the ingratitude of Demetrius, he declares for Antiochus Theos, 253; suffers himself to be deceived by Tryphon, who puts him to death, ib.
Joseph, son of Jacob, i. 61.
Joseph, Onias's nephew, is sent into Egypt to make his uncle's excuse to Ptolemy, ii. 83; his credit with Ptolemy, ib. that prince gives him the farming of the revenues of Cœle-syria and Palestine without security, ib.
Josephus corrected the calendar of the Jews.
Josiah, king of Judah, marches against Necho, is defeated, and dies of a wound received in battle, i. 67.
Juba I. king of Mauritania, is conquered by Cæsar, and kills himself, i. 133.
Juba II. son of the former, is led in Cæsar's triumph whilst an infant, i. 133. Augustus restores to him the dominions of his father, ib. literary works ascribed to this prince, ib.
Judas, called Maccabeus, third son of Mattathias, is chosen general by his father against Antiochus Epiphanes, ii. 199; gains several great victories over that prince's generals, 200, &c. retakes the temple, and dedicates it anew to the service of God, 201; gains new advantages over the generals of Antiochus Eupator, and over that prince in person, 246; &c. repeated victories of Judas Maccabeus over the generals of Demetrius Soter, ib. he dies in battle, fighting valiantly, 249.
Judith, Jewess: her courage and boldness, i. 127.
Jugurtha, Massinissa's grandson, is adopted by Micipsa, and associated with the other children of that prince, i. 130; seizes the kingdom of Numidia, and puts one of the two princes, his brothers by adoption, to death, 131; attacks the second with open force, ib. besieges him in Cirtba, ib. the Romans declare war against him, ib. Jugurtha frustrates their efforts several

times by bribes, ib. the Romans send Metellus first, and then Marius, against him, who both gain many advantages over him, ib. &c. Jugurtha has recourse to Eucheris his father-in-law, who gives him up to the Romans, ib. is led in triumph, 132; and afterwards thrown into a deep dungeon, where he perishes miserably, 133.

Julius is sent deputy by the Romans into Achaia, to appease the troubles there, ii. 258.

Julus, consul, is defeated at sea by the Carthaginians, i. 94.

Jupiter Ammon, temple of, where situated, i. 170, N.

Justice, the supreme of virtues, i. 469; and the principal support of royal authority, i. 366.

Juventius Thalna, (P.) Roman praetor, marches against Andronicus, ii. 257; is killed in a battle, ib.

K

KIZOO, the Hindoo, see Caucasus.
Kings, Princes. Qualities essential in a prince: sincerity, truth, and faith to engagements, i. 391; to know how to own faults when they happen to commit them, 40; not to harbour envy and jealousy, nor open their hearts to flattery, 589; in what a prince ought to endeavour to distinguish himself from his subjects, ii. noble use which he ought to make of his riches, ii. 66; &c. a prince is the sword and shield of his dominions, i. 182; the knowledge of the best of his subjects is necessary to a prince, 572; temperance is a very estimable virtue in a king, vicious odious in a prince, 578.

L

LARDALON: fort situated in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, i. 334.

Laborascarched ascends the throne of Assyria, and is killed soon after, i. 144; bad inclinations and cruelty of that prince, 160.

Labyrinthus. See Belshazzar.

Labyrinth of Egypt: description of it, i. 45.

Lacedæmon, or Sparta, city of Peloponnesia, capital of Laconia, i. 208.

Lacedæmonians or Spartans. Kings of Lacedæmonia, i. 208. The Persians seize Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, reign jointly, and the crown remains in these two families, ib. The Lacedæmonians deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides, i. 221; they undertake to reinstate Hippias, son of Pisistratus, but in effectually, 222. Darius sends to Sparta to demand its submission, 328; the Spartan heralds, in their refusal, rid the Lacedæmonians of a pretence to prevent the Lacedæmonians from having a share in the battle of Marathon, 243; the honour of commanding the Greeks is conceded to them, 251; three hundred Spartans dispute the pass of Thermopylae with Xerxes, 255; battle of Salamis, in which the Lacedæmonians have a great share, 258; &c. honours which they render the Muses after the battle, 260. The Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with the Athenians, cut the army of the Persians in pieces at the battle of Plataea, 263; they defeat the Persian fleet at the same time near Mycale, 265; they are desirous of preventing the Athenians from rebuilding the walls of their city, 268; the bashfulness of the Spartans occasions their losing the command, 268; they send deputies to Athens to accuse Themistocles as an accomplice in Pausanias's conspiracy, 270.—Earthquake at Sparta, 269; sedition of the Helots, ib. seeds of division between Sparta and Athens, 284; peace is re-established between the two states, ib. jealousies and differences between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, 287; treaty of peace for thirty years, ib. new causes of complaint and dissension, 288; open rupture between Sparta and Athens, 289. Peloponnesia war, 296, &c. allies of the Lacedæmonians, in that war, ib. they ravage Attica, 296. Lacedæmon has recourse to the Persians, 302; its deputies are seized by the Athenians, carried to Athens, and put to death, ib. Plataea besieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 303; they abandon Attica, to retook Pyles from the Athenians, 308; are defeated at sea, ib. are shut up in the island of Sphacteria, ib. sue for terms, 310; the Athenians refuse to receive the Lacedæmonians into Thracæ, 312; they take Amphipolis, ib. truce for a year between Sparta and Athens, 313; victory of the Lacedæmonians over the Athenians near Amphipolis, ib. treaty of peace between the two states, for fifty years, 314.—The war renews between Sparta and Athens, 316; the Lacedæmonians give Alcibiades refuge, 325; by his advice they send Gylippus to the aid of Syracuse, and fortify Decelium in Attica, 324; the Lacedæmonians conclude a treaty with Persia, 325; their fleet is beaten by the Athenians near Cyzicum, 337; they appoint Lysander admiral, 339; beat the Athenian fleet near Ephesus, 350. Gallatratides succeeds Lysander, ib. defeat of the Lacedæmonians near the Arginusæ, 341; &c. they gain a famous victory over the Athenians near Ægospotamos, 345; take Athens, ib. and change the form of its government, ib. decree of Sparta concerning the use of the money which Lysander causes to be carried thither, 346; infamous means which they used for ridding themselves of Alcibiades, 348; ingratuity of the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians, who fled to avoid the violence of the thirty tyrants, 350; &c.—The Lacedæmonians furnish Cyrus the younger with troops against his brother Artaxerxes, 352; they take the dominions of the inhabitants of Elis, 355; undertake with Agesilaus at their head, to restore the ancient liberty of the Greeks of Asia, 368; expedition of the Lacedæmonians in Asia, ib. Sparta appoints Agesilaus generalissimo by sea and land, 369; league against the Lacedæmonians, 371; they gain a great victory near Nemea, 372; their fleet is defeated by Cleomenes near Cradæa, 373; the gained by the Lacedæmonians at Coronæ, 373; concluded a peace shameful for the Greeks with the Persians, 375; declare war with the Olynthians, 468; seize the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence, 469; receive the Olynthians into the protection of their allies, 470; the Spartans, 470; the Lacedæmonians are compelled to quit the citadel of Thebes, 472; form an ineffectual enterprise against the Piræus, 473; are defeated near Tegyra, 474; declare war against the Thebans, 475; are defeated and put to flight at Leuctra, ib. &c. the Thebans, by their daring and advance to the gates of Sparta, 477; the Lacedæmonians implore aid of the Athenians, 478. Sparta besieged by Epaminondas, 482; battle of Mantinea, in which the Lacedæmonians are defeated, 487; the Lacedæmonians send aid to Thebes, who had revolted against the Persians, 491; enterprise of the Lacedæmonians against Megalopolis, 493; a revolt against Cleomenes near Cradæa, 495; are defeated by Antipater, ib. Alexander pardons them, 568.—Sparta besieged by Pyrrhus, ii. 71; scourge of the Spartan women during that siege, ib. history of the Lacedæmonians in the reign of Agis, 81; and in that of Cleomenes, 84. Sparta falls into the hands of Antigonus Doson, 100; sedition in Sparta ap-

- peased by Philip, 109. Sparta joins the Ætolians against that prince, 112. Several actions between the Lacedæmonians and Philip, 113. Sparta joins with the Ætolians in the treaty with the Romans, 121. Machanidas becomes tyrant of Sparta, *ib.* the Lacedæmonians defeated by Philipomen near Mantinea, 123. Nabis succeeds Machanidas, 131. his cruel treatment of the Lacedæmonians, *ib.* Quintus Flaminius besieges Sparta, 150. enterprise of the Ætolians against Sparta, 156. that city enters into the Achæan league, *ib.* the Spartans cruelly treated by their exiles, 170. war between the Lacedæmonians and Achæans, 238. the Romans separate Sparta from the Achæan league, *ib.* — Political government of Sparta, i. 240, 397. abstract of the Spartan government, *ib.* love of poverty, 385. laws established by Minos in Crete, the model of those of Sparta, 399. the senate, 210. gold and silver money banished at Sparta, *ib.* public meals, 211. education of children, *ib.* patience and constancy of the Spartan youth, *ib.* their most usual occupation, *ib.* obedience to which they were accustomed, 215. their respect towards the aged, *ib.* barbarous cruelty in respect to children, *ib.* their mothers' inhumanity, *ib.* their excessive leisure, 216. their cruelty towards the Helots, *ib.* modesty and decency entirely neglected, *ib.*
- Ochus in that prince's expedition against Egypt, i. 456. forms the siege of Pelusium, and takes it, *ib.*
- Laconia, province of Peloponnesus, i. 105.
- Lade, a small island over-against Miletus, i. 240.
- Lais, famous courtesan, i. 322.
- Laius, king of Thebes, his misfortunes, i. 111.
- Lakes of Meris, i. 45.
- Lamachus is appointed general with Nicias and Alcibiades, in the expedition of the Athenians against Sicily, i. 318. his poverty makes him contemptible to the troops, 321. is killed at the siege of Syracuse, 325.
- Lamia, courtesan to Demetrius: her enormous expenses, ii. 46. pleasantry of a comic poet in respect to her, *ib.*
- Lamia, city of Thessaly, famous for the victory of the Athenians over Antipater, *ib.* 14.
- Lander: distribution of the land instituted by Lycurgus at Sparta, i. 240. reflections upon that partition, 244.
- Laodice, wife of Antiochus Theos, is repudiated by that prince, ii. 79. Antiochus takes her again, 80. she causes him to be poisoned, *ib.* and Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king in his stead, *ib.* she causes Berenice and her sons to be put to death, *ib.* Ptolemy puts her to death, 81.
- Laodice, daughter of Mithridates, king of Pontus, marries Antiochus the Great, ii. 103.
- Laodice, sister of Demetrius Soter, and widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia, is put to death by Ammonius, favourite of Alexander, *ib.* 251.
- Laodice, widow of Ariarathes VI. acts as regent during the minority of six princes, her children, ii. 257. poisons five of them, and prepares to do the same by the sixth, *ib.* is put to death by the people, *ib.*
- Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupator, marries first Ariarathes VII. king of Cappadocia, ii. 287. and afterwards Nicomedes king of Bithynia, *ib.* part which he makes her act at Rome before the senate, *ib.*
- Laomedon, one of Alexander's captains: provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, *ib.* 12. is dispossessed of them by Nicomachus, ii. 290. and put to death, 291.
- Laranda, city of Pisidia: revolts against Perdiccas, ii. 18. tragical end of that city, *ib.*
- Larissa, city of Thessaly, i. 205.
- Lasthenes, chief magistrate of Olynthus, puts that city into the hands of Philip, *ib.* 51.
- Lasthenes, of Cnide, supplies Demetrius Nicator with troops for ascending the throne of Syria, ii. 251. his bad conduct makes that prince commit many faults, 252.
- Lathyrus. See Ptolemy Lathyrus.
- Laws. Origin and institution of laws, i. 50. laws of the Egyptians, *ib.* laws of Crete, 399. laws of Sparta, 210. laws of Athens, 216. &c.
- Leaping: exercise amongst the Greeks, i. 426.
- Legion: Roman: soldiers of which it was composed, i. 103.
- Legislators, famous ones of antiquity: Draco, i. 216. Solon, 217. Lycurgus, 218. Charondas, 219. Zaleucus, *ib.*
- Lexis, first king of Lacedæmonia, i. 208.
- Leonticus, son of Ptolemy, is taken prisoner by Demetrius, and sent back to his father by that prince, *ib.* 39.
- Leontulus is sent to Thebes by the Romans, to have an eye upon the city, during the war with Perseus, *ib.* 210.
- Leontulus, consul, is ordered to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes upon the throne, *ib.* 331. is prevented from executing that commission by a pretended oracle of the Sibyls, *ib.*
- Leo, Corinthian, defends the citadel of Syracuse against Iecus and the Carthaginians, i. 445.
- Leon, Athenian, is sent deputy with Timagoras to the court of Persia, and accuses his colleague at his return, i. 479.
- Leonatus, one of Alexander's captains: provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, *ib.* 12. marches to the aid of Antipater, besieged in Lamia, *ib.* is killed in battle, *ib.*
- Leonidas, governor of Sparta, i. 410.
- Leonidas I. king of Sparta, defends the pass of Thermopylæ with unparalleled bravery against the invulnerable army of Xerxes, i. 255. is killed there, *ib.* the Lacedæmonians erect to him a magnificent monument, 256.
- Leonidas II. reigns at Sparta, in alliance with Agis, *ib.* 88. opposes the designs of that prince, 89. is divested of the sovereignty, 91. escapes to Tegea, *ib.* is recalled, and replaced upon the throne, 92. lays snares for Agis, 93. and puts him to death, *ib.* obliges the wife of that prince to marry his son Cleomenes, 94. death of Leonidas, *ib.* his character, 89.
- Leontides, a Spartan, is sent by Agis to the citadel of that place into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, i. 469. imprisons Ismenias, who was his opponent, *ib.* sends persons to Athens to assassinate the principal exiles, 470. Pelopidas, at the head of the conspirators, kills him, 471.
- Leontium, a city of Sicily, i. 312.
- Leontius, Philip's general, grossly insults Aratus at a feast, ii. 116. is security for the fine laid on Megaleas upon the same account, *ib.* Philip takes the command of his troops from him, and puts him to death, 117. &c.
- Leontionides, Athenian, informs Athens of Alexander's death, and animates them to throw off the Macedonian yoke, *ib.* 13. is placed at the head of the Greeks leagued against Antipater, *ib.* his glorious exploits, 14. receives a wound at the siege of Lamia, *ib.* and dies soon after, *ib.*
- Leotychides, king of Lacedæmonia, in conjunction with Xanthus the Athenian, gains a famous victory over the Persians near Mycale, i. 265.
- Leotychides, son of Timea, wife of Agis, passes for the son of Alcibiades, and for that reason is excluded the throne, i. 322.
- Leptines, brother of Dionysius, is put to flight by the Carthaginians, with the fleet under his command, i. 446. is banished, 450. and soon after recalled, *ib.* is killed in a battle, *ib.*
- Leptines kills Callippus, Dion's murderer, i. 77.
- Leptines, tyrant of Aegolona, surrenders himself to Timoleon, who sends him to Corinth, *ib.* 467.
- Leptines, Syrian, kills Octavius the Roman ambassador, ii. 248. Demetrius delivers him up to the senate, 249.
- Leptines, Syracusan, Hero's father-in-law, *ib.* 269.
- Leptines, king of Greece, i. 203. revolt of that island against the Athenians, 304. the Athenians reduce it to its former obedience, 206.
- Letters. Invention of letters brought into Greece by Cadmus, i. 63.
- Leucas, a king in the Bosphorus: mutual generosity between that prince and the Athenians, i. 501.
- Leuctra, small town of Boeotia, famous for the victory of the Thebans over the Lacedæmonians, i. 473. &c.
- Levinus, Roman consul, defeated by Pyrrhus, ii. 65.
- Levinus (M. Valerius), is sent into Greece and Macedonia, in quality of praetor, to oppose the enterprises of Philip, *ib.* 121. enemies with whom he excites against that prince, *ib.* &c.
- Lewis XV. king of France. Glorious testimony which that prince renders to the French nation, *ib.* 172. &c.
- Library. Famous libraries of antiquity; at Alexandria, i. 50. at Athens, *ib.* 21.
- Libya, part of Africa, ii. 380. war of Libya, or of the Mercenaries, i. 104.
- Lucinius, consul, is sent into Macedonia against Perseus, ii. 202. encamps near the river Peneus, 211. is defeated in a battle, 212. &c. and afterwards gains some advantages over Perseus, 213.
- Lucinius, (C.) the consul's brother, commands the Italian cavalry in his brother's army, *ib.* 212.
- Light-house of Alexandria, i. 49.
- Ligorns, one of the generals of Antiochus the Great, makes that prince master of the city of Adria, *ib.* 109.
- Liguria, province of Italy, ii. 325. its inhabitants subjected to those of Marseilles, by the Romans, *ib.*
- Lilybæum, a city of Sicily, besieged by the Romans, i. 95.
- Lines of circumvallation and contravallation amongst the ancients, *ib.* 304.
- Lioness, or Leona, name of a courtesan. Statue erected in honour of her by the Athenians, *ib.* 222.
- Lissus, city of Illyria: siege and taking of that city by Philip, *ib.* 121.
- Livius, consul, is sent into Cisalpine Gaul, to oppose the entrance of Asdrubal into Italy, i. 111. he defeats that general in a great battle, *ib.* &c.
- Loans, law concerning them, among the Egyptians, i. 51. in what manner such as lived by borrowing were considered amongst the Persians, 187.
- Loans, an Egyptian plant of which they made bread, *ib.* 58.
- Love. Care of the ancients to avoid admitting any thing into their dramatic poems relating to love, i. 434. conjugal love, model of it, *ib.* 92.
- Luccretius, praetor, commands the Roman fleet sent against Perseus, *ib.* 210. besieges Halicarnassus, a city of Æolia, takes and demolishes it entirely, 213.
- Lucullus commands the Roman fleet sent against Mithridates, and gains two great victories over that prince, *ib.* 314. is elected consul, and charged with the war against Mithridates, 316. obliges that prince to raise the siege of Cyzicum, 317. and defeats his troops, *ib.* gains a complete victory over him, *ib.* and obliges him to take refuge with Tigranes, king of Armenia, 318. sends an ambassador to demand Mithridates, *ib.* regulates the affairs of Asia, *ib.* &c. declares war against Tigranes, 319. and marches against him, 320. besieges Tigranocerta, and gains a great victory over Tigranes, 321. and takes Tigranocerta, *ib.* gains a second victory over the joint forces of Mithridates and Tigranes, 323. his army refuses to obey him, *ib.* Pompey is sent to command in his stead, 324. Lucullus returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph, *ib.* 325. Lucullus, a great number of persons which he used for acquiring the knowledge of the art of war, 313.
- Lusitania, part of ancient Spain, i. 79.
- Lutatius, consul, defeats the fleet of the Carthaginians, and puts an end by that victory to the first Punic war, i. 94. &c.
- Luxury. Fatal effects of luxury amongst the ancients, i. 200. &c. almost always attended with the ruin of states, 201.
- Lycia.
- Lycidas, Athenian, votes for having the proposal of Mardonius heard, i. 261. is stoned, *ib.*
- Lyciscus, deputy from the Aetolians, endeavours to engage the Lacedæmonians in Philip's party, *ib.* 122.
- Lyciscus, Ætolian, is accused of having treated those with great cruelty who would not espouse the cause of the Romans against Perseus, *ib.* 231. P. Æmilius acquits him, *ib.*
- Lycón, Athenian, commander of the Grecian troops in the army of Cleomenes, is brought into the views of Tissaphernes, whom he joins, *ib.*
- Lycortas, Polybius's father, is sent ambassador by the Achæans, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, *ib.* 175. is elected general of the Achæans, and avenges Philipomen's death, 425. is deputed a second time to Ptolemy, 182.
- Lycus, son of Eumorus, king of Sparta, governs the kingdom as guardian to Charilaus, his nephew, i. 210. endeavours to reform the government of Sparta, and makes several voyages with that view, *ib.* on his return he changes the form of the government, *ib.* &c. he goes to Delphi to consult the oracle, and dies voluntarily by abstaining from food, 213. reflections upon Lycus's death, *ib.*
- Lycurgus, Spartan, bribes the Ephori, and causes himself to be elected king of Sparta, *ib.* 112. Chilo's attempt against him, 113. Lycurgus flies into Ætolia to escape the Ephori, and is soon after recalled, *ib.* 118.
- Lydia, country of Asia Minor, kings of Lydia, i. 148. it is subjected by Cyrus, 165. the manner in which the Lydians contracted alliances, 147.
- Lying: how much abhorred amongst the Persians, *ib.* 187.
- Lysander, Alexander, is convicted of a conspiracy against Alexander the Great, and put to death, *ib.* 155.
- Lycenes, king of Argos, i. 207.
- Lysander is appointed admiral by the Lacedæmonians, i. 331. he possesses great influence with Cyrus the younger, *ib.* beats the Athenian fleet near Cyphus, 340. his envy of Callistratus induces him to succeed him, *ib.* he commands the fleet of the Lacedæmonians a second time, 343. and gains a famous

victory over the Athenians at *Ægospotamus*, 344, &c. he takes Athens, 345, &c. and entirely changes the form of the government, *ib.* returns to Sparta, and scolds the Spartans for all the gold and silver taken from the enemy, *ib.* is sent to Athens to re-establish the thirty tyrants, 350, strangely abuses his power, 351, suffers the Grecian cities in Asia Minor to consecrate altars to him, *ib.* upon the complaint of Pharnabazus, he is recalled to Sparta, 352. Lysander accompanies Agesilaus into Asia, 356, he quarrels with him, 357, and returns to Sparta, *ib.* his ambitious designs for changing the succession to the throne, *ib.* he is killed before Halicarnassus, which he was going to besiege, 371. Some time after his death, the plot he had formed against the two kings is discovered, *ib.* Lysander's character, *ib.* &c.

Lysander is elected one of the Ephori at Sparta through the influence of Agis, *ib.* 90, he endeavours to make the people receive the ordinances of that excellent young king, *ib.*

Lysandra, Ptolemy's daughter, marries Agathocles, son of Lysimachus, *ib.* 59, after the murder of her husband, she retires to Seleucus, and engages him to make war against Lysimachus, *ib.*

Lysandrus, tyrant of Megalopolis renounces his power upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and makes his city enter into the Achæan league, *ib.* the Achæans make him their captain-general three times successively, and then expel him, *ib.* he is killed in battle, 94.

Lysias, kinsman of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor by that prince of part of his dominions, and preceptor to Antiochus Eupator, *ib.* 200. Antiochus gives him the command of the army against the Jews, *ib.* he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, *ib.* possesses himself of the regency during the minority of Antiochus Eupator, 246, the government of Cœle-syria and Palestine is given to him, 246, he is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, *ib.* makes peace with the Jews, 247. He delivered up to Demetrius Soter, who puts him to death, 249.

Lysias, one of the Athenian generals, who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the island Arginusæ, and at their return were condemned to die, *ib.* 341, 343.

Lysius, of Sic. Lacus, a celebrated orator, goes to settle at Thurium, *ib.* 296. He sent 500 men to aid the Athenians against the thirty tyrants, 350, offers an oration to Socrates for his defence, 388, character of Lysias's style, *ib.*

Lysicles commands the Athenian army at Chæroneia, and is defeated by Philip, *ib.* 529. Thrace, *ib.* 148.

Lysimachus, one of Alexander's captains: provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, *ib.* 12, he enters into a league with Ptolemy Seleucus and Cassander, against Antigonus, 31, treaty of peace between those princes, which is immediately broken, 32. Lysimachus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Seleucus, enter into a confederacy against Antigonus and Demetrius, 46, they divide Alexander's empire amongst them, 47, alliance of Lysimachus with Ptolemy, 48, he takes Macedonia from Demetrius, 51, and divides it with Pyrrhus, 52, obliges Pyrrhus soon after to quit it, *ib.* marches against Seleucus, gives him battle, *ib.* 55, 56.

Lysimachus, Alexander's preceptor, accompanies that prince in his expeditions, *ib.* 547.

Lysistrata, comedy of Aristophanes: extract from it, *ib.* 435.

M

MACCABEES. Etymology of the name and account of the Book of Maccabees, *ib.* 246. Martyrdom of the Maccabees, *ib.* 18, &c.

Macedonia, Macedonians. Macedonia, kingdom of Greece, *ib.* 205, origin of the Macedonians, 206, commencement of their empire, 208, Alexander's successors who reigned in Macedonia, Cassander, *ib.* 47, Philip his son, 49, Demetrius Poliorcetes, 50, Pyrrhus, 51, Lysimachus, 52, Seleucus, 59, Ptolemy Ceraunus, *ib.* 50, Sosthenes, 61, Antigonus Gonatas, 62, Demetrius, son of Antigonus, 62, Antigonus Doson, 63, Philip son of Demetrius, 101, Persius, 102, Macedonia is desired free by the Romans, 226, and some time after reduced into a province of the Roman empire, 237.

Machonidas becomes tyrant of Sparta, *ib.* 122, endeavours to subject Pœoponnesus, 123, Philocœmus marches against him, *ib.* Machonidas is defeated and killed in battle, *ib.*

Madeites, governor of the country of the Uxii for Darius, refuses to surrender to Alexander, *ib.* 563, that prince subdues and forgives him, *ib.*

Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus, and causes himself to be declared king of those provinces, *ib.* 78, he causes overtures of accommodation to be made to that prince, and dies during the negotiation, 76.

Magas, brother of Ptolemy Philopator, is put to death by his order, *ib.* 106.

Magi employed in divine worship amongst the Persians, *ib.* 198, their religion, *ib.*

Magistrate. Duty of a magistrate, *ib.* 306.

Magneia, city of Caria, in Asia Minor, Artaxerxes gives the revenues of that city to Themistocles for his subsistence, *ib.* 275.

Mago, Carthaginian general, is sent to Sicily to make war against Dionysius the Elder, *ib.* 446, after various efforts he concludes a peace with that tyrant, 448, he loses a great battle, and is killed in it, 84.

Mago, son of Mago the elder, commands the army of the Carthaginians in Sicily, gains a great victory over Dionysius the Elder, *ib.* 84, the Carthaginians place him at the head of their troops in Sicily against Dionysius the Younger, *ib.* he shamefully abandons the conquest of Sicily, *ib.* returns to Carthage, and kills himself through despair, *ib.*

Mago, Carthaginian general, is placed at the head of the fleet sent to aid the Romans against Pyrrhus, *ib.* 88, he goes to Pyrrhus in order to sound his designs in respect to Sicily, *ib.*

Mago, Hannibal's brother, carries to Carthage the news of that general's victory over the Romans at the battle of Cannæ, *ib.* 100.

Mago, Carthaginian general, is taken prisoner in Sardinia, *ib.* 110.

Maharbal, Carthaginian officer, endeavours to persuade Hannibal to march directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, *ib.* 108.

Mali, a people of India; their war with Alexander, *ib.* 588, they submit to that prince, 589.

Mamertines, people originally of Italy: they seize Messina, a city of Sicily, *ib.* 89, they are defeated by Pyrrhus, *ib.* 102, a division arises amongst them, which occasions the first Punic war, *ib.* 89.

Man. Wherein the science of knowing mankind consists, *ib.* 350, men are the same in all ages, *ib.*

Manasseh, king of Judah, is put in chains by the general of Esar-haddon, and carried captive to Babylon, *ib.* 141, he obtains his liberty, and returns to Jerusalem, *ib.*

Mancinus (L.), the consul Papi's lieutenant, engages rashly in a post, from whence Scipio hastily extricates him, *ib.* 124.

Mandane, daughter of Astyages king of the Medes, given in marriage to Cambyses, king of Persia, *ib.* 148, goes to Media, and carries her son Cyrus with her, 153, returns into Persia, 154.

Mandanis, an Indian philosopher, refuses to follow Alexander in his train, *ib.* 586.

Mandrocles, a young Spartan, supports the party of Lysander, the tyrant, and turns to Jerusalem, *ib.*

Manetho, Egyptian priest, author of the history of the Dynasties of Egypt, *ib.* 59.

Mania, wife of Zenis, is continued in the government of Ætolia after the death of her husband, and causes herself to be admitted for her conduct, *ib.* 314, she is assassinated with her son, by Midias, her son-in-law, *ib.*

Manilius (M.) consul, is sent against Carthage in the beginning of the first Punic war, *ib.* 122.

Manilius, tribune of the people, prepares a decree for appointing Pompey to command the armies against the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, *ib.* 124.

Manius Corvius, consul, gains a great victory over Pyrrhus, and obliges him to quit Italy, *ib.* 70.

Manius Aquilius, consul, terminates the war against Aristonicus, *ib.* 237, and enters Rome in triumph, *ib.*

Manlius, a Roman knight, appointed consul with Regulus, *ib.* 90, they jointly gain a great victory over the Carthaginians, near Ægæpomis in Sicily, *ib.* they go to Africa, *ib.* Manlius is recalled, *ib.*

Mantineia, city of Arcadia, famous for the victory of Epaminondas over the Lacedæmonians, and that of Philopœmen over Machaonides, tyrant of Sparta, *ib.* 129.

Maracanda, the modern Sogmarand, capital city of Sogdiana, submits to Alexander, *ib.* 573.

Marathon, small city of Attica, famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Persians, *ib.* 243, plain of Marathon described, *ib.* 24, N. remarkable town, *ib.*

Marcellus (M.) consul, is sent into Sicily to appease the troubles there, *ib.* 299, actions of Marcellus in Sicily, 300, he forms the siege of Syracuse, *ib.* the considerable losses of men and ships, by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige him to raise the siege, and retire into Sicily, 301, he undertakes several expeditions in Sicily, 302, makes himself master of Syracuse by means of his intelligence in the city, *ib.* &c. abandons the city to be plundered, 303, honours which he pays to the memory of Archimedes, 304, Marcellus, at first as prætor, and afterwards as consul, gains several advantages over Hannibal, *ib.* 110.

Marcus (L.) Roman knight, preserves Spain to the Romans by his valour, *ib.* 111.

Marcus, ambassador of the Romans in Greece, has an interview with Perses near the river Peneus, *ib.* 208, he returns to Rome, 209, is sent again into Greece, to regulate affairs there, 210.

Marcus Philippus (Q.) consul, is charged with the war against Perses, *ib.* 214, he sets out from Rome, and advances towards Macedonia, 215, after great fatigues he penetrates into Macedonia, and takes several cities there, *ib.* 216, &c.

Mardonius, son-in-law of Darius, enters Macedonia with an army, *ib.* 240, his ill success obliges Darius to recall him, *ib.* he gives Xerxes flattering counsels which induce him to invade Greece, 248, Xerxes chooses him one of his generals, 252, that prince leaves him with a numerous army to reduce Greece, 250, causes very advantageous offers to be made to the Athenians, which are rejected, 261, enters Athens, and burns what had escaped when pillaged the year before, *ib.* is defeated, and killed at the battle of Platea, 263.

Mare of Phidias, *ib.* 429.

Mariand, friend and daughter of Aristobulus, marries Herod the Idumean, *ib.* 275.

Marius, lieutenant under Metellus, supplants that general, and causes himself to be appointed general for terminating the war with Jugurtha in his stead, *ib.* 132, gets Jugurtha into his hands and makes him serve as an ornament of his triumph, *ib.*

Marius (M.) Roman senator, is sent by Sertorius to the aid of Mithridates, *ib.* 316, is taken by Lucullus and put to death, 317.

Maroneia, city of Thrace. Cruel treatment of its inhabitants by Philip, *ib.* 177.

Marriages. Laws concerning them instituted at Athens and Sparta, *ib.* 219.

Marsala, see Lilybeum.

Marselles, inhabitants of. Their embassy to Rome, *ib.* 235, origin of the people of Marselles, *ib.* they settle in Gaul, *ib.* wisdom of their government, *ib.* their attachment to the Romans, 232, they obtain from the Romans the pardon of Phœcæa, which had been condemned to be destroyed, 257.

Masiniæ, king of Numidia, espouses the party of the Romans against the Carthaginians, *ib.* 130, *ib.* marries Sophonisba, and is soon obliged to send her poison, *ib.* contests between Masiniæ, and the Carthaginians, *ib.* he defeats them in a battle, 121, dies, and at his death appoints Scipio Æmilius guardian of his children, 124.

Mastates, son of Ariarathes, king of Atossa, is one of the six commanders of the army of Xerxes, *ib.* 232, tragical death of Mastates and his children, 266, &c.

Massaga, city of India, besieged and taken by Alexander, *ib.* 582.

Massiva, Numidian prince, is murdered in the midst of Rome by Jugurtha's orders, *ib.* 131.

Masteranah, Masiniæ's son, shares the kingdom of Numidia with his two brothers, after the death of their father, *ib.* 130.

Matho, in concert with Spendius, causes the mercenaries to revolt against the Carthaginians, *ib.* 96, he is placed at their head, *ib.* takes Hannibal prisoner, and causes him to be hanged up in the room of Spendius, 97, he is taken by the Carthaginians, who execute him, 98.

Mattaniah is placed upon the throne of Judah in the room of his nephew Zedekiah, *ib.* 112.

Mattathias, Jew of the sacerdotal race, refuses to obey the ordinance of Antiochus, *ib.* 107, he retires with his family into the mountains to avoid the persecution, *ib.* death of Mattathias, 109.

Mausolus, king of Caria, enters into a conspiracy against Artaxerxes, *ib.* 488, he subverts the Rhodians, and the people of Cos, 494, his death, *ib.* honours paid to his memory by Artemisia his wife, *ib.*

Mazæus, governor of Memphis for Darius, abandons that city to Alexander, i. 555. he commands the horse in the army of Darius at the battle of Arbela, 560. surrenders himself and the city of Babylon to Alexander, 561. that prince gives him the government of Babylonia, ib.

Mazæa, see Cesaria.

Mazæderan mountains, height of, see Hyrcania.

Mazæus, a Macedonian lord, is appointed governor of the citadel of Susa, by Alexander, i. 562.

Meals: public ones instituted by Cato and Sparta, i. 211.

Meandrus, favourite of Augustus, and patron of the learned, i. 394.

Medea, her means to escape the pursuit of her father, ii. 318.

Medes, ancient people of Asia, inhabiting Media, i. 144. history of the kingdom of the Medes and Persians united, 167. rebellion of the Medes against Darius Nottus, i. 312. that prince obliges them to return to their duty, ib. manners of the Medes, 153. manner in which they contracted alliances, 147.

Media, kingdom of Upper or Greater Asia, i. xxvi. its extent and boundaries, 144. N.

Medicine. Origin and antiquity of medicines, i. 195.

Medon, son of Cœdrys, is placed at the head of the commonwealth of Athens, under the title of Archon, i. 207.

Megabates, a Persian nobleman, occasions the failure of the enterprise of the Persians against Naxos through jealousy of Artaxerxes, i. 238.

Megabazus, governor of Thrace for Darius, occasions the permission that prince had given Histæus to build a city in Thrace to be revoked, i. 237. he sends deputies to demand earth and water of Amyntas, ib. insolence of those deputies at the court of Amyntas, and revenge taken on them by the sons of that prince, ib.

Megabazus, son of Zopyrus, is one of the six generals of the army of Xerxes, i. 252. he discovers the plot formed by Artabanes against Artaxerxes, 273. is charged by that prince with the war against the revolted Egyptians, 278. subjects the Egyptians, and promises to spare their lives, ib. Megabazus, in despair on seeing the Egyptians put to death, contrary to the faith of the treaty, revolts against Artaxerxes, 279. he defeats two armies sent against him by that prince, ib. is restored in favour, and returns to court, ib. Artaxerxes' jealousy of Megabazus at a hunting-match, ib. death of Megabazus, ib.

Megacles, son of Alcæon, puts himself at the head of one of the factions that divided Athens in Solon's time, i. 219. his marriage with Agarista, daughter of Clithesthenes, ib. he drives Eurystates out of Athens, and soon after recalls him, 220. is obliged to quit Athens, ib.

Megacles, friend of Pyrrhus, ii. 65. that prince in a battle gives his mantle and arms to Megacles, and disguises himself in his, ib. Megacles is wounded and unhorsed in the battle, ib.

Megadates, is appointed viceroy of Syria by Tigranes, and governs that kingdom fourteen years, ii. 265. Tigranes recalls him from thence, 323.

Megaleas, Philip's general, devotes himself entirely to Apelles, that prince's minister, ii. 114. he insults Aratus, in concert with Læonatus, at the breaking up of a feast, 116. Philip imprisons him, and then sets him at liberty upon giving security, ib. his bad designs against Philip are discovered, 118. he kills himself to avoid a trial, and execution of sentence upon him, ib.

Megalopolis, city of Arcadia, i. 494. Aratus makes it enter into the Achaean league, ib.

Megara, city of Achaia, its foundation, i. 209. that city enters into the Achaean league, ii. 87.

Megistones, Lacedæmonian captain, is sent by Cleomenes to the aid of Argos, and is killed fighting in that city, ii. 97.

Melitus, Athenian orator, accuses Socrates, i. 353. success of that accusation, 352. he is condemned to die, 351.

Melon, Theban, is appointed Boeotarch with Pelopidas and Chæron, i. 472.

Mennis, or Memmion, now Korkor Baha, site of, i. 561. N.

Mennon, Rhodian, recovers the favour of Oœus, against which he had taken arms, i. 497. he endeavours to prevent Darius's generals from fighting the battle of the Granicus, 533. throws himself into Miletus, and defends that place against Alexander, 535. defends the city of Halicarnassus against that prince, ib. transports the inhabitants of that city to the island of Cos, ib. advises Darius to carry the war into Egypt, i. 536. that prince gives the execution of that enterprise to him, and makes him generalissimo, 537. Mennon besieges Mitylene, and dies before that place, ib.

Mennon. Mennon's statue in Thebais. Wonders related of it, i. 43.

Memphis, city of Egypt; its foundation, i. 60. taking of that city by Cambyse, 170. and afterwards by Alexander, 555.

Memphis, son of Phiscon and Cleopatra, is murdered by his father, cut in pieces, and sent to his mother, ii. 259.

Menander, Athenian, is made colleague to Nicias, who had the command in Sicily, i. 227. he forces that general to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is worsted, 332. is partly the cause of the defeat of the Athenians near Ægospotamos, 344.

Menander, comic poet, change which he introduced in comedy, i. 436.

Memander, one of Alexander's captains: provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, ii. 12.

Mendes, city of Egypt, i. 488. a prince of that city disputes the crown with Nectanebus, ib. he is defeated and taken prisoner by Aesculapius, ib.

Meneceates, ridiculous vanity of that physician, i. 594.

Meneceus, Ptolemy's brother, is defeated by Demetrius, and obliged to retire into Salamis, ii. 39. he surrenders himself at discretion to Demetrius, who sends him to his brother without ransom, ib.

Menelaus, supplants Jason, his brother, high-priest of the Jewish religion, in office, ii. 193. Jason drives him out of Jerusalem, ib. Antiochus reinstates him in the high-priesthood, 194.

Menes, or Misram, first king of Egypt, i. 60.

Mennon commands the Thessalian troops of Cyrus's army in that prince's expedition against his brother, Artaxerxes, i. 323. Tissaphernes seizes him with the other Greek generals, by treachery, and puts him to death, 358. Mennon's character, ib.

Menostanes, nephew to Artaxerxes Longimanus, is defeated and put to flight by Mithridates, i. 279.

Mentor, Rhodian, is sent by Nectanebus into Phœnicia to support the rebels there, i. 495. is confounded on the approach of Oœus, ib. puts the city of Sidon into that prince's hands, ib. Oœus gives him the command of a detachment of his army against Egypt, ib. Mentor's actions in Egypt, 471. Oœus

makes him governor of all the coasts of Asia, and declares him generalissimo of all the troops on that side, ib. Mentor's conduct in his government, ib.

Mentor is commander of the Macedonian garrison, which Antipater puts into Mynchia, ii. 15. Cassander takes the command of that fortress from him, 22.

Mercenaries. War of the mercenaries against the Carthaginians, i. 145.

Mercury, Egyptian, to whom Egypt was indebted for the invention of almost all the arts, i. 61.

Mericus, Spaniard, delivers up one of the gates of Syracuse to Marcellus in the night, ii. 388.

Mermnadae, race of the kings of Lydia, i. 148.

Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, sends ambassadors to Hezekiah, to congratulate him upon the recovery of his health, i. 140.

Meroe, daughter of Cyrus, becomes wife of her brother Cambyses, i. 181. tragical death of that princess, ib.

Messabates, eunuch, cuts off the head and hand of Cyrus the Younger by order of Artaxerxes, i. 355. punishment inflicted on him by Parysatis, 363.

Messengers, or letter-carriers, established by the University of Paris, i. 189.

Messenians, are reduced to the condition of the Helots, xxviii. they are constituted by the Thebans, i. 477. troubles between the Messenians and Achaans, ii. 178. the Messenians put Philopœmen to death, ib. are subjected by the Achaans, ib. fault of the Messenians, which occasioned all their misfortunes, i. 477.

Messina, or Messina, city of Sicily, i. 80.

Metellus (L.) consul, is charged with the war against Jugurtha, ii. 132. is supplanted by Marius, ib. enters Rome in triumph, ib.

Metellus (Q. Cæcilius) Roman prætor, defeats Andrisicus, ii. 237. and sends him prisoner to Rome, ib. reduces another city against Alexander, 238.

Methone, city of Thrace, destroyed by Philip, i. 507.

Meton, astronomer, counterfeits the madman, and wherefore, i. 317.

Metrodorus, of Sepeis, goes ambassador for Mithridates to Tigranes, ii. 330. Mithridates puts him to death, ib.

Metrodorus, painter and philosopher, is given to Paulus Æmilius by the Athenians for a tutor to his sons, ii. 236.

Micipsa succeeds his father, Massinissa, in the kingdom of Numidia, i. 130. adopts Jugurtha his nephew, and makes him co-heir with the rest of his children, ib. Micipsa's death, ib.

Micythus, guardian of the children of Anaxias. Prudence of his administration, i. 294.

Micidas, son-in-law of Mania, assassinates his mother-in-law and her son, in order to possess himself of her riches and government, i. 364. is deprived of himself by Dercylidus, ib.

Miletus, city of Ionia, its site uncertain, i. 535. N. besieged and taken by the Persians, i. 240. cruelties exercised by Alexander at Miletus, 551. Miletus besieged and taken by Alexander, 555.

Milo, of Crotona, famous athlete, defeats the army of the Spartans near their city, ii. 236. extraordinary strength of that combatant, 237. his victory, 238. his death, ib.

Miltiades, Athenian, tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus, accompanies Darius in his expedition against the Scythians, and is of opinion that satisfaction ought to be made to them, i. 230. an irruption of the Scythians into Thrace obliges him to abandon the Chersonesus, whether he returns soon after, 237. settles at Athens, 241. commands the army of the Athenians, and gains a famous victory at Marathon over the Persians, 243. &c. moderate reward given him by the Athenians, 245. sets out with a fleet to reduce the revolted islands, and has ill success in the isle of Paros, ib. is cited to take his trial, and has a great fine laid upon him, ib. not being able to pay it, he is put in prison, and dies there, ib.

Miltocythes, Thracian, abandons the Greeks after the battle of Ænaxa, and surrenders himself to Artaxerxes, i. 357.

Mina, Greek money: its value, i. 40.

Mino, a Spartan, is defeated and killed in battle by Alcibiades, i. 337.

Minerva, goddess, i. 416. famous feast at Athens in honour of her, ib.

Mines. The product of mines was the principal riches of the ancients, i. 7.

Minister. Wise lessons for a minister, i. 211.

Minos, first king of Crete, i. 399. laws instituted by him in his kingdom, ib. &c. hatred of the Athenians for Minos, 401. cause of that hatred, ib.

Minucius (Marcus) is appointed master of the horse to Fabius, i. 106. gains a slight advantage over the Carthaginians, in that dictator's absence, 107. the people give him equal authority with the dictator, ib. he engages with disadvantage, out of which Fabius extricates him, ib. acknowledges his fault, and returns to his obedience, ib. is killed at the battle of Cannæ, 108.

Miracles.

Misael, one of the three young Hebrews preserved miraculously in the furnace, i. 143.

Misram. See Meneceus.

Mithridates, name given to the son by the Persians, ii. 348.

Mithridates I., king of Pontus, i. xl. that prince succeeds to Alexander, and accompanies him in his expeditions, i. 536.

Mithridates V., surnamed Euergetes, king of Pontus, the Romans reward him with Phrygia Major, ii. 257. death of Mithridates, 267.

Mithridates VI., surnamed Eupator, ascends the throne of Pontus, the Romans take Phrygia from him, ii. 308. he possesses himself of Cappadocia and Bithynia, after having expelled their kings, ib. &c. gives his daughter in marriage to Tigranes, king of Armenia, 308. opens rupture between Mithridates and the Romans, ib. that prince gains some advantages over the Romans, ib. causes all the Romans and Italians in Asia Minor to be massacred in one day, 310. makes himself master of Athens, ib. two of his generals are defeated by Sulla, 311. and himself by Finthra, 313. his fleet is routed by the Athenians, 312. an interview with Sulla, and concludes a peace with the Romans, 314. second war of the Romans with Mithridates, under Murena, 315. it subsists only three years, ib. — Mithridates makes a treaty with Sertorius, 316. prepares to renew the war with the Romans, ib. seizes Paphlagonia and Bithynia, 317. Mithridates defeats Cotta by sea and land, ib. forms the siege of Cyzicum, ib. Lucullus obliges him to raise it, and defeats his troops, 317. Mithridates takes the field to oppose the progress of Lucullus, ib. is entirely defeated and obliged to fly, 318. sends orders to his sisters and wives to die, ib. retires to Tigranes, his

son-in-law, *ib.* Tigranes sends him back into Pontus to raise troops, 320. Mithridates endeavours to console Tigranes after his defeat, 321, those two princes apply in concert to raising new forces, 322, then attacked by Lucullus, 323. Mithridates, taking advantage of the misunderstanding in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions, 324, is defeated on several occasions by Pompey, 326, endeavours in vain to find an asylum with Tigranes, his son-in-law, *ib.* retires into the Bosphorus, 327, puts his son Xiphares to death, 328, makes proposals of peace to Pompey, which are rejected, *ib.* forms the design of attacking the Romans in Italy, *ib.* Pharnaces makes the army revolt against Mithridates, who kills himself, 329, character of Mithridates, *ib.*

Mithridates II., general of the Parthians, defeats Demetrius, and takes him prisoner, *ib.* 254, carries that prince into his kingdom, and gives him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage, *ib.*

Mithridates II., surnamed the Great, ascends the throne of Parthia after the death of his uncle Artabanus, *ib.* 250, re-establishes Antiochus Eusebes, who had taken refuge with him in his dominions, 255, sends an ambassador to Syria, to make an alliance with the Romans, 309, death of Mithridates, 277.

Mithridates III., ascends the throne of Parthia after the death of Phraates, *ib.* 277. Orodes his brother dethrones and puts him to death, *ib.*

Mithridates, a young Persian lord, begs of having given Cyrus the Younger his mortal wound, *ib.* 355. Parysatis causes him to be put to death, 363.

Mithridates, eunuch, and great chamberlain of Xerxes, makes himself an accomplice in the murder of that prince, *ib.* 272, is put to death by the punishment of the troughs, 273.

Mithridates of Pergamus, marches with troops to the aid of Cesar in Egypt, *ib.* 335.

Mithrobarzanes, favourite of Tigranes, is sent against Lucullus by that prince, *ib.* 320, himself and his troops are cut to pieces, *ib.*

Mitylene, capital of the isle of Lesbos, *ib.* 205, that city taken by the Athenians, 306.

Mnasippos, is sent with a fleet by the Lacedæmonians to retake Coreya from the Athenians, *ib.* 473, is killed in a battle, *ib.*

Mnasikres, king of the Parthians, *ib.* 277.

Mævis, name of the ox adduced in Egypt, *ib.* 49.

Modesty: traces of it amongst the ancients, *ib.* 143, it was absolutely neglected in Sparta, 216.

Moris, king of Egypt, *ib.* 60. Bionis lake made by him, 45.

Molo is made governor of Media by Antiochus the Great, *ib.* 103, he makes himself sovereign in his province, *ib.* Antiochus defeats him in a battle, 104, kills himself in despair, *ib.*

Moloch, name given to Saturn in Scripture, *ib.* 71.

Monarchy. Original design of monarchy, *ib.* 145. monarchical the best form of government, 184.

Mouina, of Ionia: Mithridates carries her with him in his train, *ib.* 310, she marries that prince, 318, tragical death of that princess, *ib.*

Monuments erected by the ancients to those who died for their country, *ib.* 245, what kind of monuments the most durable, 284.

Mosul, a city near the site of ancient Nineveh, *ib.* 147. N. its population, *ib.* N.

Natya, city of Sicily, *ib.* 50.

Nukran, or Mekran, see Gedrosia.

Mummies of Egypt, *ib.* 56.

Mummus, consul, is charged with the war in Achaia, *ib.* 239, defeats the Achaean, *ib.* takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it, 240, preserves the statues erected in honour of Phlegon, *ib.* noble disinterestedness of Mummus, *ib.* enters Rome in triumph, 241, goes on an embassy into Egypt, Asia, Syria, and Greece, 239.

Murena commands the left wing of Sylla's army at the battle of Cheronæa, *ib.* 312, Sylla, on setting out for Rome, leaves him the government, 313, makes war against Mithridates, *ib.* and is defeated, *ib.* receives the honour of a triumph at Rome, *ib.*

Museum: academy of the learned, instituted under that name at Alexandria, *ib.* 54, description of the building called Museum, *ib.*

Music: to what perfection it was carried by the ancients, *ib.* 195, the Greeks considered it as an essential part of the education of youth, 407, prizes of music at the feast of Panathænæa, 416.

Musicanus, Indian prince: subjected by Alexander, *ib.* 202.

Mycale, promontory of the continent of Asia, famous for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, *ib.* 265.

Mycenæ, city of Peloponnesus, *ib.* 207, kings of Mycenæ, *ib.*

Mycerinus, king of Egypt, *ib.* 100, mildness of his reign, *ib.*

Myron, Athenian sculptor, *ib.* 426.

Myrtoles, general of the Athenians, defeats the Spartans near Tanagra in Boeotia, *ib.* 283.

Myrto, supposed second wife of Socrates, from whom he had much to suffer, *ib.* 382.

Myrsellus, general of the Achaean, founder of Crotonia, *ib.* 206.

Mysteries. Feast of the less and greater mysteries, celebrated at Athens, in honour of Ceres Eleusina, *ib.* 417.

N.

NABARZANES, general of the horse in the army of Darius, in conjunction with Bessus, betrays that prince, *ib.* 365, &c. retires into Hyrcania, 368, surrenders himself to Alexander upon his promise, *ib.*

Nabis makes himself tyrant of Sparta, *ib.* 131, instances of his avarice and cruelty, *ib.* Philopon puts Argos into his hands by way of desert, 132, Nabis declares for the Romans against that prince, 143, the Romans declare war against him, 149, Q. Flaminius marches against him, *ib.* besieges him in Sparta, 150, obliges him to sue for peace, 151, and grants it to him, *ib.* Nabis breaks the treaty, 153, is defeated by Philoponem, 154, and obliged to shut himself up in Sparta, 155, he is killed, 156.

Nabonassar, or Belses, king of Babylon, *ib.* 140.

Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, joins with Cyaxares, king of Media, besieges Nineveh, and entirely ruins that city, *ib.* 141, associates his son Nabuchodonosor with him in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army against Necho, 142, Nabopolassar's death, *ib.*

Nabuchodonosor I., or Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, *ib.* 142, that prince is attacked by Phraortes king of the Medes, 146, defeats him in the plain of Agart, ravages his dominions, and puts him to death, 147, sends Holophernes with a powerful ar-

my to revenge him upon the people who had refused him aid, *ib.* entire defeat of his army, *ib.*

Nabuchodonosor II., is associated in the empire of Assyria, by Belshazzar, *ib.* 142, defeats Necho, and conquers Syria and Palestine, 143, besieges Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and carries away a great number of Jews captive to Babylon, *ib.* Nabuchodonosor's first dream, *ib.* that prince marches against Jerusalem, takes it, and carries away all its treasures, *ib.* defeats the army of Pharaoh king of Egypt, returns to Jerusalem and demolishes its fortifications, *ib.* causes himself to be adored as a god, *ib.* besieges Tyre, and takes it after a long siege, 143, Nabuchodonosor's second dream, *ib.* is reduced to the condition of beasts, he recovers his former shape, *ib.* and ascends the throne, *ib.* dies, *ib.*

Naphtha, kind of bitumen, very combustible, *ib.* 561.

Naravassus, Numidian lord, joins Barca in the war with the mercenaries, *ib.* 96.

Navy, naval affairs of the ancients, *ib.* 363.

Naupectus, city of Attolia, *ib.* 205, besieged by Acilius, *ib.* 160.

Naxos, island, one of the Cyclades, *ib.* 238, sedition at Naxos, which occasions the revolt of the Ionians against Darius, *ib.* Neapolis, quarter of the city of Syracuse so called, *ib.* 323.

Neapolis, officer of Alexander, undertakes to view the coast, from the bottom of the Persian gulf, *ib.* 590, succeeds in his enterprise, *ib.*

Necho, king of Egypt, *ib.* 66, undertakes to open a communication between the Nile and the Red Sea, *ib.* able navigators by his order undertake to sail round Africa, and happily effect it, *ib.* Necho's marches against the Babylonians and Medes, to put a stop to their progress, *ib.* defeats Josiah, king of Judah, who opposed his march, 67, beats the Babylonians, takes Carchemis, and returns into his kingdom, *ib.* on his way he passes through Jerusalem, deprives Jehozab of the crown, and gives it to Jehoiakim, *ib.* is conquered by Nabuchodonosor, who takes Carchemis, 25, death of Necho, *ib.*

Nectanebus is placed by the revolted Egyptians upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Tachos, *ib.* 488, is supported by Agesilaus, *ib.* by his aid he reduces the party of the prince of Mendes, *ib.* not being able to defend himself against Ocelus, he escapes to Indus, from whence he never returns, 460.

Nehemiah, Jew, cupbearer of Artaxerxes, obtains permission of that prince to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild its fortifications, *ib.* 279, &c. acquires himself of his commission with incredible zeal, 280.

Nelaeus, the philosopher, to whom Theophrastus had left the works of Aristotle, *ib.* 315.

Nemæa, games instituted near that city, *ib.* 423.

Nemas, brother of Molo and Alexander, brings the latter the news of Molo's defeat by Antiochus, and then kills himself through despair, *ib.* 104.

Neoptolemus, one of Alexander's captains: provinces that fell to him after the death of that prince, *ib.* 12, joins Antipater and Craterus against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 19, marches with Craterus against the latter, *ib.* and is killed in a battle, *ib.* character of Neoptolemus, *ib.*

Nepotokum, Greek port, *ib.* 523.

Neriglossor puts himself at the head of a conspiracy against Evil-merodach, king of Assyria, and reigns in his stead, *ib.* 144, makes war against the Medes, and is killed in a battle, 158.

Nero (C. Claudius) consul, quits his province and makes haste to join his colleague, in order to attack Asdrubal in conjunction with him, *ib.* 112.

Nevius, Roman officer, surprises Philip's camp near Apollonia in the night, *ib.* 120.

Nicaea, city built by Alexander at the place where he had defeated Porus, *ib.* 575.

Nicaeodorus, governor of the Attolians to Philip, *ib.* 153, endeavours to engage that prince to join Antiochus against the Romans, *ib.*

Nicanor, young officer in Alexander's army: rash boldness which costs him his life, *ib.* 573.

Nicanor, Cassander's brother, is put to death by order of Olympias.

Nicanor, governor of Media under Antiochus, is surprised in his camp in the night by Seleucus, and obliged to fly, *ib.* 34, is killed in a battle, 40.

Nicias, officer in Seleucus Ceraunus, conspires against that prince and poisons him, *ib.* 103, is put to death by Achæus, *ib.*

Nicanor, lieutenant-general of Antiochus Epiphanes, marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, *ib.* 200, &c. Demetrius Soter sends him with an army into Judæa to assist Antiochus, 229, is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and is killed in battle, *ib.*

Nicias, general of the Athenians, makes them conclude a peace with the Lacedæmonians, *ib.* 114, opposes the war of Sicily in vain, 318, is appointed general with Lamachus and Alcibiades, *ib.* his conduct on arriving in Sicily, 321, after some expeditions he forms the siege of Syracuse, 323, the city is reduced to extremities, *ib.* the arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, 326, Nicias writes to the Athenians, to state his condition, and to demand reinforcements, 327, two colleagues are appointed to him, *ib.* he is obliged to retire, 328, to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is defeated, 328, his land-army is also defeated, 329, he hazards another sea-fight in concert with Demosthenes, and is again defeated, 330, determines to retire by land, 331, is reduced to surrender at discretion, 332, is condemned to die, and executed, *ib.* 333.

Nicias, treasurer to Porus, throws the treasures of that prince into the sea by his order, *ib.* 216, Perseus puts him to death, *ib.*

Nicoles, son of Evagoras, reigns at Salamis, after his father's death, *ib.* 385.

Nicoles, son of Panthos, submits to Ptolemy, *ib.* 33, makes an alliance secretly with Antigonus, *ib.* kills himself, *ib.*

Nicoles, tyrant of Sicily, is driven out of that city by Aratus, *ib.* 84, &c.

Nicogenes, in which house Themistocles resides at Aegæ, supplies his guests with the means of going to the court of Persia in safety, *ib.* 274.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, refuses to desert with Theodotus, and continues to adhere to Ptolemy, *ib.* 107, &c.

Nicolaus, a venerable old man, harangues the Syracusans, dissuades them from condemning the Athenian generals, *ib.* 332.

Nicomedes II., son of Prusias, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome, *ib.* 234, kills his father, who had given orders for murdering him, and reigns in his stead, *ib.* sets up a child, under the name of Ariarathes, for his antagonist, and kills him, and then to be demanded for him of the Romans, 308, his death, *ib.*

Nicomedes III. ascends the throne of Bithynia, ii. 309. is dethroned by Mithridates, ib. the Romans reinstate him, ib. is again expelled by Mithridates, 310. Syria reconciles him and Mithridates, who restores him his dominions, 314. Nicomedes, in gratitude for the service of the Romans, at his death leaves the Roman people his heirs, 316.

Nicostatus, of Argos, commands one of the detachments of Ochus's army in that prince's expedition into Egypt, i. 496.

Nicostatus, praetor of the Achaean, defeats the troops of Antiochus, who is commended for Philip at Corinth, i. 146.

Nileus, son of Cedrus, settles in Asia Minor, i. 203.

Nile, river of Africa, its sources, i. 46. cataracts of the Nile, ib. causes of its inundation, ib. time that its inundation continues, 47. measure or depth of its inundation, 5. equals of the Nile, ib. fertility occasioned by the Nile, ib. double prospect occasioned by the Nile, 48. canal of communication between the two seas by the Nile, ib.

Nimrod, founder of the Assyrian empire, i. 133. history confounds him with his son Nimus, ib. Scripture places him very near Abraham; for what reason, 134.

Nineveh, city of Assyria, its foundation, i. 135. description of that city, ib. kings of Nineveh, ib. &c. destruction of that city, 147. description of its ruins, ib. N. tomb of the prophet Jonah, ib.

Ninus, king of Assyria, succeeds Nimrod, and is often confounded with that prince, i. 135. builds Nineveh, ib. his expedition against the Bactrians, ib. marries Semiramis, and has a son by her, ib. dies soon after, ib.

Ninyas, son of Ninus and Semiramis, reigns in Assyria, i. 138. effluence and indolence of that prince, ib.

No. inscription, queen of Babylon, i. 144. inscription which she causes to be put upon her tomb, ib.

No-Amo, famous city of Egypt, i. C5.

Nobility. Wherein true nobility consists, ii. 30.

Nomi, or governments, of Egypt, i. 43.

Nubian temples, antiquity of, i. 150. N.

Nemidians, people of Africa, i. 96. their principal force consisted in cavalry, 120.

Nepsius, general of Dionysius the Younger, relieves the citadel of Syracuse, closely besieged by the Syracuseans, i. 400. burns and plunders part of the city of Syracuse, ib. Dionysius drives him out of Syracuse, of which he had made himself master, 403.

Nysa, nurse of Bacchus, ii. 56.

Nysa, sister of Mithridates, falls into the hands of Lucullus, ii. 318.

O. OBEDIENCE: model of it in the education of the Spartan youth, i. 215. means necessary to be used for obtaining voluntary obedience, 155.

Obelisks of Egypt, i. 44.

Ochus, sister of Ochus, is buried alive by order of that prince, i. 410.

Ochus takes the name of Darius, for having put a stop to the insolence of Smerdis the Magian, i. 228. See Darius I.

Ochus, son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, marches at the head of a great army against Sogdiana, i. 310. gets that prince into his hands and puts him to death, ib. ascends the throne of Persia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius, 311. See Darius Nothus.

Ochus, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, opens his way to the empire by the murder of his brothers, i. 439. ascends the throne of Persia, and takes the name of Artaxerxes, 430. cruelties which he commits, 491. his successful expeditions against Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, 495. after those expeditions he abandons himself to pleasure, 497. is poisoned by Bagoas, ib.

Octavia, widow of Marcellus, and sister of young Caesar, marries Antony, i. 338. leaves Rome to go to Antony, and arrives at Athens, 339. Antony forbids her to come any farther, ib. r. turns to Rome, ib. affront which she receives from Antony, 340.

Octavius (Cn.) pretor, commands the Roman fleet against Persus, ii. 218. &c. means which he uses to make that prince quit the island of Samothracia, which was deemed a sacred and inviolable asylum, 224. Persus puts himself into his hands, 225. Octavius receives the honour of a triumph, 228. The Romans send him to Syria as ambassador, 246. is murdered there, 248. the senate erect a statue to him, ib.

Ochus, Crassus's lieutenant, endeavours in vain to expulse him for his defeat, ii. 221. accompanies that general in his interview with Surena, 222. is killed in defending him, 223.

Odeon, or theatre of music at Athens, i. 285.

Ochares, Darius's groom, by his address secures the crown of Persia to his master, i. 184.

Ochazus, Persian lord, barbarous cruelty of Darius towards him, i. 235.

OECONOMY. It is one of the principal constituents of political ability, i. 286.

Ochoas, king of Colchis, is subdued by Pompey, who makes him serve as an ornament in his triumph, ii. 329.

Olympia, castle in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, i. 323.

Olympiads. Epocha of the Olympiads, i. 246.

Olympius, daughter of Neoptolemus, is married to Philip, king of Macedonia, and has by that prince Alexander the Great, i. 505. Philip repudiates her, 523. Alexander carries her to Epirus, ib. Polysperchon recalls her from Epirus, whither she had retired during Antipater's regency, and divides the government with her, ii. 22. Olympias causes Arideus, and his wife Eurymedea, to be put to death, 27. Cassander besieges her in Pydna, whither she had retired, takes her prisoner, and puts her to death, ib.

Olympic. Solemn games of Greece, i. 423. ladies admitted to them, ib.

Olynthus, city of Thrace, i. 468. the Lacedaemonians declare war against it, ib. it is compelled to surrender, 469. Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, implores the aid of the Athenians, 510. Philip makes himself master of that city by the treason of two of its citizens, and plunders it, ib.

Oncositrus, philosopher and historian: Alexander deposes him from the Braconia, and engages them to join in his reign, i. 526. can prevail upon none of them to do so, except Calanus, ib.

Oresimus, Macedonian lord, not being able to dissuade Persus from making war with the Romans, quits his party, and flies to Rome, ii. 912.

Orias, son of Jaddah, high-priest of the Jews, succeeds his father, ii. 29. See Jaddah.

Orias, high priest of the Jews, makes himself venerable for his piety, ii. 111. r. goes to the treasures kept in the temple of Jerusalem, and is used by the marquis of Jason his brother, 192. his death, 193.

Orias, son of the former, having failed of the high-priesthood, retires into Egypt, ii. 251. builds a temple there for the Jews, ib.

Oromachus, brother of Philomelus, general of the Phoenicians, takes the command of the troops in his stead, ii. 507. is defeated by Philip, and killed in the battle, ib. his body is fastened to a gibbet, 508.

Oromastes, governor of Thrace for Philip, executes the cruel decree of that prince against the people of Maronea, ii. 177.

Orobates, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, revolts against Ptolemy, and renders himself independent, ii. 36. suffers himself to be seduced by Agathocles, and carries him troops into the country of the Carthaginians, i. 28. Agathocles puts him to death, ib.

Orosius, Roman troglodyte, marches against Mithridates, and is taken prisoner, ii. 309.

Oracles: famous ones of antiquity, i. 419. of Delonia, ib. of Trophoeus in Boeotia, ib. of the Branchidae, ib. of Cnros, 420. of Delphi, ib. usual character of oracles, 421. there they are to be ascribed to the operation of devils, or the knavery of men, ib.

Orations: funeral orations pronounced in Greece over the tombs of those who had died fighting for their country, i. 300.

Orator: quality most essential to an orator, i. 498-499.

Orchestra, part of the theatre of the ancients, i. 437.

Orchomenos, part of Arcadia, where the battle between Sylla and Archelaus was fought, ii. 313.

Orestes, son and successor of Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, i. 207.

Orestes, Roman commissary, goes to Corinth, and notifies to the Achaean the decree of the senate for separating several cities from their league, ii. 235. flies to escape the violence of that people, ib.

Oretes, governor of Asia Minor for Cambyses, puts Polycrates to death, and seizes the island of Samos, i. 182. Darius puts him to death, 227.

Oriental architecture, overrated by Rollin, i. 194. N.

Oroandes, of Crete, promises Persus to receive him into his ship, and embarks part of the riches of that prince, ii. 225. runs away with those treasures, ib.

Orobazus, is sent ambassador to Sylla by Arsaces, king of Parthia, in alliance with the Romans, i. 508. Arsaces puts him to death at his return, ib.

Orodes, king of Parthia, ii. 277. war of that prince with the Romans under Crassus, ib. Orodes, jealous of the glory Surena had acquired by the defeat of Crassus, puts him to death, 284. grief of that prince for the death of his son Surena, 285. chooses Phraortes for his successor, who causes him to be put to death, ib.

Oromasdes, divinity worshipped by the Persians, i. 199.

Orontes, son-in-law of Artaxerxes Mnemon, commands the land army in the war in the winter in the province of Syria, 377. accuses Tribuzius falsely, terminates the war with Evagoras by a treaty of peace, ib. Artaxerxes punishes him for his false accusation, 378.

Orontes, governor of Mysia, joins with the provinces of Asia Minor in their revolt against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and then betrays them, i. 489.

Orontes, a mountain in Media, see Alwend.

Oryans: Charondas's law in favour of them, i. 207.

Orsaces, an old general, accompanies Paeorus in his expedition by order of Orodes, ii. 284. is killed in a battle, ib.

Orysiades, governor of Pasargadae, re-establishes good order throughout the whole province, i. 98. goes to meet Alexander with magnificent presents, ib. is put to death in consequence of the secret intrigues of the eunuch Bagoas, ib.

Orysiades, island near Syracuse, i. 324.

Orysiades, a Persian, marches at the head of an army against Megabazus, i. 279. is defeated and taken prisoner, ib. Megabazus generously sends him back to Artaxerxes, ib.

Ostanes, chief of the Magi, accompanies Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, i. 265.

Ostracism, a law in force amongst the Athenians, by which persons were condemned to banishment, i. 246. the banishment of Hyperbolsus puts an end to the ostracism, 316.

Osymandyas, king of Egypt, i. 60. magnificent edifices which he caused to be erected, ib. famous library joined by that prince, ib. his tomb surrounded with a circle of gold, which Cambyses afterwards took away, ib.

Otanes, Persian lord, discovers the imposture of Smerdis the Magian, by the means of his daughter, i. 183. forms a conspiracy against that usurper, ib. re-establishes Syolson, tyrant of Samos, 231.

Oxythes, brother of Darins, distinguishes himself in the battle of Issus, i. 541. Alexander puts Oxythes into his hands, to inflict upon that traitor the punishment he deserved, 572.

Oxyartes, Persian prince, entertains Alexander in his house, and gives him his daughter Roxana in marriage, i. 578.

Oxydrus, people of India, i. 588. their capital besieged and taken by Alexander, 589. they submit to that prince, ib.

Oxyrinchus, city of the Lower Thebais, i. 55. wonder related of that city by the Abbe Fleury in his Ecclesiastical History, ibid.

P. P. PACORUS, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, enters Syria at the head of an army, and besieges Antioch, ii. 284. raises the siege of that city, and is defeated in a battle, ib. returns into Syria, and is defeated and killed in a battle, 285.

Paganism. Definition of a Pagan by Tertullian, i. 2-6. See Paganism.

Paganism. General reflections upon paganism, i. 415, &c. absurdities of paganism, 419. what the highest perfection to be expected was, 237.

Palamedes, tragedy written by Euripides on the occasion of the death of Socrates, i. 394.

Paestum, public schools in which the athletes exercised themselves in wrestling, i. 424.

Palmyra, city of Syria, in which there was a temple famous for the sanctity of the oaths taken there, i. 295.

Pammenes commands the troops sent by the Thelians to the aid of Archibazus, and occasions his gaining two considerable victories, i. 491.

Pamphilius, an Achaean general, marches to the aid of the city of Megalopolis, ii. 427.

Parabibula, province of Asia Minor, i. xvi.

Partholus, a town in Partholus, i. 197.

Partholus, king of Partholus, i. 197.

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Pentateuch, Perseus's ambassador to Gentius, engages that prince in his master's interest against the Romans, *i.* 220.
 Panthea, wife of Abradates, is taken prisoner by Cyrus, *i.* 159, conduct of that prince in regard to her, *ib.* she brings over her husband to Cyrus, *ib.* her discourse with him before he sets out for the battle, 163, the excess of her grief upon the death of Abradates, 165, she slays herself with a dagger, and falls dead upon her husband, *ib.*
 Papira, mother of the second Scipio Africanus: magnificent liberality of Scipio in regard to her, *i.* 128.
 Papyrus, plant of Egypt: description of it, *i.* 58.
 Paralus, last of the legitimate children of Pericles, dies of the plague, *i.* 302.
 Parasunga, measure of distance peculiar to the Persians, *i.* 362.
 Parchment: invention of parchment, *i.* 58.
 Paris, Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had carried off, is driven by a tempest into one of the mouths of the Nile, *i.* 63. Proteus, king of Egypt, obliges him to leave Helen with him and to quit Egypt, *ib.* Paris returns to Troy, *ib.*
 Parmenio, one of Alexander's generals, is placed at the head of the infantry in the expedition of that prince against the Persians, and does him great service, *i.* 533, seizes the pass of Syria, and makes himself master of the small city of Issus, 540. Alexander confides the treasures laid up in Damascus, and the keeping of the prisoners to him, 544. Parmenio advises that prince to accept Darius's offers, 551, surprise of Parmenio, on seeing Alexander prostrate himself before the high priest Jaddus, 552. Alexander causes him to be killed as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Philotas, 572, eulogy of Parmenio, *ib.*
 Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, marries Darius, *i.* 298.
 Parthene, a woman, has prevented Solon from making any law against that crime, *ib.* 17.
 Parthenon, temple of Minerva at Athens, *i.* 384.
 Parthia, country of the Parthians, province of Upper Asia, beginning of the empire of the Parthians, *i.* 276.
 Parysatis, sister and wife of Cyrus, Notus, *i.* 311, her influence over her husband, *ib.* extreme fondness of Parysatis for her son Cyrus, *ib.* obtains pardon of Artaxerxes for that son, and causes him to be sent back to his government, 347, cruelty and jealousy of Parysatis, 364, poisons Statira, *ib.* Artaxerxes confines her in Babylon, *ib.*
 Pausanias, one of the Persian subjects to Alexander, *i.* 501.
 Patalemis, officer of Apries, not having been able to seize Amasis in the midst of the revolted Egyptians, is treated in the most cruel manner by that prince, *i.* 68.
 Patisthes, chief of the Magi, places his brother Smerdis upon the throne of Persia, 182, is killed with his brother, 183.
 Patroclus, governor of Babylon for Seleucus, abandons that city upon the approach of Demetrius, and retires into the marshes, *ib.* 33.
 Patroclus commands the fleet sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the aid of the Athenians besieged by Antigonus Gonatas, *i.* 75, returns into Egypt, and at Cnecus causes Sotades the satirical poet to be put to death, *ib.*
 Patroclus, Athenian, cites Demosthenes before the judges, as a violator of the laws, *i.* 500, had success of his accusation, *ib.*
 Patron, general of the Greeks in the pay of Darius, advises that prince in vain to confide the guard of his person to the Greeks, *i.* 565.
 Paulus Emilius. See *Emilius*.
 Paulus, king of Lacedæmon, commands the army of the Greeks, joins with Aristides, and gains a great battle over the Persians, *i.* 262, makes the Lacedæmonians lose the chief command by his haughtiness, 268, his secret intrigues with the Persians, 269, is discovered and punished, *ib.*
 Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, commands at the siege of Athens, *i.* 345, offers peace to the Athenians, 350, neglects to march to the aid of Lygander, and is summoned to take his trial on his return, 371, refuses to appear, and is condemned to die, *ib.* retires to Tigaea, and dies there, *ib.*
 Pausanias, Macedonian prince, possesses himself of the throne of Macedonia, and is deposed by Philip, *ib.*
 Pausanias, young Macedonian lord, cannot obtain satisfaction of Philip for an insult which he had received from Attalus, 523, assassinates Philip in revenge, and is torn in pieces upon the spot, *ib.*
 Pausistratus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, is defeated by Polyxenes, Antiochus's admiral, and killed in the battle, *ib.* 162.
 Pay of the troops by sea and land amongst the ancients, *i.* 412.
 Pelagius teaches the first Greeks to live upon acorns, *i.* 207.
 Pella, capital of Macedonia, famous for the birth of Philip and Alexander, *i.* 502.
 Pelopidas, Theban: his character, *i.* 470, his friendship with Epaminondas, *ib.* abandons Thebes, and retires to Athens, *ib.* forms the design of restoring the liberty of his country, *ib.* is elected Brother, 472, drives the garrison out of the citadel, *ib.* causes the Athenians to declare for the Thebans, *ib.* gains an advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Tegyra, 473, commands the sacred battalion at the battle of Leuctra, *ib.* is created Isotacth with Epaminondas, ravages Locris, and advances to the siege of Sparta, 476, at his return he is accused and acquitted, 477, the Thebans send him ambassador to the court of Persia, *ib.* his influence with Artaxerxes, 478. Pelopidas marches against Alexander, tyrant of Phææ, and reduces him to reason, 479, goes to Macedonia to appease the troubles of that court, and brings away Philip as a hostage, *ib.* returns into Thessaly, 480, is seized and made prisoner by treachery, *ib.* animates Thebes, wife of Alexander, against her husband, *ib.* is delivered by Epaminondas, *ib.* Pelopidas marches against the tyrant, gains a victory over him, and is killed in the battle, 481, &c. singular dream upon his recovery, *ib.*
 Pelopidas, one of the officers of Mithridates, is sent ambassador by that prince to demand satisfaction of the Romans, and to declare war against them in case of a refusal, *i.* 309.
 Peloponnesus, province and peninsula of Greece, now called the Morea, *i.* 168, its Peloponnesian war, 365.
 Pelops gives his name to Peloponnesus, *i.* 207.
 Pelusium, city of Lower Egypt, *i.* 49.
 Pensions. Manner of giving pensions by the kings of Persia, *i.* 190.
 Peritiomedimni, citizens of the first class at Athens, *i.* 402.
 Perithlum, assemblage of several agonistic exercises among the Greeks, *i.* 426.
 Pericles, son of Orestes, reigns at Mycenæ with his brother Democles, *i.* 237.
 Pericles, son of Amyntas II., is placed upon the throne of

Macedonia by Pelopidas, *i.* 479, is killed in a battle against the Illyrians, *ib.*
 Perdiccas, one of Alexander's generals, receives that prince's ring a moment before his death, *i.* 597, provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, *ib.* 12, is appointed guardian of Arrideus, and regent of the empire, *ib.* puts Statira, Alexander's widow, to death, 13, quells the revolt of the Greeks in Upper Asia, *ib.* puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia, 18, marries Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, *ib.* his unfortunate expedition into Egypt, *ib.* is killed there, 19.
 Pergamus, city of Great Mysia in Asia Minor: the kingdom of Pergamus becomes a Roman province, *i.* 437.
 Periarus, tyrant of Corinth, is ranked in the number of the seven sages, *i.* 226.
 Pericles, Athenian: his extraction, 1, 280, his education, *ib.* care that he takes to cultivate his mind by the study of the sciences, and to exercise his self in eloquence, *ib.* means that he employs for conciliating the favour of the people, 281, undertakes to reduce the power of the Areopagus, and succeeds in it, 282. Thucydides is opposed to him, 283, he adorns Athens with magnificent buildings, *ib.* envy of the Athenians against Pericles, 285, justifies himself, and causes Thucydides to be banished, *ib.* changes his conduct in respect to the people, 285, his great authority, *ib.* his disinterestedness, 286. Expedition of Pericles into the Thracian Chersonesus, *ib.* about Peloponnesus, *ib.* and against Eubœa, 287, reduces the Samians, and cleanses their walls, *ib.* causes aid to be granted to the people of Corcyra against the Corinthians, 288, trouble given him by his enemies, 290, induces the Athenians to enter into a war with the Lacedæmonians, 291, and to shut themselves up within their walls, 292, prevents them from taking the field, 293, detains the Lacedæmonians, causes aid to be granted to the Athenians killed during the campaign, 290, the Athenians divest him of the command and fine him, 292, grief of Pericles for the death of his son Paralus, *ib.* the Athenians reinstate him, *ib.* and permit him to enroll his illegitimate son amongst the citizens, 303, death of Pericles, *ib.* his panegyric, *ib.* &c.
 Pericles, son of the former, one of the Athenian generals who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the islands Arginusæ, is condemned with his colleagues to die, *ib.* 343.
 Perinthus, city of Thrace, besieged by Philip, and delivered by the Athenians, *i.* 316.
 Perjury. Punishment of perjury in Egypt, *i.* 51.
 Pertenna, Roman ambassador to Gentius, is imprisoned, *ib.* 220. Amicus delivers him, and sends him to Rome with the report of his victory, *ib.* Pertenna, when consul, marches against Aristonous, defeats him, causes aid to be granted to his prisoner, 257, disposes his return to Rome, *ib.*
 Persopolis, capital city of Persia, subdued by Alexander, who burns the palace of it in a drunken revel, *i.* 564.
 Persus, first king of Macedonia, *i.* 207.
 Persus, first king of Persia, last king of Macedonia, forms a conspiracy against his brother Demetrius, and renews him to Philip, *ib.* 184, his speech against his brother, 186. Persus removes from court to avoid his father's indignation, 190, takes possession of the throne of Macedonia after his father's death, *ib.* puts to death Antigonus, whom his father had chosen his successor, 202, pretends secretly for war against the Romans, *ib.* endeavours to gain allies, *ib.* tries in vain to bring over the Achæans, *ib.* the Romans are informed of his secret measures, *ib.* Eumenes gives them fresh information concerning his proceedings, 203. Persus endeavours to defend himself of that prince, first by assassination, 207, and afterwards by poison, *ib.* rupture between Persus and the Romans, *ib.* interview of Persus and Marcus, 208, war declared in form, 210. Persus advances with his troops near the river Peneus, 211, battle of the cavalry, in which that prince gains a considerable advantage, 212, use of it, 212, he makes proposals of peace, which are rejected, 213, takes flight upon the arrival of the consul Marcus in Macedonia, and leaves him the passage open, 215, resumes courage soon after, 218, solicits aid on all sides, *ib.* his avowed loss him considerable succours, 219, he is put to death, 220, and put to flight by Paulus, 221, the Romans, which are rejected, 213, takes flight upon the arrival of the consul Marcus in Macedonia, and leaves him the passage open, 215, resumes courage soon after, 218, solicits aid on all sides, *ib.* his avowed loss him considerable succours, 219, he is put to death, 220, and put to flight by Paulus, 221, the Romans, which are rejected, 213, takes flight upon the arrival of the consul Marcus in Macedonia, and leaves him the passage open, 215, resumes courage soon after, 218, solicits aid on all sides, 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Pharisees, powerful sect in Judæa, ii. 262. persecution of Alexander Jannæus and his party by the Pharisees, 268. end of their tyranny, 273.

Pharnabazus, governor of Asia, and general of the troops of Darius and Artaxerxes, king of Persia, adds the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, i. 337. makes peace with the latter, 338. sends complaints against Lycæus to Sparta, 351. his whole province is ravaged by Agæus, 369. interview of Agæus and Pharnabazus, 370. the latter is charged by Artaxerxes with the war against Egypt, i. 426. the enterprise miscarries through his fault, 430.

Pharnaces, makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, and is elected king in his stead, ii. 329. he is declared the friend and ally of the Romans, ib. is defeated and driven out of Pontus by Cæsar, 337.

Pharusæus, eunuch of Xerxes II. supplies Sogianus with the means of assassinating that prince, i. 310.

Pharos, its famous tower or light-house, i. 51.

Phasael, brother of Herod, is made governor of Jerusalem, ii. 275. is taken by the Parthians and put in irons, ib. kills himself to avoid the ignominy of punishment, ib.

Phayllus, general of the Phocians during the sacred war, plunders the temple of Delphi to defray the expenses of that war, i. 507. his death, ib.

Phayllus, of Crotona, athlete: his affection for the Greeks, a subject, ii. 500.

Phobolus, Lacedæmonian, sets out from Sparta, at the head of a body of troops against Olynthus, i. 469. he seized the citadel of Thebes by fraud, ib. is deprived of the command and fined, ib.

Phocæa, daughter of Otanes, and wife of Smerdis the Magian, discovers that usurper's imposture, i. 183. she marries Darius after the death of Smerdis, 228.

Phœnicia, province of Syria, revolt of Phœnicia against Ochus, i. 495.

Phœnides, Persian lord, made governor of Egypt by Ochus, i. 491.

Phœnicus, one of the principal conspirators against the tyrants of Thebes, i. 471.

Pheron, king of Egypt, i. 20. action of that prince against the Nile, ib.

Phidias, famous painter and sculptor: Pericles gives him the direction of the public buildings at Athens, i. 253. ingratitude of the Athenians to Phidias, 290.

Phila, Antipater's daughter, is married to Craterus, ii. 17. after the death of Craterus she marries Demetrius Poliorcetes, ib. she kills herself by poison, 32. praise of that princess, 130.

Phila, daughter of Seleucus and Stratonice, marries Antiochus Gonatus, ii. 62.

Philadelphus, name given ironically to Ptolemy II. king of Egypt, ii. 54. See Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Philæmon assassinates the tyrants, he invites the wife of Ptolemy Philopator, ii. 109. he is beaten to death with staves by the ladies of honour to that princess, 133.

Philani, two brothers, citizens of Carthage, sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, i. 79. the Carthaginians out of gratitude consecrate two altars to them, ib.

Philanius, Lacedæmonian, accompanies Hannibal in his expeditions, and composes the history of that great captain, i. 119.

Philetærus, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, i. 38. ii. 75. means which he uses for supporting himself in that kingdom, ib.

Philemon, comic poet, preferred by the Greeks to Menander in his own lifetime, i. 437.

Philides, one of the conspirators against the tyrants of Thebes, finds means to make himself their secret agent, i. 471. on that day fixed by the conspirators, he invites the tyrants to a supper, ib. the conspirators kill them at his house, 472.

Philis, son of Amyntas II. king of Macedonia, his birth, i. 502. Pelopidas carries him to Thebes as a hostage, 503. he flies from Thebes into Macedonia, and is placed upon the throne, ib. he begins his reign, 504. he makes a captive peace with the Athenians, ib. his first conquests, 504. birth of Alexander, 505. Philip's care of his education, ib. he endeavours to subject Thrace, and takes Methone, at the siege of which place he loses an eye, 507. conciliates the amity of the Thebans, and expels their tyrants, 508. endeavours to seize the pass of Thermopylæ in vain, ib. takes the city of Olynthus, notwithstanding the efforts of the Athenians to prevent it, 510. declares for the Thebans against the Phocians, and begins in that manner to share in the sacred war, 511. lulls the Athenians with a false peace and false promises, he seizes Thermopylæ, reduces the Phocians, and terminates the sacred war, 512. causes himself to be admitted into the council of the Amphictyons, ib. on his return into Macedonia, he pushes his conquests into Illyrium and Thrace, 513. enters into a league, with the Thebans, Argives, and Messenians, for attacking Peloponnesus with their joint forces, 514. Athens declaring for the Lacedæmonians, breaks that league, ib. Philip makes an attempt upon Eubœa, 515. Phocien drives him out of that island, ib. Philip forces the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 516.

Phocien obliges him to raise both those sieges, 517. Philip attacks Athens, king of the Sicilians, and the Triballi, people of Messia, 518. by his intrigues he causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the Amphictyons, ib. &c. seizes Elateæ, 519. the Athenians and Thebans enter into a league against him, 520. he makes proposals of peace, which are rejected by the leaders of Demosthenes, ib.

Phile of Chæronæa, in which Philip gains a great victory, ib. Philip in the council of the Amphictyons, causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that great expedition, 522, 523. domestic troubles in his family, ib. he repudiates Cleopatra, and marries Thermodice, he celebrates the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter with Alexander, king of Epirus, and is killed in the midst of them, ib. memorable actions and sayings of Philip, 524. good and bad qualities of that prince, ib. &c.

Philip, son of Demetrius, ascends the throne of Macedonia, ii. 101. his affection for Arius, 110. he takes upon him the defence of the Achæans against the Ætolians, 111. different expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans, 112. strange abuse that Antiochus his minister makes of his confidence, 113. irruption of Philip into Ætolia, 115. takes Thermopylæ, he excesses committed there by his soldiers, ib. his prudence which he shows in his retreat, 116. trouble in his camp, ib. punishment of the authors of it, ib. irruption of Philip into Lacedonia, ib. new intrigue of the conspirators, ib. their punishment, 117. Philip takes Thebes of Phœliotis from the Ætolians, 118. concludes a peace with them, ib. — Philip

concludes a treaty with Hannibal, 119. makes preparations for carrying the war into Italy, ib. is surprised and defeated by the Romans at Apollonia, 120. his change of conduct, ib. his bad faith and irregularities, ib. he causes Aratus to be poisoned, ib. makes himself master of the city and castle of Liessus, 121. gains several advantages over the Ætolians, 122. he is repulsed near the city of Elis, ib. different actions of Philip against Sulpitius, 123. &c. makes peace with the Romans, 131. enters into a league with Antiochus for invading the dominions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 133. had success of Philip against Antiochus and the Romans, ib. his cruel treatment of the Chians, 134. he besieges and takes Abydos, ib. &c. &c. ravages Asia, 136. the Romans declare war against him, ib. — Philip makes ineffectual attempts against Athens, ib. endeavours to bring over the Ætolians to his party, 137. is defeated in a battle by Sulpitius, 138. is forced to abandon the defiles along the Ægeus, 140. ineffectual interview of Philip with Flaminius concerning peace, 142. he is defeated by Flaminius near Scotussa and Cynephæphæ in Thessalia, 145. the Romans grant him peace, 146. Philip attacks Quintus against Nabis, 150. &c. his conduct at Sulpitius, ib. Philip's causes of discontent from the Romans, 176. &c. the Romans order him to evacuate the city of Thrace, 177. he vents his rage upon the inhabitants of Macedonia, ib. sends his son Demetrius on an embassy to Rome, 178. complaints against Philip carried to Rome, 183. the Romans send him his son with ambassadors, ib. Philip prepares to renew the war with the Romans, ib. plot of Ptoleus against Demetrius, 184. he accuses him to Philip, 185. upon a new accusation Philip causes Demetrius to be put to death, 190. he discovers his innocence some time after, and Perseus's guilt, ib. which he mutes the punishment of the latter he dies, ib.

Philip utters his famous speech to Perseus, and seizes the kingdom of Macedonia, ii. 237. is defeated and killed by Tremellus, 238.

Philip, one of Alexander's captains: provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, ii. 12.

Philip, a citizen with his brother Antiochus, destroys the city of Magesæstia, to avenge the death of his brother Seleucus, ii. 205. reigns in Syria with his brother Demetrius after having driven out Eusebes, ib. Philip's death, ib.

Philip, Phrygian, is made governor of Judæa by Antiochus Epiphanes, ii. 154.

Philip, lecturer and favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor by that prince of his son Antiochus Eupator, and regent of Syria, ii. 201. Lysias usurps that employment from him, 246. Philip retires into Egypt, ib.

Philip, of Acaræna, physician, known from the salutary draught which he gave Alexander, ii. 337.

Philipsburgh, town of Germany, besieged and taken by the French, ii. 172.

Philiscus is sent by the king of Persia, to reconcile the states of Greece, i. 478.

Philis, a citizen of Syracuse, pays a fine for Dionysius, i. 140. Dionysius banishes him, 450. Dionysius the Younger recalls him to court, 454. death of Philis, 458. he may be considered as a great historian, 464.

Philochs, Macedonian, devoted to Perseus, is sent by Philip on an embassy to Rome, ii. 189. at his return he delivers a forged tale to that prince under the counterfeited seal of P. Quintus, which occasions the death of Demetrius, ib. Philip causes him to be seized and put to the torture, in which he dies, 190.

Philotes, one of the Athenian generals, is defeated and made prisoner with his colleagues at the battle of Ægospotamos, i. 345. is put to death, ib.

Philomelus, general of the Phocians, sets them against the decree of the Amphictyons, and induces them to take arms, i. 507. makes himself master of the temple of Delphi, and takes the rich spoils of the sacred troops, ib. defeated in a battle, and throws himself headlong from the top of a rock, ib.

Philonides, runner to Alexander the Great, famous for his swiftness, i. 426.

Philopœmen, Megalopolitan, induces his fellow-citizens to raise an army of 100000 inhabitants his own, at the battle of Solyfia, 120. distinguishes himself in the battle of the city of Elis, 123. his education, 123. his great qualities, ib. he is elected general of the horse by the Achæans, 124. reforms the Achæan troops, ib. is elected captain general of the Achæans, 125. gains a famous victory over Machmedas, tyrant of Sparta, in the battle of the Eurymedon, 126. the Achæans erect a statue to him, ib. honours which he receives in the assembly at the Nemean games, ib. Philopœmen is defeated at sea by the tyrant Nabis, 154. he gains a famous victory over that tyrant near Sparta, 155. after the death of Nabis he seizes Sparta and obliges that city to enter into the Achæan league, 156. refuses the presents offered him by the Spartans, ib. secretly favours the Spartan exiles, and causes war to be declared against that city, 170. makes himself master of Sparta, and reinstates the exiles, ib. attacks Messena, and is taken prisoner, 179. the Messenians put him to death, ib. honours paid to his memory, 180. trial of Philopœmen after his death, ib.

Philosophers: Philosophy. It is wonderfully adapted for forming the hero, i. 484. the study of this science incompatible with slavery, i. 215.

Philotes, surnamed Harmenio, commands a body of horse in Alexander's expedition against Persia, i. 533. pretended conspiracy of Philotas against Alexander, 570. &c. he is put to death, 571.

Philotas, governor of Upper Asia, is put to death by Pithon, ii. 30.

Philoxenus, poet, favourite of Dionysius the tyrant; his generous frankness, i. 450. &c.

Philoxenus, Macedonian, seizes Harpalus, and causes him to be put to the torture, i. 593.

Phloæa, city of Ionia, is condemned to be destroyed by the Romans, the people of Marseilles originally descended from that city, obtain pardon for it, ib.

Phœon, general of the Athenians, drives Philip out of Eubœa, i. 515. makes that prince raise the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 517. recalls the officers of Harpalus, 583. endeavours in vain to prevent the Athenians from engaging in the Lætanian war, ii. 13. is condemned to die by the Athenians, 22. his body is carried out of the territory of Attica, 23. the Athenians erect a statue to him, and inter his bones honourably, ib. character and eulogy of Phœon, i. 515, 53, 58. &c.

Phrygia, part of the Asiatic empire, invaded by Xerxes, 257. the Lacedæmonians deprive the people of Phœon of the custody of the temple of Delphi, 287. Pericles restores it to them, ib. the Phœnians till the ground consecrated to Apollo, i. 507. they are declared guilty of sacrilege, and are fined, ib. they take arms against the decree of the Amphictyons, ib. the latter

make war against the Phœceans, *ib.* Philip reduces them, 504.
 Phoenix, fabulous bird : wonders related of it, i. 49.
 Phoroone, king of Argos, i. 207.
 Phraortes I. son of Priapitatus, king of the Parthians, ii. 254.
 Phraortes II. succeeds his father Mithridates in the kingdom of Parthia, ii. 276. is defeated three times by Antiochus Sidetes, 258. releases Dometris, *ib.* defeats Antiochus, who is killed in the battle, *ib.* marries one of that prince's daughters, *ib.* is defeated by the Scythians, who had called in Antiochus to their aid, and is killed in his flight, 265.
 Phraortes III. surnamed Therses, king of the Parthians, ii. 277. makes an alliance with the Romans during the war with Mithridates, *ib.* espouses the part of Tigranes the Younger against the father, *ib.* death of Phraortes, *ib.*
 Phraortes IV. is placed by his father Orodes upon the Parthian throne, ii. 226. he puts his brothers, father, and his son, to death, *ib.*
 Phraortes, king of the Medes, succeeds his father Deioces, i. 146. makes himself master of almost all Upper Asia, *ib.* makes war against the Assyrians, *ib.* is defeated, *ib.* Nabuchodonosor puts him to death, *ib.*
 Phraortes, one of Alexander's generals : provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, ii. 12.
 Phrynicus, one of the Athenian generals, opposes the recall of Alcibiades, i. 335. is deprived of the command, *ib.*
 Phrynon commands the army of the Athenians sent against Mitylene, i. 225. accepts the challenge of Pittacus, and is killed, *ib.*
 Phyllus, Lacedæmonian officer, is killed at the siege of Sparta by Pyrrhus, fighting valiantly, ii. 90.
 Physon. See Phyllos. Eucrates, surnamed Physon.
 Phiscus, see Narmoricus.
 Phyto, general of the troops of Rhegium, defends that city against Dionysius, i. 448. Dionysius, after having made him suffer great indignities, puts him to death, *ib.*
 Phidrus, Greek lyric poet, character of his works, i. 293.
 Phidrus, poet of Athens, ii. 297.
 Pironis, name given to kings said by the Egyptian priests to have reigned in Egypt, i. 65.
 Pisander, Athenian captain, induces the people of Athens to recall Alcibiades, i. 335. the Athenians send him to treat with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, *ib.* at his return he changes the form of the government, 336.
 Pisander, Lacedæmonian, is appointed by Agesilaus his brother-in-law to command the fleet in his stead, i. 369. is defeated by Conon near Cnidus, and killed in the battle, 372.
 Pisidia, a province of Asia Minor, described, *ib.* 148.
 Pisistratus, Athenian, makes himself tyrant of Athens, i. 220. lenity of his government, *ib.* his death, 221. his character, 220. library founded by him at Athens, *ib.*
 Piso (Calpurnius), consul, commands at the siege of Carthage before the arrival of Scipio, ii. 213.
 Pisuthorus, governor of Lydia for Darius, revolts against that prince, i. 311. is taken and put to death, *ib.*
 Piton, one of Alexander's captains, is made governor of Media by Antipater, ii. 20. causes Philotas to be put to death, and takes possession of his government, 26. is driven out of Media by Proceutes, and obliged to retire to Seleucus, *ib.* Antigonus puts him to death, 31.
 Pitacus, of Mitylene, one of the seven sages of Greece, drives out the tyrant who oppressed his country, i. 225. commands the army against the Athenians, *ib.* challenges Phrynon their general to single combat, and kills him, *ib.* the inhabitants of Mitylene give him the sovereignty of their city, *ib.* he voluntarily abdicates his authority at the expiration of ten years, and retires, *ib.* his death, 226.
 Places. Attack and defence of places by the ancients, i. 193. &c.
 Plague, contagious distemper, i. 293. description of that disease, *ib.*
 Platana, city of Beotia, i. 205. the Platans acquire glory at the battle of Marathon, 241. refuse to submit to Xerxes, 253. the Greeks decree the prize of valor to them after the defeat of Mardonius, 213. the Platans institute an anniversary festival in honour of those who died in the battle, 264. siege of Platana by the Thebans, 298. Platana besieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 303. the Thebans demolish it entirely, ii. 18. the Platans retire to Athens, *ib.* induce Alexander to destroy Thebes, 339. that prince permits them to rebuild their city, 560.
 Plato, philosopher of Athens : retires to Megara to avoid the rage of the Athenians, i. 394. Plato travels into Sicily, where he appears for the first time at the court of Dionysius the Younger, 445. his intimacy and friendship with Dion, *ib.* Plato's second voyage into Sicily, 453. wonderful change occasioned by his presence at the court of Dionysius the Younger, 454. conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent its effects, *ib.* Plato quits the court, and returns into Greece, 455. adventure that happens to him at Olympia, *ib.* he returns to the court of Dionysius the Younger, 456. Dionysius differs with him, *ib.* he permits him to return into Greece, *ib.* Plato's death, 457.
 Plemmyrium, isle near Syracuse, i. 223.
 Plistarchus, son of Leonidas, king of Sparta, i. 269.
 Plisthenes, son of Atreus, king of Mycenæ, i. 267.
 Plistonix, king of Lacedæmonia, takes pains to cause a treaty to be concluded between Athens and Sparta, i. 314. his death, 340.
 Plutarch of Eretria calls in the Athenians to the aid of Eubœa, besieged by Philip, i. 515. his perfidy, *ib.* Phocion drives him out of Eretria, *ib.*
 Pœcile, gallery or porch of paintings at Athens, where the Stoics used to assemble, i. 245.
 Poesy, Greek poets, i. 222. &c. emulation of the poets in disputing the prizes in the Olympic games, 420. poets who invented and improved the art of comedy, 421.
 Polemarch, magistrate at Athens, employed both to administer justice and command armies, i. 243.
 Poliorcetes : name given to Demetrius, son of Antigonus, ii. 39.
 Polyænus, senator of Syracuse, harangues the people upon the action of Andranodorus, after the death of Hieronymus, ii. 298.
 Polybius, Lacedæmonian, is charged with the war against Oenonians, and takes that city, i. 470.
 Polybius, Greek historian, his function at the funeral of Philocheerus, ii. 40. is chosen ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes by the Achæans, *ib.* is elected general of the forces by the Achæans, 215. is deputed to the council of Mithridates, to whom he presents the decree of the Achæans, 215. returns to Achæa, *ib.* saves the Achæans a considerable expense, *ib.* is included in

the number of the exiles, and carried to Rome, 232. his great friendship with the second Scipio Africanus, *ib.* return of Polybius into Achæa, 240. zeal of Polybius in defending Philopemen's memory, *ib.* proof which he gives of his disinterestedness, 241. establishes good order and tranquillity in his country, *ib.* is banished from Achæa at Rome, and accompanies him to the siege of Numantia, *ib.* after Scipio's death he returns into his own country, where he ends his days, *ib.*
 Polybius of Megalopolis, officer in the army of the Achæans, ii. 130.
 Polybrates, tyrant of Samos, i. 182. singular history of that tyrant, *ib.* his miserable end, *ib.*
 Polybrates, first minister of Ptolemy Epiphanes, renders that prince great services, *ib.* 175.
 Polydamas, famous athlete of antiquity, i. 425.
 Polydeces, king of Sparta, and brother of Lycurgus, *ib.*
 Polydoras, brother of Jason, tyrant of Macedonia, ii. 32. recals Olympias, *ib.* endeavours to secure Greece to himself, *ib.* is driven out of Macedonia by Cassander, 27. causes Hercules, the son of Alexander, and his mother Barsina, to be put to death, 35.
 Polydorus, Macedonian soldier, carries drink to Darius at the point of death, and receives his last words, i. 566.
 Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet of Antiochus the Great, is defeated by Livius, and reduced to fly, ii. 161. defeats Pausanistratus, who commanded the fleet of Rhodes, by a stratagem, 162. is defeated by Æmilius, and compelled to retire to Ephesus, *ib.*
 Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Dionysius, having declared against that prince, flies to avoid falling into his hands, i. 417.
 Polyzelus, brother of Hiero I. king of Syracuse, gives his brother an umbrella, i. 233. Theon, his son-in-law, takes his part, *ib.* peace is made by the mediation of the poet Simonides, *ib.*
 Pompeius (L.) Roman officer, commands a small body of troops during the war with Perseus, and retires to an emulous and ostentatious life, ii. 213.
 Pompey succeeds Lucullus in the war against Mithridates, ii. 324. his conduct upon arriving in his government, *ib.* offers Mithridates peace, 325. gains several victories over that prince, *ib.* marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes and surrounds himself to him, 326. pursues Mithridates, and in his way subdues the Albanians and Iberians, 327. tired of following Mithridates, he comes to Syria, of which he takes possession, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucide, *ib.* marches to Pontus, *ib.* returns into Syria, 328. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia, 329. takes Jerusalem, enters the temple, and even the Holy of Holies, 374. after having reduced all the cities of Pontus he returns to Rome, 329. receives the honour of a triumph, *ib.* after his defeat at Pharsalia, he retires into Egypt, 333. is killed, *ib.*
 Popilius (C.) is sent ambassador into Egypt, in order to put an end to the war there, *ib.* 196. obliges Antiochus to quit Egypt, and leave the two Ptolemies, brothers, in quiet possession of it, *ib.* is sent into Peloponnesus to publish the decree of the senate there in favour of the Greeks, 214.
 Porphyry, Syrian, a learned Pagan, declared enemy of Christianity and the Holy Scriptures, ii. 304.
 Porus, Indian king, refuses to submit to Alexander, i. 582. is defeated and taken prisoner, 584. Alexander restores to him his dominions, 585.
 Posts. Invention of posts and couriers, i. 159.
 Potæ, king of Pontus, the son of Mithridates, Cleopatra, ii. 333. advises the death of Pompey, *ib.* endeavours to render Caesar odious to the Egyptians, 334. prevents the effect of Caesar's decree, and makes the Egyptians take arms against him, 337. Caesar causes him to be put to death, *ib.*
 Potæ, king of Macedonia, revolts against the Athenians, to whom it was tributary, i. 222. it is besieged and taken by the Athenians, *ib.* Philip takes that city from them, i. 504.
 Poverty. Love of poverty instituted at Sparta, 398.
 Prophet Daniel, of the 206.
 Proxæsis, confidant of Cambyse, kills Smerdis, by that prince's order, i. 181. his wise and generous flattery of Cambyse, *ib.* promises the Magi to declare before the people Smerdis the Magian the true son of Cyrus, 183. speaks to the people from the top of a tower, declares the contrary to them, throws himself down from the top of the tower, and is killed, *ib.*
 Priapitatus, son and successor of Arsaces II. king of the Parthians, ii. 276.
 Priene, city of Ionia, i. 287.
 Prince. See Kings.
 Pricus, Roman officer, comes to Cleopatra in her retirement, and advises her to put herself into Caesar's hands, *ib.* 343. makes himself master of the person of that princess, *ib.* Caesar orders him to ask her what she desires of him, *ib.*
 Protocus, king of Argos, i. 217.
 Protomachus, one of Alexander's officers, dies in a debauch with his mistress, i. 392.
 Prophecies respecting Pharaoh-Hophra and the Egyptians, i. 67. &c. prophecies concerning Nineveh, 148. Babylon, 162. Cyrus, *ib.* Alexander, 175. Antiochus the Great, *ib.* 173. Seleucus Philopator, 191. Antiochus Epiphanes, 202. Jacob's prophecies concerning the Messiah, 203.
 Prosperity. Proof to which it puts the soul, i. 115. train of prosperity, 154.
 Protagoras, brother of Nicoteles, expels Evagoras II. from Salamis, and retires in his stead, i. 495. Oechus confirms the possession of the throne to him, 446.
 Protagoras of Abdera, sceptic : opinion of Protagoras concerning the Divinity, i. 222. the Athenians expel him their city, and he goes to Sicily, where he is burned, *ib.*
 Proteses, Macedonian : Alexander drinks his health in the bowl of Hercules, i. 597.

Proetus, king of Egypt, i. 63, detains Helen and her riches, and restores her to Menelaus, ib.

Prothus, senator of Sparta, opposes the war against the Thebans, but is disregarded, i. 474.

Protagoras, famous painter. Demetrius's regard for him during the siege of Rhodes, i. 44.

Protemachus, one of the Athenian generals that gained the victory near the islands Arginusæ, and were condemned at their return, i. 341.

Providence, discourse of Socrates upon Providence, i. 385.

Proxenus, of Boeotia, commands a body of Grecian troops in the army of Cyrus the Younger, against his brother Artaxerxes, 333, is seized by treachery and put to death, 358, character of Proxenus, ib.

Prusias I., king of Bithynia, i. 34.

Prusias II., king of Bithynia, surnamed the Hunter, declares for the Romans against Antiochus, ib. 462, makes war against the Romans, 480, services done him by Hannibal during that war, ib. Prusias agrees to deliver him up to the Romans, ib. endeavours to induce the Romans to grant Perseus a peace, 216, his abject flattery in the senate, 243, war of Prusias with Attalus, 234, the senate obliges him to lay down his arms, and to make Attalus satisfaction, ib. Prusias, intending to put his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him, ib.

Trypanis, name of the chief magistrate of Corinth, i. 208.

Psalm I., illustrated, ii. 193.

Psammetichus, king of Egypt, is conquered by Cambyyses, who sends him with clemency, i. 70, endeavours to reascend the throne, and is put to death, ib.

Psammetichus, one of the twelve kings who reigned at the same time in Egypt, is banished into the fens, and on what occasion, i. 66, he defeats the other eleven kings, and remains sole monarch of Egypt, 68, carries off the king of Assyria, 69, besieges Thebes, and takes it after a siege of twenty-nine years, ib. prevents the Scythians from invading Egypt, ib. his method of knowing whether the Egyptians were the most ancient people of the earth, ib.

Psamis, king of Egypt, i. 68.

Ptolemy, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, is married to Demetrius Poliorcetes, ii. 52.

Ptolemy, son of Amyntas II., disputes the crown with Perdicas, i. 479, Pelopidas excludes him from the throne, ib.

Ptolemy, son of Seleucus, is killed at the battle of Ipsus, i. 50.

Ptolemy I., son of Lagos, one of Alexander's generals, takes several cities of India, i. 551, is dangerously wounded at the siege of a city of India, 559, is cured soon after, ib. provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, ii. 32, he causes the body of Alexander to be carried to Alexandria, 33, enters into a league with Antipater, Craterus, and Antigonus, against Perdicas and Eumenes, 19, makes himself master of Syria, Phoenicia, and Judea, 21, takes Jerusalem, ib. forms a league with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus, 31, seizes the island of Cyprus, 32, detests the battle of Ipsus, ib. and makes himself master of Tyre, ib. defeat of one of his generals by Demetrius, ib. different expeditions of Ptolemy against Antigonus, 35, Ptolemy is defeated by Demetrius, who takes from him the isle of Cyprus, 39, &c. assumes the title of king, ib. sends aid to the Rhodians besieged by Demetrius, 43, the Rhodians, in gratitude, give him the title of Soter, 44, Ptolemy allies himself with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 46, those four princes divide the empire of Alexander amongst them, 47, Ptolemy retakes the island of Cyprus from Demetrius, 50, renews the league with Lysimachus, 51, revolt of Magas against Ptolemy, 51, advocates the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, 53, death of Ptolemy Soter, 55, praise of that prince, ib. famous library which he caused to be erected at Alexandria, 54.

Ptolemy II., surnamed Philadelphus, is placed by his father Ptolemy Soter upon the throne of Egypt, ii. 53, the commencement of his reign, 53, his resentment against Demetrius Phalerus, ib. he causes the Holy Scriptures to be translated into Greek, to adorn his library, 63, cultivates the amity of the Romans, 74, his liberality to the Roman ambassadors, ib. sends aid to the Rhodians besieged by Antiochus, 74, revolt of Magas against Ptolemy, 75, the latter quells a conspiracy against his person, ib. works of Ptolemy of advantage to commerce, 76, comes to an accommodation with Magas, ib. war between Ptolemy and Antiochus, 77, peace between those princes, ib. death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 78, Ptolemy's new method of that prince, ib. his taste for arts and sciences, ib. his application to make commerce flourish in his dominions, 76.

Ptolemy III., surnamed Evergetes, succeeds his father Ptolemy Philadelphus, ii. 79, avenges the death of his sister Berenice, puts Ladiodius to death, and seizes part of Asia, 80, in returning from that expedition he goes to Jerusalem, and offers sacrifices there to the God of Israel, 81, league of Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus Callinicus, against Ptolemy, ib. the latter comes to an accommodation with Seleucus, 82, causes Antiochus to be seized, and imprisons him, ib. augments the library of Alexandria, ib. saves Joseph, the nephew of Onias, the farm of the revenues of the provinces of Cæle-syria, Phoenicia, Judea, and Samaria, 83, arrival of Cleomenes at the court of Egypt, 101, death of Ptolemy Evergetes, ib. Ptolemy's liberality to the Rhodians, ib.

Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator, ascends the throne of Egypt after the death of Ptolemy Evergetes, ii. 101, injustice and cruelty of that prince to Cleomenes, 111, Antiochus the Great undertakes to recover Cæle-syria from Ptolemy, 103, short truce between those two princes, 107, Ptolemy gains a great victory over Antiochus, 108, Antiochus retires to Jerusalem, ib. rage and revenge of Ptolemy against the Jews, because they refused to let him enter into the sanctuary, ib. he grants Antiochus peace, ib. the Egyptians revolt against Philopator, 109, that prince gives himself up to all manner of excesses, ib. puts Arsinoë his wife and sister, to death, ib. dies worn out with debauches, 133.

Ptolemy V., called Epiphanes, at the age of five years ascends the throne of Egypt, after the death of Ptolemy Philopator, ii. 133, Antiochus the Great and Philip enter into a league to invade his dominions, ib. Ptolemy is put under the guardianship of the Romans, 135, Aristomenes, the young king's guardian for the Romans, takes Palestine and Cæle-syria from Antiochus, 139, Antiochus retakes those provinces, ib. Scopas's conspiracy against Ptolemy frustrated by Aristomenes, 149, Ptolemy's death, 150, age, ib. he marries Arsinoë, daughter of Antiochus, 151, makes an alliance with the Achæans, 175, treats Hyrcanus, the son of Joseph, with great marks of favour and friendship, ib. &c. takes a disgust to Aristomenes, and puts him to death, and abandons himself to all

sorts of excesses, ib. the Egyptians form several conspiracies against him, ib. Ptolemy chooses Polyocrates for his army-master, ib. with that minister's assistance he gets the better of the rebels, ib. renews the alliance with the Achæans, ib. forms the design of attacking Seleucus, 182, the principal persons of his court poison him, ib.

Ptolemy VI., called Philometor, at six years old succeeds his father Ptolemy Epiphanes, ii. 183, ground of the war between Ptolemy and Antiochus Epiphanes, 192, coronation of Ptolemy, 193, is defeated by Antiochus, ib. loses a second battle against Antiochus, and is taken prisoner, 194, the Alexandrians drive his brother Ptolemy Evergetes II., surnamed Physcon, into his place, ib. Antiochus replaces Philometor in appearance upon the throne, 195, the two brothers unite and reign jointly, ib. the Romans prevent Antiochus from disturbing him, 196, Philometor is dethroned by his brother Physcon, 197, he goes to Rome to implore the senate's clemency, ib. the Romans divide the kingdom of Egypt between the two brothers, ib. new difficulties arise between Philometor and Physcon, ib. Philometor refuses to evacuate the island of Cyprus, 248, gains a victory over Physcon, and takes him prisoner, ib. pardons him and restores him his dominions, ib. marries his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander Balus, 250, permits Onias to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, ib. marches to the aid of Alexander his son-in-law, attacked by Demetrius, 251, Apollonius's plot against Ptolemy, ib. upon the refusal of Alexander to deliver up that traitor, Philometor takes his daughter from him, and restores to Demetrius, and aids him in ascending his father's throne, ib. &c.

Ptolemy VII., called Euergetes II. and Physcon, son of Ptolemy Epiphanes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt in his eldest brother's stead, ii. 294, the two brothers and reign jointly, ib. they give Physcon's excesses of folly and debauchery, 255, Scipio Africanus the Younger goes to that prince's court, ib. Physcon puts away Cleopatra, and marries her daughter, by Philometor, named also Cleopatra, 259, horrible cruelties which he commits in Egypt, ib. a general revolt commences in the kingdom, and restores his new wife to the throne, 261, Physcon returns into Egypt, and reascends the throne, ib. supports the impostor Alexander Zebina, and lends him an army to place him upon the throne of Syria, ib. gives his daughter Tryphena in marriage to Grypus, 260, Physcon's death, 261.

Ptolemy VIII., called Lathyrus, succeeds his father Physcon, ii. 261, Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate his eldest sister, and marry Selene his youngest, ib. Lathyrus aids Antiochus the Cypriensis against John Hyrcanus, 262, Cleopatra takes her daughter Selene from Lathyrus, and obliges him to quit Egypt, and content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, 263, Lathyrus sends an army to besiege Ptolemais, and marches in person against Alexander, king of the Jews, over whom he gains a great victory, ib. barbarous action of Lathyrus after the battle, ib. raises the siege of Ptolemais, 264, makes an ineffectual attempt against Egypt, ib. is recalled to the aid of Antiochus, and returns, ib. new troubles in Egypt, 265, a rebellion rises up against him in Egypt, ib. Lathyrus destroys Thebes, whither the rebels had retired, ib. he dies soon after, ib.

Ptolemy IX., king of Egypt. See Alexander I. son of Physcon.

Ptolemy X., son of Alexander I., king of Egypt. See Alexander II.

Ptolemy XI., surnamed Auletes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt, in the room of Alexander II., ii. 268, causes himself to be declared the friend and ally of the Romans, 269, the influence of Caesar, 270, Pompey, 330, oppresses his subjects in consequence with taxations, ib. is dethroned, ib. the Alexandrians substitute his daughter Berenice in his place, ib. he goes to Rome, and with money gains the suffrages of the principal persons of the commonwealth for his re-establishment, 331, causes most of the ambassadors sent by the Egyptians to Rome, to justify their revolt, to be murdered, ib. an oracle of the Sybil is set up against him, ib. Gabinus reinstates him upon the throne, 332, Auletes puts his daughter Berenice to death, ib. his ingratitude and perfidy to Rabirius, ib. death of Auletes, 333.

Ptolemy XII., son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns after his father with his sister Cleopatra, ii. 333, he expels Cleopatra, ib. causes Pompey to be assassinated by the advice of Theodotus, ib. Caesar makes himself judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 334, he secures the person of Ptolemy, 335, releases him, 336, Pompey war against Caesar, ib. is defeated, and drowned in the Nile, endeavouring to escape, ib.

Ptolemy I., king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, is deposed by the Romans, who confiscate his treasures, ii. 269, he poisons himself, ib.

Ptolemy XIII., son of Ptolemy Auletes, is made king of Cyprus by Caesar, ii. 335, Caesar gives him the crown of Egypt jointly with Cleopatra, 336, death of Ptolemy, poisoned by that princess, ib.

Ptolemy, son of Antony and Cleopatra, is proclaimed king of Egypt, ii. 340.

Ptolemy Apion, natural son of Physcon, is made king of Cyrenaica by his father, ii. 261, he leaves his kingdom to the Romans at his death, 264.

Ptolemy Ceraunus, or the Thunder, son of Ptolemy Soter, succeeds his father, and retires first to Lysimachus, and afterwards to Seleucus, ii. 53, he engages the latter in a war with Lysimachus, 59, assassinates Seleucus and possesses himself of his dominions, 60, marries his sister Arsinoë, widow of Lysimachus, and causes her two children by that prince to be murdered, 61, he sends his daughter Arsinoë to Rome, 61, is soon after punished for those parricides by the Gauls, who kill him in a battle, ib.

Ptolemy Macon, governor of the island of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor, revolts against that prince, enters into

the service of Antiochus Epiphanes, and gives him possession of the island of Cyprus, *ib.* 193. Antiochus gives him a share in his confidence, and the government of Celsyria and Palestine, *ib.* he marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 200. becomes a friend to the Jews, 246. Antiochus Eupator deprives him of his government, *ib.* Ptolemy, though despair, poisons himself, *ib.*

Ptolemy, son of, Cyrrhus, is killed in a battle against the Lacedæmonians, *ib.* 23.

Ptolemy, one of the principal officers of Philip, unites with Apelles in his conspiracy against that prince, *ib.* 116. Philip causes him to be put to death, 118.

Pul, king of the Assyrians, who repents upon the preaching of Jonah, *ib.* 139.

Pulcher, (P. Claudius), consul, is beaten at sea by Adherbal the Carthaginian general, *ib.* 94.

Punic: origin and signification of that word, *ib.* 28. Punic wars, 70, 93, 121.

Pydna, city of Macedonia, is subjected by Philip, *ib.* 504. famous victory gained by Paulus Æmilius over Perseus, near that city, *ib.* 239.

Pylos, a small city of Messenia, taken by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war, *ib.* 146.

Pyramid, Desecration of the pyramids of Egypt, *ib.* 45. judgment to be formed of those famous structures, *ib.*

Pyræus, general of the Ætolians, is twice beaten by Philip, *ib.* 122.

Pyræus, son of, Æacides, king of Epirus, flies from the fury of the rebels, *ib.* 49. he is restored to the throne of Epirus by Glaucias, king of Illyrium, *ib.* the Molossians revolt against him, and plunder all his riches, *ib.* he retires to Demetrius, son of Antigonus, *ib.* distinguishes himself at the battle of Issus, *ib.* goes to Egypt as a hostage for Demetrius, *ib.* marries Antigonus's daughter of Berenice, 50. Ptolemy gives him a fleet and money, of which he makes use for repossessing himself of his dominions, *ib.* Pyræus takes Macedonia from Demetrius, and is declared king of it, 51. he divides that kingdom with Lysimachus, *ib.* is soon obliged to quit it, 52. the Thracians call in Philip, their aid, against the Romans, that prince goes to Italy, 65. he defeats the consul Levinus, 66. causes proposals of peace to be made to the Romans, *ib.* conversation of Pyræus with Fabricius, 67. Pyræus gains a second advantage over the Romans, 69. expeditions of Pyræus in Sicily, *ib.* he returns into Italy, 70. plunders the temple of Proserpine in the country of the Locrians, *ib.* is defeated by the Romans, *ib.* returns into Epirus, *ib.* throws himself into Macedonia, and makes himself master of it for a time, after having defeated Antigonus, 71. expedition of Pyræus into Peloponnesus, *ib.* he besieges Sparta ineffectually, 72. is killed at the siege of Argos, 73. good and bad qualities of Pyræus, *ib.* &c.

Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian, commands part of the fleet of Cyrus the Younger, in the expedition of that prince against his brother Artaxerxes, *ib.* 353.

Pythagoras, son of, Argos, defends the city of Salamis, besieged by Artaxerxes, during his father's absence, *ib.* 376.

Pythagoras, philosopher, *ib.* 295. he goes to Italy and settles at Crotona, where he opens a school of philosophy, *ib.* advocates of silence which he makes his disciples observe, *ib.*

Pythæus of Cyzicus gains the favour of Cyrus, who gives him the revenues of seven cities for a pension, *ib.* 130.

Pytheas, magistrate of the Ætolians, induces them to unite their forces with those of the Ægiæans against the Romans, *ib.* 233. Metellus puts him to death, *ib.*

Pythias, famous astronomer and geographer, *ib.* 236.

Pythia, name of the priestess of Apollo at Delphi, *ib.* 420.

Pythian, celebrated games of Greece, *ib.* 519.

Pythias, friend of Damon: trial to which their friendship was put, *ib.* 450.

Pythius, Lydian prince, generous offer which he makes Xerxes of his riches, *ib.* 550. means which the prince uses to make him sensible of the injustice and absurdity of his conduct, *ib.* cruelty which Pythius experiences from Xerxes, 261.

Pythodorus, sent by the Athenians to the aid of the Leontines, is banished for not having undertaken the conquest of Sicily, *ib.* 317.

Pythou, of Byzantium, famous rhetorician, is deputed by Philip to the Thebans to incline them to peace, *ib.* 530.

QUOT. See Discus.

Q.

RABIRIUS POSTHUMUS, Roman knight, goes to Ptolemy Auletes, in order to be paid the sums he had lent that prince at Rome, *ib.* 225. perfidy of Ptolemy towards him, *ib.* Rabirius is accused at Rome of having assisted Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, *ib.* Cicero undertakes his defence, *ib.*

Race. See Course.

Ragau: name of the plain where Nabuchodonosor conquered Phraortes, *ib.* 146.

Rameses Miamon, king of Egypt, *ib.* 61. he makes the Israelites suffer infinite hardships, *ib.*

Rammus, citizen of Brundisium, is ordered by Perseus to poison Eumenes, *ib.* 307. he goes to Valerius at Chalcis, discovers the whole to him, and follows him to Rome, *ib.*

Raphia, city of Palestine, near which Antiochus the Great was defeated by Ptolemy Philopator, *ib.* 168.

Reading, of history especially: of what use it is to a prince, *ib.* 538. delicacy of the Lacedæmonians in respect to the books that youth were suffered to read, *ib.* 234.

Regillus (L. Æmilius), is charged with the command of the Roman fleet in the room of Livius, *ib.* 161. he gains a complete victory over Polyxenes, Antiochus's admiral, 162. receives the honour of a triumph, 168.

Regulus (M. Attilius), consul, gains a great victory over the Carthaginians near the lake of Crana, *ib.* he goes to Africa, *ib.* the Romans continue him in the command, *ib.* he defeats the Carthaginians, and seizes Tunis, *ib.* he is defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, 92. the Carthaginians send him to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners, 93. at his return they put him to a cruel death, *ib.*

Religion. Origin and source of the religion of the ancients, *ib.* 413. attention of the ancients in discharging all the duties of religion, *ib.* 198. the veil of religion often serves to cover the most criminal designs, *ib.* he must be prepared to resist, 265.

Rhomithæus, one of the revolted cities against Artaxerxes Memnon, delivers up the principal rebels to that prince, to make his own peace, and keeps the money which he had brought from Egypt for the confederacy, *ib.* 488.

Resurrection of the body. Confused notions which the ancients had of the resurrection of the body, *ib.* 342.

Retreat of the ten thousand Greeks after the battle of Cunaxa, *ib.* 348. the march of Opis, 358. the Lobates, *ib.* here the Greek generals were treacherously murdered by Tissaphernes, *ib.* their march to Nineveh, *ib.* they cross the Carduchian mountains, 360. are stopped at the ridge of Zaco, *ib.* cross the Tigris, *ib.* march through the Armenian plains to the Teleboati, *ib.* their march, 361, &c. sail to Sinope, to Heraclea, &c. 362. march towards Byzantium, *ib.* engage in the service of S-uthes, *ib.*

Rhadamanthus, brother of Minos, is appointed by that prince to administer justice in his capital city, *ib.* 400.

Rhampsinitus, king of Egypt, *ib.* 63.

Rhegium, city of Sicily, forms a league against Dionysius, *ib.* 443. it makes peace with that tyrant, *ib.* its refusal to give him a wife, and the insolent answer with which that refusal is attended, 444. Dionysius besieges it out of revenge, 447. miserable fate of that city, *ib.* a Roman legion, by the aid of the Mamertines, comes and settles there, after having expelled the inhabitants, 89. the Romans re-establish the inhabitants, *ib.*

Rhisiasæ, Achaean, by menaces obliges his son Memnon, who was chief magistrate, not to oppose the treaty with the Romans, *ib.* 142.

Rhodes, island and city of Asia Minor, takes up arms against Athens, *ib.* 49. it is declared free, 494. it is subjected by Mausolus, king of Caria, *ib.* the Rhodians undertake to dethrone Artemisia, widow of that prince, *ib.* that princess takes their city, *ib.* the defeat of Artemisia near the famous Colossus, *ib.* the Rhodians refuse to aid Antigonus against Ptolemy, *ib.* 40. Demetrius besieges their city, *ib.* he raises the siege a year after by a peace very honourable for the Rhodians, 44. makes them a present of all the machines of war which he had employed in that siege, *ib.* the Rhodians, in the reign of the famous Colossus, with the money raised by the sale of those machines, *ib.* they import the flattery of Ptolemy, to express their gratitude for the aid he had given them during that siege, *ib.* great earthquake at Rhodes, 53. emulation of the neighbouring princes in consoling that city, *ib.* destruction of the famous Colossus, *ib.* Rhodius, the Rhodians and Byzantines, and the cause of war between the Rhodians and Byzantines, and the cause of it, 105. peace is restored between the two peoples, *ib.* war between the Rhodians and Philip, 134. they defeat Hannibal at sea, 162. dispute between the Rhodians and Eumenes before that city, *ib.* the conquest of the Grecian cities of Asia, *ib.* cruelty of the Rhodians to the Lycians, the Rhodians signalize their zeal for Rome in the war with Perses, 209. they send ambassadors to Rome, and to the Roman army in Macedonia, who speak there in favour of Perses with extraordinary insensibility, *ib.* they send deputies to Rome, who endeavour to appease the anger of the senate, 229. after their unsuccessful solicitations, they succeed in being admitted into the alliance of the Roman people, 230.

Rhodoguna, daughter of Mithridates, king of the Partians, is married to Demetrius, king of Syria, *ib.* 144.

Rhodie, river. Passage of the Rhodie into the Hannibal, *ib.* 101.

Riches, contempt which the ancient Scythians had for riches, *ib.* 233.

Richieu (Cardinal), composed dramatic pieces, and piqued himself upon excelling in that study, *ib.* 443.

Rift, first treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, *ib.* 80. the Romans send deputies to collect the laws of the cities of Greece, 272. second treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, *ib.* 84. war between the Romans and Pyræus, *ib.* 64. they are defeated in two battles by that prince, 66. gain a great victory over Pyræus, and oblig him to quit Italy, 70.

Rome, afterwards near Eumenes, *ib.* they pass over into Africa, *ib.* are at first victorious, and afterwards defeated, *ib.* defeat the Carthaginian fleet in sight of Sicily, 93. go to Sicily and form the siege of Lilyæum, *ib.* are defeated at sea, 94. gain a great victory over the Carthaginians, to whom they grant peace, *ib.* take Sardinia, *ib.* drive Teuta out of Illyrium, *ib.* 88. send a solemn embassy into Greece to notify their treaty with the Illyrians, *ib.* the Corinthians admit them to the Isthmian games, and the Athenians grant them the freedom of their city, *ib.* the Romans drive Demetrius out of Illyrium, 112. they send ambassadors to demand him of Philip, who refuses to deliver him up, *ib.* declare war against the Carthaginians, *ib.* 100. are defeated near the Ticius, 103. near Trebia, 104. and the lake of Trasymene, 106. make several conquests in Spain, 107. lose a great battle near Cannæ, *ib.* Hannibal besieges Rome, 110. the Romans are defeated in Spain, 111. they gain a great battle over Asdrubal, *ib.* go over into Africa, 112. defeat the Carthaginians near Zama, oblig him to demand peace, and grant it them, 113. send deputies to Eumenes and Cleopatra to renew their ancient alliance with Egypt, *ib.* 109. gain an advantage over Philip at Apollonia, 120. break with Hieronymus, 307. upon the news of that prince's death, they send Marcellus into Sicily, *ib.* that general takes Syracuse, 303. alliance of the Romans with the Ætolians, 121. the Romans send Sulpitius to the aid of the Ætolians against Philip, 126. various expeditions of that prince in Macedonia, *ib.* general peace between the Romans and Philip, in which the allies on both sides are included, 131. the Romans accept the guardianship of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 135. they declare war against Philip, 136. defeat that prince in a battle, 138. employ their influence with Antiochus, *ib.* drive him out of Macedonia, *ib.* general peace between the Romans and Philip, in which the allies on 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treatment of Sparta by the Achæans, *ib.* new complaints carried to Rome against Philip, *ib.* 83. the Romans send back his son Demetrius with ambassadors, *ib.* they send ambassadors into Macedonia, to have an eye upon the conduct of Perseus, 205. they break with that prince, 208. war declared in form, 210. the Romans are worsted near the river Peneus, 212. the senate makes a wise decree to put a stop to the avenger of the generals and magistrates, who oppressed the allies, 214. the Romans penetrate into Macedonia, *ib.* &c. they conquer Gentius, king of Illyrium, 216. gain a great victory over Perseus near the city of Pylæa, 224. that prince is taken with his children, 225. decree of the senate, which grants liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians, 226. the Romans oblige Antiochus Epiphanes to quit Egypt, and to leave the two reigning brothers in peace, 136. their cruel treatment of the Ætolians, 231. all in general who had favoured Perseus are cited to Rome, to answer for their conduct there, *ib.* a thousand Achæans carried thither, 232. the senate banishes them into several towns of Italy, *ib.* after seventeen years of banishment they are sent back into their own country, 233. they refuse Eumenes entrance into Rome, *ib.* the Romans divide the kingdom of Egypt between Ptolemy and Ptolemy, 247. one of their ambassadors is killed in Syria, *ib.* — The Romans declare the Jews their friends and allies, 249. they acknowledge Demetrius king of Syria, 250. conquer the Ligurians, and give their territory to the people of Marseilles, 255. defeat Andronicus, and two more commanders, who had possessed themselves of Macedonia, and reduce that kingdom into a Roman province, 257. &c. declare war against the Carthaginians, *ib.* 122. order them to abandon Carthage, 123. besiege and demolish it entirely, 124. &c. decree of the senate for separating several cities from the Achæan league, *ib.* 238. &c. troubles in Achæia, *ib.* the Romans defeat the Achæans, take Thebes, 239. they gain another victory over the Achæans, take Corinth, and burn it, 242. reduce Greece into a Roman province, *ib.* renew the treaties made with the Jews, 253. inherit the riches and dominions of Attalus, king of Pergamus, 256. reduce Arisonicus, who had possessed himself of them, 257. a young Apion, king of Judæa, and Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, leave the Romans their dominions at their death, 261. &c. the Romans reduce those kingdoms into Roman provinces, *ib.* they re-establish the kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia, expelled by Mithridates, 262. first war of the Romans against Mithridates, massacre of all the Romans and Italians in Asia Minor, 310. the Romans gain three great battles against the generals of Mithridates, 311, 313. they grant that prince peace, 314. second war of the Romans with Mithridates, 315. they are defeated by that prince in a battle, 316. gain a great victory over him, and compel him to retire into Armenia, take Thebes, 320. they gain another victory over the Romans over the united forces of Mithridates and Tigranes, 323. they again gain several victories over Mithridates, who had recovered his dominions, 326. subdue Tigranes, king of Armenia, and Tigranes, king of Cappadocia, out of Syria, and reduce that kingdom into a Roman province, 327. — The Romans, by the will of Alexander, king of Egypt, are declared heirs of his dominions, 208. end of the war with Mithridates, 323. the Romans drive Ptolemy out of Cyprus, and confine his treasures, 209. they invade Parthia, and are defeated, 327. &c. declare Ptolemy Auletes their friend and ally, 330. reduce Egypt into a Roman province, 344. Cappadocia is also reduced into a Roman province, 289. reflection upon the conduct of the Romans towards the states of Greece, and the kings both of Europe and Asia, 108. difference between the Romans and the Greeks, 222. Roman haughtiness, 136. setting out of the consul and army, 205. difference of taste of the Romans and Greeks in respect to shows, *ib.* 429.

Rosaces, governor of Lydia and Ionia, commands a detachment of Cæsar's army in that prince's expedition against Egypt, *ib.* 496.

Rosaces, Persian lord, gives proofs of his valour at the battle of the Granicus, *ib.* 534.

Rowers. Condition of them among the ancients, *ib.* 412.

Roxana, sister of Statira, queen of Persia. Tragical history of her, *ib.* 147.

Roxana, daughter of Oxartes, wife of Alexander, *ib.* 578. she is delivered of a son soon after Alexander's death, *ib.* 12. causes Statira, Alexander's widow as well as herself, to be put to death with Dryptus, Hephæstion's widow, 13. Cassander degrades her of all the honours of a queen, and soon after puts her to death, 27. &c.

Roxana, sister of Mithridates, *ib.* 318. deplorable end of that princess, *ib.*

S.

SABACUS, king of Æthiopia, enters Egypt, and conquers it, *ib.* 64. at the expiration of fifty years he retires voluntarily into Æthiopia, *ib.*

Sabians, sect of idolaters in the East, *ib.* 198.

Sabracæ, powerful people of India, where situate, *ib.* 592. subjected by Alexander, 599.

Sace, people of Assyria, subjected by Cyrus, *ib.* 160.

Sadducees, a powerful sect among the Jews: some account of them, *ib.* 263.

Sadyattes, king of Lydia, *ib.* 149. besieges Miletus, *ib.*

Sages. Abridgment of the lives of the seven sages of Greece, *ib.* 245.

Said, the ancient Thebais of Egypt, *ib.* 43.

Sais, city of the Lower Egypt, *ib.* 49.

Salamis, capital city of the island of Cyprus, *ib.* 375.

Salamis, island of Greece, famous for the battle at sea between Xerxes and the Greeks, *ib.* 258.

Salome, wife of Aristobolus I. takes the three princes, her husband's brothers, out of prison, *ib.* 271.

Samaria, city of Palestine, the capital of the kingdom of Israel, *ib.* 415. origin of the sect known by the Samaritans and Jews, 141. the Samaritans oppose the Jews at the time they are rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem, 174. they submit to Alexander, *ib.* 551. cannot obtain the same privileges from that prince as the Jews, 554. mutiny, 556. Alexander drives them from Samaria, *ib.* they convert to Judaism, 557. Antiochus Epiphanes, *ib.* 197. destruction of Samaria, *ib.* 198. Hannos, 262.

Sambucus, machine of war of the ancients, *ib.* 300.

Samos, island and city of Ionia, *ib.* 205. Samos taken and destroyed by the Athenians, 257. Lysander re-establishes the ancient inhabitants in it, *ib.* 304. the famous flattery of the Samians towards the Lacedæmonians, 351.

Samothracia, island of the Archipelago, considered as sacred and inviolable, *ib.* 224.

Sandracotta, India, possesses himself of n. the provinces of India, which Alexander had conquered, *ib.* 45. Seleucus under-

takes to drive him out of them, *ib.* those two princes come to an accommodation, 46.

Sangata, city of India, taken and entirely demolished by Alexander, *ib.* 555.

Sasouchus, king of Babylon. See Nabuchodonosor I.

Sappho, of Mitylene, surnamed the tenth Muse, *ib.* 225.

Sardis, king of Assyria, *ib.* 141. revolt of Nabopolassar against that prince at the death of Sardanapalus, 147.

Sardataspalus, king of Assyria, *ib.* 139. his effeminacy, *ib.* his death, *ib.*

Sardinia, island of Europe in the Mediterranean, subjected by the Carthaginians, *ib.* 79.

Sardis, or city of Lydia, subjected by Cyrus, *ib.* 165. it is taken and burnt by Artabanus and the Athenians, 239. now reduced to a small village and named Sari, 165.

Satire, sort of poem, *ib.* 431.

Satrapæ, name given to the governors of provinces amongst the Persians, *ib.* 127.

Saturn, pagan divinity, *ib.* 71.

Scamnia, name given to the place where the athletes combated, *ib.* 426.

Scarpus, general of Antony's army in Libya, declares for Cassius, *ib.* 541.

Scarpus, Pompey's lieutenant, reduces Syria and Damascus, *ib.* 327.

Scæurus (Emilius), is deputed by the Romans to Jugurtha, *ib.* 131. he suffers himself to be bribed by that prince, *ib.*

Scenæ, or Stage, part of the theatre of the ancients, *ib.* 431.

Sciences.

Scipio (Publius), marches into Spain against Hannibal, *ib.* 101. he passes the Po, and is defeated near the Ticinus, 104. is sent into Spain, and joins his brother Cn. Scipio there, 107. Scipio's great progress there, 110. divide their troops, 135. Publius is killed in a battle, *ib.*

Scipio (Cneus), is sent by his brother into Spain to make head against Asdrubal, *ib.* 102. the two brothers join each other, and have great success, 107. Cneus is killed in a battle, 111.

Scipio (P. Cornelius), surnamed Africanus, makes himself master of Numidia, *ib.* 114. he is sent into Africa, and goes over into Africa, *ib.* has an interview with Hannibal, and gains a great victory over that general, 114. &c. grants the Carthaginians peace, *ib.* conversation between Scipio and Hannibal at Ephesus, 117. Scipio serves as lieutenant to his brother L. Scipio in the war with Antiochus, *ib.* 164. he rejects the offers of Antiochus, 165. Scipio's death, 165.

Scipio (L. Cornelius), surnamed Asiaticus, is charged with the war against Antiochus, *ib.* 161. he goes to Asia, 162. gains a famous victory over Antiochus, near Magnesia, 164. receives the honour of a triumph, 165.

Scipio Nasica, son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, is charged with an important expedition by Paulus Æmilius, when he executes highly to his honour, *ib.* 221. he is sent into Macedonia to appease the troubles excited by Andronicus, 237.

Scipio (Publius), surnamed Africanus the Younger, distinguishes himself in the war with Carthage, *ib.* 12. he returns to Rome to demand the office of cædile, 125. the people give him the consulship, *ib.* Scipio goes to Africa, and advances against Carthage, *ib.* takes that city and demolishes it, 126. &c. is sent ambassador into Egypt, Syria, and Greece, *ib.* 255. use which he makes of the presents sent him by Antiochus, 258. character and praise of Scipio, *ib.* 128. his intimate friendship with Polybius, *ib.*

Scismas, eldest son of Datames, becomes his accuser to Artaxerxes, *ib.* 360.

Scythians, are placed at the head of the Ætolian troops in the war against the Achæans, *ib.* 111. he ravages Macedonia, 112. prevails upon the Ætolians to make an alliance with the Romans, 121. goes into the service of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, 139. possesses himself of Judæa, *ib.* is defeated by Antiochus, and obliged to accept ignominious conditions, *ib.* conspires against Ptolemy, and is put to death, 149.

Scorpion, machine of war, *ib.* 700.

Scylax, Greek of Caryanda, is commissioned by Darius to discover India, *ib.* 237. acquires himself happily of that commission, *ib.*

Scylurus, king of the Scythians, in what manner he recommended unity to his children, *ib.* 234.

Scytale, used among the Lacedæmonians. What it was, *ib.* 231.

Scythia, Scythians: the Scythians possess themselves of Upper Asia, *ib.* 147. are driven out at the end of twenty-eight years, *ib.* Darius designs to punish them for that invasion, 235. the Scythians refuse to submit, 236. they send a herald to Darius with presents, *ib.* ravage Thrace, 237. send ambassadors to Alexander, who speak to him with extraordinary freedom, *ib.* 573. are defeated and subjected by that prince, 575. make war with Phrates to revenge themselves on him for his injustice, defeat him in a battle, and ravage his kingdom, *ib.* 259. manners and character of the ancient Scythians according to Herodotus, *ib.* 232. manners and character of the ancient Scythians according to Justin, *ib.* in what time luxury got ground amongst them, 234. see Asian.

Scythopolis, city of the tribe of Manasseh, *ib.* 147.

Sea. Red Sea. The passage of the Red Sea, manifestly indicated in Diodorus Siculus, *ib.* 61.

Sects of idolaters in the East, *ib.* 198. different sects of philosophers, *ib.* 200.

Segesta, city of Sicily, puts itself under the protection of the Carthaginians, *ib.* 81.

Selasia, city of Peloponnese, famous for the battle between Antigonus and Cleopatra, *ib.* 90.

Selenus, son of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Cleopatra, is compelled by her mother to marry her brother Lathyrus, *ib.* 261. Cleopatra makes her quit Lathyrus, and gives her in marriage to Antiochus Grypus, 263. Seleus, after the death of Grypus, marries Antiochus Eusebes, 265. Eusebes, having been driven out of his dominions, she keeps the possession of Ptolemais, a part of Phœnicia and Coele-Syria, and reigns there many years, *ib.* she conceives hopes of ascending the throne of Egypt, 266. sends her two sons to Rome with that view, *ib.*

Selucia, city of Syria, built by Seleucus Nicator, *ib.* 48.

Selucia, city situated upon the Tigris, built by Seleucus Nicator, *ib.* 51.

Seleucia, end of the empire of the Seleucida in Asia, *ib.* 327.

Seleucus Nicator is placed at the head of all the cavalry of the empire, at the death of Alexander, *ib.* 12. is settled by Antipater in the government of Babylon, 20. joins Antigonus and Ptolemy against Eumenes, 26. escapes from Babylon and retires into Egypt, 31. forms a league with Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, against Antigonus, *ib.* makes himself

master of Babylon, 34, assumes the title of king, 35, strengthens himself upon the throne of Syria, 39, makes an expedition into India, 45, league between Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 46, Seleucus commands an army of the confederates, and gains a glorious victory near Ipsus, in the four victorious princes divide the empire of Alexander the Great amongst them, 47, Seleucus builds several cities, 48, makes an alliance with Demetrius, ib. quarrels with him, and takes Chirra from him, 50, builds Seleucia, 51, forms a league with Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Pyrrhus, against Demetrius, ib. gets that prince's person into his hands, 53, gives his wife and part of his dominions to his son Antiochus, 60, makes war against Lysimachus, defeats him in battle, and possesses himself of all his dominions, ib. is assassinated, Coranus, whom he had laden with favours, ib. character of Seleucus, ib.

Seleucus Callinicus ascends the throne of Syria after his father Antiochus Theos had been poisoned by Laodice, ii. 80, he endeavours to retake what Ptolemy had conquered from him, and is unsuccessful on several occasions, 81, unites with his brother Hierax against Ptolemy, ib. war between the two brothers, ib. Seleucus marches against Arsaces, 82, is taken prisoner, ib. death of Seleucus, 83.

Seleucus Ceraunus succeeds his father Seleucus Callinicus, ii. 102, is poisoned by two of his principal officers, 103, Seleucus Philopator is left by his father Antiochus the Great to govern Syria during his absence, ii. 175, he ascends the throne of Syria, ib. sends Heliodorus to Jerusalem to bring away his treasures, 191, Heliodorus causes him to be poisoned, ib.

Seleucus, the son of Demetrius Nicator, causes himself to be declared king of Syria, ii. 260, his mother Cleopatra kills him with her own hands, ib.

Seleucus, eldest son of Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, succeeds him, ii. 264, supports himself against Antiochus the Cynician, ib.

Seleucus Cybasactes, son of Antiochus Eusebes and Selene, goes to Rome to solicit the senate for his mother, ii. 266, accepts the crown of Egypt, and Berenice, ib. renders himself odious by his base inclination, ib. Berenice causes him to be put to death, ib.

Seleucus, governor of Pelusium for Cleopatra, delivers up that city to Caesar by order of that queen, ii. 342.

Selinus, city of Sicily, i. 318, destruction of that city by Hannibal, i. 82.

Semiramis, queen of Assyria: her birth, i. 125, she marries Ninus, ib. manner in which she ascends the throne, ib. visits all the parts of her empire, 127, Semiramis' authority over her people, ib. her conquests, ib. she puts the government into her son's hands, and retires from the sight of mankind, ib. difference between Semiramis and Sardananius, 139.

Sempronius, consul, is defeated by Hannibal near Trebia, i. 103.

Senate. Carthaginian senate, i. 73, senate of Sparta, 113, senate of Athens, 403, senate of Rome described by Cincius, ii. 66.

Sennacherib, king of Nineveh, declares war against Heshkiah, and reduces Jerusalem to extremities, i. 140, writes to Heshkiah a letter full of blasphemies against the God of Israel, and marches against the king of Egypt, whose dominions he ravages, ib. returns against Jerusalem, 141, his army is destroyed by an angel, ib. is murdered by his own children, ib. Septimius, Roman officer in the service of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, assassinates Pompey, ii. 233.

Septuagint Version: some account of, ii. 63.

Serapis, divinity adored in Egypt, ii. 54, his image is brought from Pontus to Alexandria, ib.

Serdidides, king of India, exercises a kind of piracy at the expense of all his neighbours, ii. 88, joins the Achæans against the Ætoliens, 112, makes an alliance with the Romans, 121.

Seron, general of Antiochus Epiphanes, is defeated by Judas Maccabæus, and killed in the battle, ii. 18.

Sertorius, Roman general, makes a treaty with Mithridates, ii. 316.

Servilius serves in the Roman army in quality of proconsul, i. 108, is killed in the battle of Cannæ, ib.

Sesach, or Sanchis, king of Egypt, ii. 64, marches against Jerusalem, and carries away all its treasures, ib. &c.

Sesostris, king of Egypt, his education, i. 61, his conquests, ib. his works beneficial to Egypt, 62, his blind fondness for his own grandeur, ib. his death, ib.

Sethon, king of Egypt, causes himself to be consecrated high priest of Vulcan, abandons himself entirely to superstition, i. 65, miraculous manner in which, as Herodotus relates, he was delivered from Sennacherib's irruption into his dominions, ib. &c. death of Sethon, ib.

Sethosis. See Sesostris.

Sesuthes, prince of Thrace, is re-established in his father's dominions by Xenophon, i. 302, perfidy of that prince to Xenophon and his troops, ib.

Shalmanezar, king of Nineveh, i. 140, conquers Hoshæa, king of Samaria, loads him with chains, and destroys the kingdom of Israel, ib. death of Shalmanezar, ib.

Shepherd. There are in great consideration in Egypt, i. 56, and in India, i. 580.

Shinar, plain where Babylon was built, i. 134.

Ship, galley, vessel. Ship-building of the ancients, i. 411, &c. fitting out of the fleets of Athens, i. 506, ship of enormous magnitude built by Ptolemy Philopator, ii. 51.

Shows. Difference of taste between the Greeks and Romans in respect to shows, i. 429, their passion for shows one of the principal causes of the decline, degeneracy, and corruption of Athens, 402.

Sicilians, people of Snin: they come to settle in Sicily, i. 318, Sicily, island of the Mediterranean: description of, i. 318, its extent, 317, N. their deplorable state owing to misgovernment, 318, N. different people that inhabited it, ib.

Sicion, city of Peloponnesus: its kings, i. 207, it is delivered from tyranny, and is given to the Achæan league by Aratus, ii. 84, Sicion was long in great reputation for arts and sciences, ib.

Sidon, city of Phenicia, despair of the Sidonians when they see Ochus master of their city, i. 495, they submit to Alexander, i. 544.

Sieges. Famous sieges of antiquity: of Carthage by the Romans, i. 125, &c. of Babylon by Cyrus, 109, of the same city by Darius, 121, of Phlæa by the Lucædæmonians, 304, of Syracuse by the Athenians, 323, of the same city by Mæcillus, ii. 200, of Tyre by Alexander, i. 545, of Rhodes by Demetrius, 100, of Athens by Sylla, 345.

Signals by fire. Manner of making signals by fire, ii. 126.

Simon, surnamed the Just, succeeds his father Onias in the high-priesthood of the Jews, ii. 47, his death, 51.

Simon, son of Mattathias, ii. 197, is chosen general in the revolt of Jonathan, 200, and marches against Tryphon, 253, is made high-priest and prince of Judæa, 254, renews the ancient treaties with the Romans, ib. death of Simon, 257.

Simon, Jew, has the guard of the temple assigned him: his treachery, ii. 191.

Simonides, Greek poet: his answer to Hiero, who asked him what God was, i. 224, Simonides preserved by the gods, i. 429.

Sinatrocæ, king of the Parthians, ii. 277.

Sioope, city of Pontus. Lucullus gives it liberty, ii. 320.

Sisyphus, son of Æolus, makes himself master of Corinth, i. 208.

Sitalces, king of the Odrysians in Thrace, makes an alliance with the Athenians, i. 300.

Slavery. Slaves. Slavery incompatible with the study of philosophy, i. 295, the highest price that can be paid for it, cannot reconcile free men to it, 296, what happens to such as have once submitted to a state of servitude, 294.

Smerdis, or Tannoaxes, son of Cyrus, is made governor of several provinces by his father Cyrus, i. 172, Cambyse causes him to be slain, 181.

Smerdis the Magian passes for the son of Cyrus, and ascends the throne of Persia, i. 182, &c. his imposture is discovered, ib. he is killed by the conspirators, 183.

Smerdones, one of the six generals of Xerxes' army in that prince's expedition against Greece, i. 252.

Smyrna, city of Æolis, i. 203.

Sobriety. Excellent lesson upon sobriety, i. 153.

Socrates, prince of philosophers, his birth, i. 321, he applies at first to sculpture, ib. then to the study of the sciences, ib. his wonderful progress in them, ib. his taste for moral philosophy, ib. he devotes himself entirely to the instruction of the ill temper of his wife, ib. Demoon or familiar spirit of Socrates, 323, the Delphic oracle declares him the wisest of mankind, ib. Socrates distinguishes himself at the battle of Potidaea, and at that of Delium, 328, his intimacy with Alcibiades, ib. he advocates the execution of the instruction of the Athenian youth, 334, attachment of his disciples to him, 335, admirable principles which he gives them upon government and religion, 336, &c. he industriously applies himself to discredit the sophists in the opinion of the Athenian youth, ib. what was the nature of the popular manner ascribed to him, 337, Socrates is accused of holding false opinions concerning the gods, and corrupting the youth of Athens, ib. &c. he defends himself without art or meanness, 338, is condemned to die, 390, refuses to escape out of prison, 391, passes the last day of his life in discoursing with his friends upon the immortality of the soul, 393, &c. he drinks the hemlock, 394, punishment of his accusers, ib. honours rendered to his memory by the Athenians, ib. reflections upon the sentence passed on Socrates by the Athenians, and upon Socrates himself, 395, relation between the death of Socrates and that of the governor of Tyrus, 397.

Socrates, of Achaia, commands a body of Greek troops in the expedition of Cyrus the Younger, against his brother Artaxerxes, i. 353, he is seized by treachery, and put to death, 358.

Socrates, son of Nicomedes, dethrones his brother Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, ii. 309.

Sogdiana, province of Upper Asia, i. 29, Alexander makes himself master of Sogdiana, i. 573, it revolts against that prince, ib. great courage of thirty young Sogdian prisoners condemned to die by Alexander, 575.

Sogdianus, natural son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, kills Xerxes II, and ascends the throne of Persia in his stead, i. 310, he puts Ilogoræus, one of his father's eunuchs, to death, ib. he is dethroned by Ochus, who caused him to be stifled in ashes, 311.

Solar year. At what time it began to be used, i. 56.

Soldiers. Employment and exercises of the Roman soldiers in their camp, ii. 220.

Solon, one of the seven sages of Greece, is elected archon and legislator by the Athenians, i. 217, government which he instituted at Athens, ib. &c. laws which he gives the Athenians, 218, travels of Solon into Egypt and Lydia, 149, his conduct at the court of Cræsus, ib. conversation of Solon with Thales upon marriage, 217, at his return to Athens he finds every thing changed, 219, he endeavours to make Pisistratus abdicate the tyranny, 220, &c.

Solibus, Lacedæmonian, preceptor to Hannibal, i. 119, he accompanies Hannibal in his expeditions, and composes the history of that great captain, ib.

Soothsayers. Reflection upon the events of some of their predictions, i. 537.

Sophists. Definition of the sophists, i. 336.

Sophocles, one of the Athenian generals, is banished for not having attempted the conquest of Sicily, i. 317.

Sophocles, tragical poet: he disputes the prize with Æschylus, and carries it against him, i. 433, his death, ib. tragedy of Œdipus, &c. he is, in what manner he defended himself, in a very advanced age against the ingratitude of his children, ib. character of Sophocles, 433.

Sophonisba, Asdrubal's daughter, is married to Syphax, i. 312, Masinissa having conquered Syphax, marries Sophonisba, and tries to get her from falling into the hands of the Romans is reduced to send her person, ib.

Sophrosyne, daughter of Dionysius the Elder, is married to her brother, Dionysius the Younger, i. 451.

Soranius, one of Lucullus's officers, commands in Pontus during the absence of that general, ii. 320.

Soranus, Pontus Philopator's minister, causes Arsinoe, the king's sister and wife, to be murdered, ii. 109, he is obliged to quit his employment, ib. prevents that prince from aiding Cleomenes, and advises him to seize his person, 111.

Sosibius, son of the former, has the care of the person of the young king Ptolemy Epiphanes, ii. 133.

Sosis, one of the chief conspirators against Hieronymus, seizes the quarter of Achradina, and exhorts the Syracusans to recover their liberty, ii. 297, he is chosen one of the principal magistrates, ib. commands the troops sent to the aid of Marcus, 300.

Sosius (Caius), consul, declares for Antony, and goes to him, ii. 340.

Sosthenes, Mæcedonian, drives the Gauls out of Mæcedonia, and reigns there for some time, ii. 62, he is overpowered by the great number of Pænnian troops, ib.

Sostratus, architect, builds the tower of Pharos, ii. 54, deceit

which he uses for engrossing the whole honour of that work to himself, i. 50.

Sositrat, or Sositrat, governor of Syracuse, delivers up that city to Pyrrhus, ii. 69. Pyrrhus, in return, is for putting him to death, ib.

Soul. Discourse of Socrates before his death upon the immortality of the soul, i. 333.

Spain. Description of Spain, i. 79. mines of gold and silver, 74. the Carthaginians make themselves masters of part of Spain, 79. it is entirely conquered by the Romans, 112.

Sparta. See Lacedæmonia.

Spendius, of Capua, in concert with Matho, causes the mercenaries to revolt against the Carthaginians, i. 96. he is placed at their head, ib. puts Gisgo to death, ib. treats with the Carthaginians, 97. is seized and hanged, ib.

Stæusippus, philosopher, Plato's nephew, his intimacy with Dion, i. 456.

Sphæcteris, small island over against Pylos, i. 308.

Sphærus, philosopher, assisist Cleomenes in re-establishing the ancient discipline of Sparta, ii. 95.

Sphodrias, Lacedæmonian, who commanded in Thespie, forms a fruitless enterprise against the Piræus, i. 473. is acquitted for that attempt by the influence of Agæsilas, ib.

Spirit. Familiar spirit of Socrates, i. 353.

Spitæmenes, confidant of Bessus, forms a conspiracy against him, and delivers him up to Alexander, i. 572. he raises Bactria against that prince, 573. his wife not being able to persuade him to surrender himself to Alexander, kills him in the night, 578.

Spirithrides, one of Artaxerxes Mnemon's principal officers, goes over to Agæsilas, and does him great services, i. 361. is killed at the excessive severity of Hierapidas, he retires to Sardis, 370.

Spirithobates, satrap of Ionia, and son-in-law of Darius, distinguishes himself by his valour at the battle of the Granicus, i. 334. Alexander lays him dead with his lance, ib.

Stauria, city of Macedonia, Aristotle's native place, destroyed by Philip, and re-built by Alexander, i. 525.

Stasierates, architect and great mechanic, is appointed by Alexander to execute the Catafalco, or magnificent funeral pile of Hephestion, i. 335. he proposes to Alexander to cut mount Athos into the form of a mountain, 370. See Diococrates.

Stater, ancient coin, its value, i. 301.

States. See Kingdoms.

Statura, wife of Artaxerxes Mnemon: revenge which she takes for the death of her brother Teriteuchnes, i. 347.

Statura, wife of Darius, falls into Alexander's hands, 543. death of that princess, 560.

Statura, eldest daughter of Darius, marries Alexander the Great, i. 543. she is murdered by the intrigues of Roxana, ii. 12.

Stenaitis, sister of Mithridates, resolves orders from that prince to die, ii. 318. she dies courageously, ib.

Stesagoras, eldest son of Cimón, is established sovereign of the Thracian Chersonesus by his uncle Miltiades, i. 241.

Sthenelus, king of Mycenæ, i. 207.

Stilpon of Megara, philosopher, ii. 37.

Stratops. The use of them unknown to the ancients, i. 410.

Stratus, physician, goes to Rome with Attalus, ii. 329. his wise remonstrances prevent that prince from asking to share the kingdom of Pergamus with his brother Eumenes, ib. &c.

Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius, marries Seleucus, ii. 49. that prince gives her to his son Archæchus, 60.

Stratonice, one of the wives of Mithridates, submits to Pompey, ii. 328. revenge Mithridates takes of her, ib.

Sua, king of Ethiopia. See Sabacus.

Submission: means for inspiring it, i. 155. manner of exacting submission of nations by the Persians, 324. &c.

Suffetes, chief magistrates of the Carthaginians, i. 72. origin of the appellation, ib. N. similarity to the Hebrew Sophetim, ib.

Sulpitius, (P.) Roman prætor, is sent against Philip, ii. 122. different actions of Sulpitius in Macedonia, ib. he is elected consul and goes into Macedonia, 136. gains a considerable victory over Philip, 138. &c.

Sulpitius Gallus, tribune of the Roman army against Perseus, foretells an eclipse to the troops, ii. 222. the senate commissions him to inspect secretly the conduct of Eumenes and Antiochus, 241. his imprudent conduct in executing that commission, ib.

Sun. Profound reverence with which the Persians adored that luminary, i. 198.

Superstition. Its great effect upon the minds of the populace, i. 553.

Supreme good. See Good.

Surenæ, general of the army of the Parthians, gains a great victory over Crassus, ii. 279. Orodes, jealous of his glory, puts him to death, 284. praise of Surenæ, ib.

Surveying invented by the Egyptians, i. 56.

Susa, city of Persia, submits to Alexander, i. 562.

Swans, what is said of their singing, i. 49.

Sybaris, city of Great Greece, i. 206. luxury and effeminacy of its inhabitants, ib. total ruin of that city, ib.

Sybotæ. Island over against Coreyra, famous for the battle between the people of Coreyra and the Corinthians, i. 285.

Syrenesis, king of Cilicia, abandons the pass of that country on the approach of Cyrus the Younger, i. 353.

Sylla serves under Marius in quality of questor, i. 132. that general sends him to Bocchus to receive Jugurtha from him, ib. he causes a ring to be made with that action represented upon it, which he uses ever after as his seal, ib. re-establishes Ariobarzanes upon the throne of Cappadocia, ii. 308. is charged with the war against Mithridates, 310. besieges Athens, ib. and takes it, 312. he is victorious in three great battles against the general of Mithridates, i. &c. has an interview with him, 314. grants him peace, 314. marches against Fimbricia, ib. passes through Athens, seizes its library, and sends it to Rome, 315.

Sylosen, brother of Polyperates, tyrant of Samos: his generosity to Darius, i. 231. rewards which he receives for it, ib.

Syphax, king of Numidia, joins with the Romans, i. 120. he is defeated by Massinissa, ib. marries Sophonisba, and goes over to the Carthaginians, ib. is defeated by Scipio, and taken prisoner, ib.

Syraco, name of a marsh from whence Syracuse took its name, i. 323.

Syracuse, city of Sicily: its foundation, i. 332. description of that city, ib. history of Syracuse to the reign of Gelon, 292. of Hiero, 293. of Thrasybulus, 294. siege of Syracuse by the Athenians, 323. the city is reduced to extremities, 321. the arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, 326. the Syracusans

make themselves masters of the Athenian army, and put the two generals to death, 332. &c. Dionysius makes himself tyrant of Syracuse, 411. ineffectual attempts of the Syracusans against him, 442. &c. Dionysius the Younger succeeds his father, 454. Dionysius the Younger, his character, ingratitude of the Syracusans to Dion, 460. &c. Hieronius the Younger re-ascends the throne, 463. Syracuse implores the aid of the Corinthians, who send them Timoleon, 464. that general restores the liberty of the city, 465. Agathocles usurps the supreme authority at Syracuse, 467. after the death of that tyrant, Syracuse recovers its liberty, ii. 87. it calls in the aid of Pyrrhus against the Carthaginians, i. 58. it chooses Hiero II, king, ii. 294. mildness of his reign, 292. Hieronymus succeeds Hiero, 297. troubles at Syracuse after the death of Hieronymus, 298. Syracuse besieged and taken by Marcellus, 300. 303. reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, 305.

Syria, province of Asia, it is reduced into a Roman province, ii. 267.

Sysigambis, mother of Darius, is taken prisoner by Alexander after the battle of Issus, i. 542. she cannot survive the death of Alexander, 598.

T. Tacros ascends the throne of Egypt, i. 487. he raises troops to defend himself against the king of Persia, ib. obtains assistance from the Lacedæmonians, who are commanded by Agæsilas, ib. seeing himself abandoned by Agæsilas he quits Egypt, and retires to the court of Persia, &c. Artaxerxes pardons him, and gives him the command of his troops against the rebels, ib.

Tactics: wherein that art consists, i. 192.

Talent. Value of the Babylonian talent, i. 137. value of the Attic talent, ib.

Talhybuis, Agamemnon's herald, honoured as a god at Sparta, i. 243.

Tamias, Egyptian, commands the fleet of Cyrus the Younger in that prince's expedition against his brother, i. 354.

Tanaoxares, son of Cyrus. See Smerdis.

Tarentum, city of Italy, the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans, ii. 64. that prince leaves a garrison in their city, 69.

Tarconia, part of ancient Spain, i. 79.

Tarsus, city of Cilicia, subdued by Alexander, i. 537.

Taxilus, Indian king, puts himself under the protection of Alexander, i. 552. he accompanies that prince in his expedition against Forus, 553. Alexander sends him to Forus to persuade him to submit, 56. Forus is reconciled to Taxilus, 568.

Taxilus, one of the generals of Mithridates, joins Archelaus, and is defeated by Sylla, ii. 311, 313.

Tegæa, city of Arcadia, i. 205. war between its inhabitants and those of Mantinea, i. 482.

Tegæa, king of Pontus, declares a battle between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians near it, i. 473.

Telarch, office amongst the Thebans: what it was, i. 592.

Telescope, glass for seeing remote objects: invention of it, ii. 12.

Telutius is declared admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet by the influence of Agæsilas, his brother by the mother's side, i. 374. he besieges Corinth by sea, ib. is sent against Olynthus, in the room of Phædrius, i. 469. is killed in battle, ib.

Tellus, citizen of Athens, esteemed most happy, and why, i. 14.

Telys, Sybarite, occasions the ruin of his country, i. 296.

Temenus, one of the principal Heraclidæ, re-enters Peloponnesus, i. 208. Argos falls to him by lot, ib.

Temple, famous one of Echecus, i. 527.

Ten. Council of Ten established at Athens, i. 350.

Tenax, king of Sidon, delivers up that city to Ochus, i. 496.

Ochus, to reward his treason, puts him to death, ib.

Tenth. Custom among the Greeks of giving the tenth to the gods, i. 264.

Ternæ, Latin poet: abridgement of his life, i. 76.

Teriteuchnes, brother of Hiero, detours the tyrant of Theron, engages the Carthaginians to invade Sicily, i. 292.

Teriteuchnes, brother of Statura, wife of Artaxerxes, marries Hamestris, daughter of Darius, i. 347. tragical history of Teriteuchnes, 348.

Teuta, after the death of Agon her husband, prince of Illyrium, reigns in that island, ii. 68. her gross insult on the Romans in the persons of their ambassadors, ib. she is obliged to demand peace of them, and obtains it, ib.

Thais, famous courtesan, born in Attica, occasions the burning of the palace of Persepolis, in a drunken revel with Alexander, ii. 504.

Thales of Miletus, philosopher: reasons that prevented him from marrying, i. 217. founder of the Ionic sect, 225.

Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes from a remote country to visit Alexander, i. 568.

Tharacia, king of Ethiopia, after the death of Sethon, i. 65.

Tharshish, second son of Javan, settles in Greece, i. 206.

Thasus, island in Thrace, revolts against the Athenians, i. 277. Cimón obliges it to submit, ib.

Theno, priestess at Athens, refuses to curse Alcibiades, i. 324.

Thearides, brother to Dionysius the Elder, is sent to Olympia by that tyrant, to dispute the prize of poetry and the chariot-race, i. 449.

Theatre. Description of the theatre of the ancients, i. 437. declamation of the theatre composed and set to notes, 438.

Thebes, city of Egypt, i. 43.

Thebe, wife of Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, obtains permission of her husband to see and converse with Pelopidas, i. 480. her conversation with that Theban makes her conceive an aversion for her husband, ib. she makes her three brothers assassinate him, 482.

Thebes, city of Boeotia in Greece: its foundation, i. 298. kings of Thebes, ib. the Thebans besiege Plataea, ib. they gain a victory over the Athenians near Ilion, 312. give refuge to the Athenians, who flee after the use of their city by Lysander, 320. enter into a league with Titraustes against the Lacedæmonians, 370. value of the Thebans at the battle of Coronæa, 373. they are compelled by the treaty of Antalcidas to give the cities of Boeotia their liberty, i. 468. Thebes falls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, 470. Pelopidas restores it to its liberty, ib. the Thebans gain a considerable advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Pegara, 473. they destroy Plataea and Thespiea, 474. defeat the Lacedæmonians, and put them to flight at the battle of Leuctra, 475. ravage Laconia, and advance to the gates of Sparta, 477. send Pelopidas to Persia, 478. and obtain the title of friends and allies of the king, 478. they make Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, submit, 479. make a second

- attempted against Sparta, 482. gain a great victory over the Lacedæmonians near Mantinea, 494, &c. aid Artabazus against the king of Persia, 491, call in Philip to their aid against the Phocians, 511, the Thebans, Messenians, and Argives, enter into an alliance with Philip to attack Peloponnesus, 514, the Thebans join the Athenians against Philip, 320, they are defeated near Chaeris, 514, Philip cuts a garrison into their city, 521, the Thebans, after the death of that prince, put part of the garrison to the sword, 530. Alexander marches against them, and destroys their city, 51, &c. re-establishment of Thebes by Cassander, ii. 25, the Thebans make an alliance with the Romans in the war against Persus, 275, they surrender themselves to the Romans, 280, Syria deprives them of half their territory, 312.
- Theft of a certain kind permitted, and even commanded to the young Lacedæmonians, i. 210, it was the most severely punished of all crimes by the Scythians, 233.
- Theistocles, Athenian, distinguishes himself at the battle of Marathon, i. 244, he removes Epicydes from the command, and causes himself to be elected general in his stead, 253, supports the decree to recall Aristides, ii. resigns the honour of commanding the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, 254, induces the Athenians to abandon their city, 257, persuades the Greeks to fight in the strait of Salamis, 261, the Lacedæmonians decree the prize of wisdom to him after the victory of Salamis, 260, acclamations with which he is received at the Olympic games, 261, he restores the walls of Athens, and fortifies the Piræus, 267, black death, which he conceives for punishing the Lacedæmonians, 268, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians uniting against him as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Pausanias, he takes refuge with Admetus, 269, he retires to Artaxerxes, 274, his great influence with that prince, 275, he kills himself, 277, character of Theistocles, 284.
- Themistus, magistrate of Syracuse, conspires with Andranodorus to seize the sovereignty, ii. 298, he is killed by order of the other magistrates, 310.
- Theon, commander of the citadel of Syracuse, surrenders himself to Eurytus, ii. 69, that prince puts him to death, 170.
- Theocritus, son of Hieron, 184.
- Theodorus, chief of the Pamphiliæ at Athens: what he ventured to say in respect to the maledictions or curses, i. 340.
- Theodorus, citizen of Syracuse, ventures to declare himself openly against Dionysius in favour of liberty, i. 446.
- Theodotus, son of Hieron, is put to death by him to Dion to compel him to return to the aid of Syracuse, i. 400, he puts himself into Dion's hands, 401, Dion pardons him, 402.
- Theodotus, governor of Bactriana, revolts against Antiochus, and causes himself to be declared king of that province, ii. 72, he dies, 82.
- Theodotus, son of the former, succeeds his father, ii. 82, forms a league offensive and defensive with Arsaces, 113.
- Theodotus is charged by Antiochus with the war against Molo, ii. 103, he is defeated and obliged to abandon the field of battle, 104.
- Theodotus, Ætolian, governor of Cæle-syria for Ptolemy, defends the entrance into that province against Antiochus, and obliges that prince to retire, ii. 104, he is accused and obliged to go to the court of Egypt to give an account of his conduct, 106, in resentment for that affront, he declares for Antiochus, and puts the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais into his hands, 107, enters the camp of Ptolemy in the night with design to kill him, 108, fails in that attempt, and escapes to his camp, 109.
- Theodotus, one of the principal conspirators against the life of Hieronymus, is put to the rack, and dies without discovering any of his accomplices, 237.
- Theophilus, preceptor to the last Ptolemy, advises that prince to put Pompey to death, ii. 333, goes to present the head of that Roman to Cæsar, 334.
- Theopiton, of Megara, gives the Greeks wise advice after the battle of Plataea, i. 163.
- Theophrastus, Antigonus's general, refuses to quit Corinth, ii. 87, Aratus causes him to be put to death, 88.
- Theophrastus, philosopher, his dispute with an old woman of Athens, in buying something of her, i. 412.
- Theopompus, king of Sparta, establishes the Ephori, 210.
- Theopompus, disciple of Isocrates, gains the prize of eloquence over his master, and has the weakness and vanity to boast of it, i. 494.
- Theoxena, Thessalian lady, daughter of Mordicus, marries Peris, ii. 121, tragical and courageous end of Theoxena, 122.
- Thephanes, one of the Athenian generals, is charged with the care of burying the dead after the battle of the Arginuse, i. 342, not being able to execute that order, he makes the other generals responsible for it, and accuses them at Athens, 345, he is deputed to Lysander during the siege of Athens, 345, opposes the violence of his colleagues, and draws their hatred upon himself, 349, is accused by Critias, and put to death, 350.
- Therma, capital city of Ætolia, taken by surprise, and ravaged by Philip, ii. 115.
- Thermopyla, pass of mount Cera, in Thessaly, i. 254, description of it, 255, N. battle of Thermopylae between the Lacedæmonians and Persians, 480, &c. victory of the Romans over Antiochus near Thermopyla, ii. 530.
- Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, makes an alliance with Gelon, and gains in conjunction with him a great battle over the Carthaginians, i. 292.
- Theseus, king of Athens, i. 207, dies in the island of Scyros, whither he had been obliged to fly, 276, Cimon brings his bones to Athens, 310.
- Thesmothe. Athenian magistrates, i. 404.
- Thespia, city of Achaia, ruined by the Thebans, i. 474.
- Thespis, Greek poet, considered as the inventor of tragedy, i. 525.
- Thessalonica, wife of Cassander, is killed by Antipater, his eldest son, ii. 50.
- Thessalus, third son of Pisistratus, i. 221.
- Thessaly, province of ancient Greece, i. 185, the Thessalians submit to Xerxes, 480, &c. the Thessalians are engaged by Alexander of Phœræ, i. 479, Pelopidas delivers them from his power, 481, they have recourse to Philip against their tyrants, 508, that prince delivers them, 510.
- Thesia, sister of Dionysius the Elder, and wife of Polyxenus; courageous answer which she gives her brother upon the occasion of her husband's escape, i. 447.
- Thete, name of the lower class of people at Athens, i. 402.
- Thethmosis, or Amasis, having driven the shepherd-kings out of Egypt, reigns there, i. 61.
- Thimbron, Lacedæmonian general, marches against Tissaphernes and Tharnabazus, i. 362, upon some discontent he is recalled, 364.
- Thity. Council of thirty established at Lacedæmon, i. 312, thirty tyrants established at Athens, by Lysander, 346, cruelties which the council did in that city, 349, Thrasylbulus drives them out of Athens, 350, they endeavour to reinstate themselves, and are all put to the sword, 351.
- Thons, Ætolian, charged with the execution of a design to seize Chalcis, fails in the attempt, ii. 156, he goes to Antiochus, and induces him to enter Greece, 157.
- Theogorian, who, ii. 250, N.
- Thrace, province of Europe: very singular customs of its inhabitants, i. 237, Thrace subjected by Philip, i. 514, &c.
- Thraso, confidant of Hieronymus, is accused by Theodotus of having conspired against that prince, ii. 297, is put to death, 298.
- Thrasylbulus, brother of Gelon, reigns at Syracuse after Hieron's death, ii. 294, he causes himself to be dethroned by his cruelty, 310.
- Thrasylbulus, tyrant of Miletus, is besieged by Helyattes, i. 149, stratagem which he uses to deliver himself from that siege, 150.
- Thrasylbulus is made general of the Athenians, i. 337, accuses Alcibiades at Athens, and causes him to be deposed, 340, quits Athens to avoid the cruelty of the thirty tyrants, 350, expects the tyrants from that city, and restores its liberty, 351.
- Thrasylus is made general of the Athenians, i. 336.
- Thrasymenus, lake of Tuscany, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, i. 105.
- Thucydides, Greek historian: he is commanded to go to the aid of Amphipolis, i. 32, the Athenians make it a crime in him to have suffered that city to be taken, and banish him, 38.
- Thucydides, brother-in-law to Cimon, is set up against Pericles by the nobility of Athens, i. 284, Pericles prevails to have him dethroned, 285.
- Thurium, city of Sicily: its foundation, i. 296.
- Thymbra, city of Lydia, famous for the battle between Cyrus and Cresus, i. 161, distinguished from Thy ntribum, 161, N.
- Thyna, governor of Paphlagonia, revolts against Artaxerxes, ii. 184, he is conquered by Dames, 185.
- Thibania, city of Asia, is sent by the senate into Asia to examine into the conduct of Eunenes, and that of Antiochus, ii. 243. See Græculus.
- Ticino, now called Tesino, river of Italy, near which P. Scipio was defeated by Hannibal, i. 103.
- Tiglath-pileser, king of Nineveh, i. 140, aide Abaz, king of Judah, against the kings of Syria and Israel, 141.
- Tigranes, son of a king of Armenia, obtains his father's pardon from Cyrus, i. 156, he commands the Armenian troops, 157.
- Tigranes, son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, is set at liberty by the Parthians on his father's death, and placed upon the throne, ii. 244, accepts the crown of Syria, and wears it eighteen years, 265, marries Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, 309, invades the kingdom of Cappadocia, 315, gives Mithridates refuge, 318, the Romans declare war against him, 319, Tigranes is defeated by Lucullus, 321, he raises new troops in concert with Mithridates, 322, is defeated a second time, 323, Pompey marches against him, and finds him at war with his son, 326, Tigranes submits his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans, 327, Pompey leaves him part of his dominions, 328.
- Tigranes, son of the former, makes war with his father, ii. 326, puts himself under the protection of Pompey, 327, not being satisfied with Pompey's decree, he endeavours to fly, 327, Pompey reserves him for his triumph, 328.
- Tigraocerta, city of Armenia, taken by Tigranes, ii. 315, Lucullus takes it, and abandons it to be plundered by the soldiers, 321.
- Timæa, wife of Agis: excess of her passion for Alcibiades, i. 322.
- Timagoras, deputed by the Athenians to the court of Persia, receives great presents, and is condemned to die at his return, i. 479.
- Timandra, concubine, renders Alcibiades the last duties, i. 348.
- Timarchus, tyrant of Miletus, is conquered and killed by Antiochus, Thers, 70.
- Timarchus, governor of Babylon, revolts against Demetrius Soter, and is put to death, ii. 247.
- Timasion is chosen one of the generals of the Greeks after the death of Clearchus, i. 339.
- Timon, one of the tyrants of Lipara: his noble and religious behaviour in respect to the Romans, i. 463.
- Timoclea brought before Alexander the Great, i. 530.
- Timocrates, friend of Dionysius the Younger, marries Dion's wife while he is banished, i. 429, flies on the approach of Dion, 430.
- Timolauus, of Corinth, advises the cities in alliance against the Spartans, to attack them in their own territory, i. 372.
- Timolauus, Lacedæmonian, at whose house Philopoleon lay, is sent by his country to offer him the riches of Nabis, ii. 156, he finds it difficult to acquit himself of that commission, 157.
- Timolauus, Corinthian, sacrifices his brother Timophanes to his country, i. 464, the Corinthians send him to the aid of Syracuse, 465, he eludes the vigilance of the Carthaginians by a skilful stratagem, 466, gains an advantage over the Carthaginians and Ictas near the city of Adranu, 465, enters Syracuse, 466, he surrenders himself to him, 467, Timoleon sends him to Corinth, 468, he gains several victories over the Carthaginians, 469, re-establishes the liberty of Syracuse, and institutes wise laws there, 469, &c. frees other cities of Sicily from tyranny, 470, &c. gains a great victory over the Carthaginians, 471, is accused and cited to answer, 472, quits his authority, and passes the rest of his life in retirement, 480, &c. dies in it, 481, great honours rendered his memory, 468, &c. his panegyric, 481.
- Timophanes, Corinthian, having made himself tyrant of his country, his brother Timoleon causes him to be assassinated, i. 467.
- Timotheus, son of Conon, is sent by the Athenians with a fleet to the aid of the Thebans, i. 473, he ravages the coasts of Laconia, and makes himself master of the island of Coreyra, 481, is employed by the Athenians in the war against the allies, 481, is accused by the faction of Chares, and sentenced to pay a great fine, 492, retires to Chalcis, and dies there, 493, fine saying of Timotheus, 481.
- Timotheus, lieutenant of Antiochus Epiphanes, is defeated by Judas Macchabeus, ii. 201, is deposed a second time by the same captain in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, 201.
- Timon, a general chosen general of the Achæans, in the room of Aratus, ii. 56.
- Tiribazus, general of Artaxerxes Mnemon, determines that

prince not to fly before his brother Cyrus, i. 351. he commands the fleet of Artaxerxes against Evagoras, and besieges that prince in Salamis, 377, is falsely accused by Orocles, and carried to the court in chains, ib. trial of Tiribazus, 378. the king discovers his innocence, and restores him to his favour, ib. Tiribazus accompanies Artaxerxes in that prince's expedition against the Cadusians, ib. his stratagem for making that people return to their obedience to the Persians, ib.

Tiribazus, satrap of western Armenia, harasses the 10,000 Greeks in their retreat, i. 360.

Trinitatecumas, son of Artabanus, one of the commanders of the army of Xerxes, in that prince's expedition against Greece, i. 353.

Trissanes, son of Orocles, reigns at Mycena with his brother Ponthilus, i. 307.

Tissipus, Aetolian, is accused of having exercised great cruelties against those who had not taken part with the Romans against Perseus, ii. 264. Paulus Emilius acquits him, ib.

Tissaphernes, Persian of quality, is appointed by Darius to reduce Pisathenes, governor of Lydia, i. 311. he effects it, and has the government of Lydia for his reward, ib. suffers himself to be seduced by the flattery of Alcibiades, and gives himself up entirely to him, 334. concludes a treaty with the Peloponnesians, 335. causes Alcibiades to be seized, and sent prisoner to Sardis, 337. commands in the army of Artaxerxes Mucron at the battle of Cunaxa, and distinguishes himself in it, 354. takes upon him to reconduct the Greeks into their own country, 358. seizes Clearchus and the other generals by treachery, and sends them to Artaxerxes, ib. joins Pharnabazus to oppose the enterprise of Dercylidus, 363. sends to command Agisilaus to quit Asia, and to declare war against him in case of refusal, 365. is defeated near Sardis, 369. is accused of treason, ib. Artaxerxes puts him to death, ib. character of Tissaphernes, ib.

Tithraustes seizes Tissaphernes by order of Artaxerxes, and is placed at the head of the army in his stead, i. 371. he arms the several states of Greece against the Lacedaemonians, ib.

Tobit is carried captive into Assyria, i. 140. he hides himself some time to avoid the cruelty of Sannacherib, 141. foretells the ruin of Nineveh to his children, ib.

Tomyris, queen of the Scythians, i. 179. manner in which, as Herodotus relates, she caused Cyrus to be put to death, ib.

Tragedy: its origin, i. 431. its progress, ib. poets who distinguished themselves in tragedy, ib.

Treaties. Old custom of making treaties among the Iberians and Scythians, i. 232.

Tribia, river of Lombardy, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, i. 104.

Tremellius, surnamed Scrofa, defeats and kills a third usurper of the kingdom of Macedonia, ii. 238.

Triballi, people of Mesia, now called Bulgaria, i. 530. N. they pretended to share with Philip in the booty taken from the Scythians, ib. they are defeated by that prince, ib. they are defeated by Alexander, ib.

Tributes. Reasons for the establishment of them, i. 190.

Trierarchs. Athenian officers: their functions, i. 500.

Trophies erected by the ancients after a victory, i. 428.

Trophonius, hero, i. 419. famous oracles of Trophonius in Beotia, ib.

Trough: kind of punishment used by the Persians, i. 273.

Troy, city of Asia, taken and burnt by the Greeks, i. 205.

Truth. It is the foundation of all intercourse between men, i. 526.

Tryphena, daughter of Phiscon, is married to Antiochus Grypus, ii. 260. she sacrifices her sister Cleopatra to her jealousy, 261. Antiochus, of Cyzicum, puts her to death in torment, ib.

Tunis, city of Africa, is taken by Regulus, i. 91. the mercenaries who revolt against Carthage make it their place of arms, 96.

Tyche, quarter of the city of Syracuse, i. 323.

Tydeus, one of the Athenian generals, rejects the advice of Alcibiades, and occasions the loss of the battle of Egospotami, i. 334.

Tygris, river of Asia, i. 537.

Tyndarus, king of Lacedaemon, i. 803.

Tyrant. Origin of that name, and its signification, i. 300. difference between a king and a tyrant, i. 439.

Tyre, city of Phœnicia: its foundation, i. 549. description of the isle and city, ib. Tyre besieged and taken by Nabuchodonosor, i. 113. Darius reinstates it in its ancient privileges, 238. Tyre besieged and taken by Alexander, 345. &c. Tyre taken by Antigonus, 223. concerning Tyre, 549.

U.

UCHOREUS, king of Egypt, builds Memphis, i. 60.

Udastes, friend of Periteuchus, assassinates him by order of Darius, i. 345. Statira causes him to be put to death in torments, ib.

University of Paris. France obliged to it for the establishment of posts and post-offices, i. 136.

Urania, divinity of the Carthaginians. See Coelestia.

Urry: to what extent it was carried in the latter times of the Roman commonwealth, ii. 319.

Utica, city of Africa, abandons the side of Carthage, and joins the revolted mercenaries, i. 96. is compelled to surrender at discretion, 98. it puts itself into the hands of the Romans, 123. the latter reward it with the lands between Carthage and Hippo, 127.

Uxii, people upon the frontiers of Persia, conquered by Alexander the Great, i. 563.

V.

VARGUNTEUS, one of the lieutenants of Crassus, being separated from the main body of the army, is attacked by the Parthians, and dies fighting gloriously, ii. 262.

Varro (C. Terentius) consul, is defeated by Hannibal at the battle of Cannæ, i. 102.

Vasthi, wife of Darius. See Atossa.

Ventidius, Roman soldier, rises to the highest dignities of the commonwealth by his merit, ii. 265. he revenges the disgrace of the Romans at the battle of Carræ, and defeats the Parthians upon several occasions, ib. &c.

Ventilius is elected consul, and makes war with Philip in the room of Sulpitius, ii. 139. nothing considerable passes during his year, ib. he is sent ambassador to Antiochus, and succeeds in making that prince suspect Hannibal, 154, &c.

WASPS, comedy of Aristophanes so called, i. 435.

Water. Sweet water, how preserved at Alexandria, ii. 335.

Wells of Joseph in the castle of Cairo in Egypt: description of them, i. 44.

Women. Whether they ought to be admitted to the administration of public affairs, the command of armies, and the sovereignty of states, i. 138.

Wrestling. Exercise of wrestling amongst the ancients, i. 421.

Writing. Its origin, i. 58.

X.

XANTHIPPOS, Lacedaemonian, comes to the aid of the Carthaginians, i. 91. he defeats the army of Regulus, ib. retires and disappears soon after, 92.

Xanthippus, citizen of Athens, accuses Miltiades of treason, i. 210.

Xanthippus, father of Pericles, abandoning Athens on the approach of Xerxes, his dog follows his ship to Salamis, and expires on the shore, i. 245.

Xanthippus, Aetolian, commands the fleet of the Greeks in conjunction with Leucythides, king of Sparta, and gains a great victory over the Persians, near Mycale, i. 255.

Xanthippus, eldest son of Pericles, dies of the plague, i. 302.

Xanthus, philosopher, whose slave Asp was, i. 121.

Xantippe, wife of Socrates: his sufferings from her ill humour, i. 382.

Xenarchus, Achaean, is sent against Molo and Alexander by Antiochus, ii. 103. he falls into an ambuscade, and is cut to pieces with his whole army, 104.

Xenocrates, philosopher, in what manner he was received by Antipater, to whom he had been sent ambassador by the Achaean, ii. 15.

Xenon is charged by Antiochus with the war against Molo, ii. 103. he is defeated, ib.

Xenon, Achaean, exclaims against the demand of the Roman emissaries, in an assembly, ii. 231.

Xenophanes, Philip's ambassador to Hannibal, falls into the hands of the Romans, ii. 416. he escapes and concludes the treaty with Hannibal, ib. is taken on his return by the Romans, 441.

Xenophon, historian and philosopher: he commands the 10,000 Greeks after the death of Clearchus, and brings them back into their own country, i. 354. he joins the Lacedaemonians in the war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, 362. acts under Agisilaus at the battle of Coronea, 373.

Xerxes I. son of Darius, is elected king of Persia in preference to his brother Artabazanes, i. 246. he confirms the Jews in their privileges, 247. reduces Egypt, ib. prepares to invade Greece, ib. deliberates with his council concerning that expedition, ib. wise speech of Artabazanes to him, 248. rage of Xerxes upon that occasion, ib. he discovers his error, and confesses it in full council, 249. the war is resolved, ib. Xerxes enters into an alliance with the Carthaginians, 250. he begins his march, and gives orders for cutting a way through mount Athos, ib. his letter to that mountain upon that subject, ib. he advances to Sardis, ib. his cruelty to Pythius, 251. he marches towards the Hellespont, ib. causes the sea to be chastised for having broken the bridge of boats which he had laid over it, ib. orders a second to be built, and passes the Hellespont with his army, 252. number of forces, ib. Demaratus tells him freely his thoughts of this enterprise, 253. three hundred Spartans dispute the pass of Thermopylae with Xerxes, 255. that prince in his rage causes the dead body of Leonidas to be affixed to a gibbet, ib. he takes and burns Athens, 258. is defeated at Salamis, ib. leaves Mardonius in Greece, and returns precipitately into Asia, 259. violent passion of Xerxes for the wife of his brother Masistes, and afterwards for Artainta, that prince's daughter, 265. he causes Masistes to be put to death, 266. gives himself up to luxury and voluptuousness, 272. is killed by Artabazanes, captain of his guards, ib. character of Xerxes, 273.

Xerxes II. son of Artaxerxes Mucron, ascends the throne of Persia, i. 310. he is assassinated by his brother Sogdianus, ib.

Xiphares, son of Mithridates, is killed by his father, ii. 328.

Xuthus, son of Helenus, settles in Attica, i. 208.

Xyechus, who had been at Rome with Apelles and Philoteles, in quality of secretary to their embassy, is seized and carried before Philip, ii. 190. he discovers the whole plot of Perseus against Demetrius, ib.

Y.

YAZDAN, the good deity of the Persians, i. 199.

Year, solar, when first used, i. 56.

Youth. The irregularities of that time of life are not always sufficient grounds for despairing of a young man, i. 275.

Z.

ZABDIEL, Arabian prince, betrays Alexander Bala, ii. 251. he delivers Antiochus, son of Bala, to Tryphon, 252.

Zalochus, legislator of the Locrians, i. 297. wisdom of his laws, ib.

Zancle, city of Sicily, i. 312. See Messene.

Zebina. See Alexander Zebina.

Zenis, Dardanian, governor of Aetolia, under Pharnabazus, i. 284.

Zenodorus, librarian of Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria, ii. 82.

Zerah, king of Ethiopia and Egypt, makes war with Asia, king of Judah, is defeated, i. 64.

Zeugetis, third class of the citizens of Athens, i. 402.

Zippus, Xerxes's son-in-law, his great intimacy with Hieronymus, ii. 246. he goes ambassador to Egypt, and stays there in voluntary banishment, ib.

Zopyrus, Persian lord, mutilates himself for the service of Darius, i. 232. he makes that prince master of Babylon, ib. reward given by Darius for so great a service, ib.

Zopyrus, slave of Pericles, and governor of Alcibiades, i. 315.

Zoroaster, founder of the sect of the Magi amongst the Persians, i. 198.

Zoroaster, another chief, and reformer of the same sect, i. 199.

Zorobabel, chief of the Jews, who returned to Jerusalem after the decree of Cyrus, i. 174.

INDEX TO THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.

- ABARIS**, Greek poet, ii. 460.
Academy. Three different academies, 548. the ancient, ib. the middle, 551. and the new, 552.
Academies, established in Europe in the last century, 553.
Advocate, praise of that profession, 579. with what disinterestedness it ought to be exercised, 515.
Ælian, Greek historian, 494.
Æschines, his character by Quintilian, 508.
Africanus, Latin poet, 470.
Agathodamon, geographer, 604.
Agatias, poet, 465.
Agrioola, his life written by Tacitus, 501. extracts from that life, 502.
Agriculture, its antiquity and utility, 351. how important it is to place it in honour, and how dangerous to neglect it, ib.
Alexus, Greek poet, 465.
Aleman, lyric poet, 463.
Alexandria, city of Egypt, built by Alexander the Great, 378.
Algebra, 598.
Almamoon, caliph of Babylon, 125. his care for the improvement of astronomy and geography, ib.
Alphonsine tables of astronomy, 602.
Amiot, old French author, pleasure his works give the reader, 452, 494.
Ammianus Marcellinus, Latin historian, 504.
Anacreon, Greek poet, 463.
Analogy, explanation of, 451.
Anatomy, 595.
Anaxagoras, philosopher, 546. his care of Pericles, ib. his doctrine, ib. opinion concerning the nature of the gods, 597.
Anaximander, philosopher, 546. his thoughts concerning the nature of the Divinity, 581. discoveries made by this philosopher in astronomy, 590.
Anaximenes, rhetorician, 527. and philosopher, 546. his opinion of the nature of the gods, 581.
Andocides, Greek orator, 506.
Androcles, slave, his adventure with a lion, 491.
Andronicus (Livius), Latin poet, 466.
Annius, name given at Rome to the public records of the Roman affairs, 496.
Antes, musician, 403.
Anthologia, name given to a collection of Greek epigrams, 465.
Antiochus, philosopher, 552.
Antipater, poet and philosopher, 557.
Antiphon, Greek orator, 506.
Antisthenes, cynic philosopher, 554. his opinion concerning the nature of the Divinity, 581.
Antony, orator, his eloquence, how strong and persuasive, 511.
Apelles, famous painter, 396. his manner of becoming acquainted with Protogenes, ib. with what simplicity he expressed his own thoughts, and received those of others, 397. Alexander's affection for him, ib. adventure that happened to him at Alexandria, 398. how he revenged it, ib.
Apon, or Arpon, Greek historian, 490.
Apollinarius, bishop of Laodicea, Greek poet, 461.
Apollinarius, sophist, son of the former, 461.
Apollodorus, architect, 380. his sincerity occasions his death, ib.
Apollodorus, painter, 393. his jealousy of Zeuxis his pupil, ib.
Apollonius, of Rhodes, Greek poet, 461.
Apollonius, stoic philosopher, 544.
Apollonius (Pergeus), geometrician, 596.
Appian, Greek historian, 494.
Aphthonius, Greek rhetorician, 528.
Aratus, Greek poet, 461.
Areteas, philosopher, founder of the middle academy, 551.
Archagathus, Greek physician, comes to settle at Rome, 592. he is treated honourably at first, but soon after dismissed, ib.
Archelaus, philosopher, 546.
Archias (A. Licinius), Greek poet, 461.
Archimedes, famous geometrician, 596.
Archias, of Tarentum, known by his writings upon the mechanics, 598.
Architects, famous ones of antiquity, 376.
Architecture, its beginnings, progress, and perfection, 373.
Gothic architecture, 375.
Architrave, term of architecture, 375.
Aristus, geometrician, 596.
Aristobolus, Greek grammarian, 449.
Aristides, painter, 395.
Aristippus, philosopher, 547. his desire to hear Socrates, ib. opinions of this philosopher, 548. his death, ib.
Ariston, philosopher, 554.
Aristophanes, Greek grammarian, 449.
Aristophanes, poet, 483.
Aristotle, his birth, 553. he makes himself a disciple of Plato, ib. his opinions concerning the nature of the gods, 551. his death, 554. he was an excellent grammarian, 449. rhetorician, 527. philosopher, 553. astronomer, 606.
Aristoxenus, musician and philosopher, 405.
Aristyllus, astronomer, 600.
Arithmetic, advantages of that science, 598. progress of the ancients in it, ib.
Army. Departure and march of an army amongst the ancients, 426. manner in which the ancients drew up their armies in battle, 432.
Arms, those used by the ancients, 423.
Arrian, Greek historian, 494.
Artemidorus, philosopher. Pliny's generosity to him, 515.
Asclepiades of Bithynia, quits the profession of a rhetorician to practice physic, 591.
Aspasia, celebrated courtesan. her great knowledge occasions her being ranked amongst the sophists, 541.
Astronomy. Origin and progress of astronomy, 599. reflections upon astronomy, 602.
Athenæus, philologist, 457.
Athena, buildings erected at, under Pericles, 377. age wherein eloquence flourished in Athens, 506.
Atticus, Latin grammarian, 451.
Attius, Latin poet, 467.
Aulus Gellius, philologist, 456.
Aurelius Victor, Latin historian, 504.
Ausonius, Latin poet, 482.
Avienus, Latin poet, 463.

B.

BEOTIA, part of Greece, unjust prejudice against that country, 492.
Balista, machine of war, used by the ancients, 440.
Battles, 430.
Bernoullis, brothers, famous geometricians, 596.
Boetius, Latin poet, 484.
Botany: wherein that science consists, 394. to what perfection Monsieur Tournefort carried it, 395.
Brass, or Copper metal: whence taken, 565.
Breaches, in fortification, manner of closing them amongst the ancients, 442.
Brick, much used by the ancients in their buildings, 376.
Bronze, art of casting in, 383. N.

C.

CÆCILIUS, Latin poet, 466.
Cæsar, ranked among the Latin historians, 499.
Calendar, Gregorian, 601.
Caligula, bad taste of that emperor, 473.
Callimachus, architect, inventor of the Corinthian order, 374.
Callimachus, Greek grammarian, 449.
Callimachus, of Cyrene, elegiac poet, 464.
Callinus, elegiac poet, 464.
Calpurnia, Pliny the Younger's second wife; her taste for poetry learning, 511.
Calpurnius (Titus), Latin poet, 481.
Calvina, a Roman lady: generosity of Pliny in respect to her, 520.
Camels, their use in the army, 424.
Camps, construction and fortification of the camps of the ancients, and particularly of the Romans, 427. disposition of the Roman camp according to Polybius, 428.
Capitals, term of architecture, 375.
Caracalla, Roman emperor, his cruelty, 577.
Carnæades, philosopher, founder of the New Academy, 532.
Cartel, for the ransom of prisoners of war, 434.
Casque, head-piece or helmet, defensive armour of the ancients, 423.
Cassini, his treatise upon astronomy, 599.
Catapults, machine of war in use among the ancients, 440.
Cato (M. Porcius), his conduct in respect to Carnæades, and the other Athenian ambassadors, 528. Cato is ranked among the historians, 496. and orators, 510.
Cato, of Utica, description of him, 501.
Cattle, feeding of, amongst the ancients, 45.
Catulus, Latin poet, 471.
Cavaliers, term of fortification, 441.
Cavalry of the ancients, 433.
Cherilus, Greek poet, in favour with Alexander, 460.
Charlots armed with scythes, much used by the ancients in battles, 433.
Chemistry, 594.
Chromatic, kind of music among the ancients, 406.
Chrysippus, stoic philosopher: his character, 556. his doctrine, ib.
Cincius, Latin historian, 598.
Circulation of the blood, discovery of the, 595.
Circumvallation, lines of, 441.
Cithara, musical instrument used by the ancients, 405.
Civilians, famous ones of antiquity, 576.
Clavius (Cæcilius), is accused at Rome, by the deputies of Beotia, or his quitting that government, 516. death spares him the consequences of that affair, 517.
Claudian, Latin poet, 482.
Cleanthes, stoic philosopher, of great reputation, 556.
Climates, method taken by the ancients for knowing their difference, 600.
Clitomachus, Carthaginian philosopher, 552.
Coins, account of, 367.
Colours used by the ancient painters in their works, 389.
Column, term of architecture, 375.
Corn, city of Italy, 521.
Commerce, its excellency and advantages, 360. its antiquity, ib. places and cities where most exercised, 361.
Composite order of architecture, 375.
Composition, in painting; wherein it consists, 389.
Constantine the Great, his continence, 527.
Copper. Mines of copper, 363. description of that metal, ib.
Coriense, rock besieged and taken by Alexander, 442.
Corn. Countries famous for producing abundance of corn, 353.
Cornutus (Tertullius), Pliny the Younger's colleague when treasurer of the empire, and afterwards consul, 516.
Corinna, poetess, surnamed the Lyric Muse, 464.
Corvus (or Crane), machine of war, 446.
Cotta is placed in the number of the Latin orators, 512.
Counterpoint, or counterpoint, in music, 407.
Crassus, excellent orator, 511. his edict, when censor, against the Latin rhetoricians, 529.
Craterus, physician, 591.
Crates of Malos, Greek grammarian, 450.
Crates, cynic philosopher, 553.
Cratæus, Greek comic poet, 462.
Criticism: wherein it consisted amongst the ancients, 449.
Critolus, peripatetic philosopher, 554.
Crotona, reformation introduced there by Pythagoras, 559.
Crowns given by the Romans to those who distinguished themselves in battle by their valour, 437.
Ctesias, of Cnidos, practises physic in Persia, with great reputation, 599.

utation, 437. his works place him in the number of the historians, *ib.*

Cycloid, geometrical instrument: invention of it, 597.

Cynics, (sect of): their origin, 354. why so called, *ib.*

Cyrenaic, famous sect of philosophy, 347.

D.

DAMON, sophist, 541.

Dancing, idea which the Romans had of this exercise, 409.

D'Anville, geographer to the king of France, 601.

Decimation, punishment amongst the Romans, 435.

Decius (P.), Roman tribune, how rewarded for saving the army, 436.

Declamation, (or speaking,) of the theatre, composed and set to notes among the ancients, 408.

Declamation, a kind of composition for the exercise of eloquence, 539.

Declaration of war, 413. with what ceremonies attended amongst the Greeks, *ib.* and amongst the Romans, *ib.*

Democritus, his opinions concerning the nature of the Divinity, 581.

Demosthenes, character of, 508.

Descartes. Modern physics indebted to him for most of their improvements, 585.

Design, one of the parts of painting, 389.

Dialectics, or logic, what the ancient philosophers thought of it, 566.

Diascorides, physician of Anazarba, 591.

Diatonic, one of the three species of the music of the ancients, 406.

Digest, 577.

Dinarchus, Greek orator, 509.

Dinocrates, architect, 378.

Diodorus Siculus, Greek historian, 489.

Diogenes Laertius, Greek historian, 494.

Diogenes, architect of Rhodes, rewarded by his country, 379.

Dion Cassius, Greek historian, 494.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, his history, and other works, 539.

Dionysius the Thracian, Greek grammarian, 450.

Discipline, military. In what manner the Greeks observed it, 435. how strictly maintained among the Romans, *ib.*

Dudart, M., his exact calculation of all the notes and half notes of a common voice, 448.

Domitian, Domitian's edict in respect to vines, 536. Domitian treated as a god by Quintilian, 535. his death, 536.

Donatus, famous grammarian, 457.

Doric order of architecture, 374. and *ib.*

Draco, legislator of Athens, 400.

Draco, son of Hippocrates, 591.

E.

ECLIPSES, at what time the ancients first knew the causes of, 58.

Education. Wise maxim of a philosopher concerning the education of children, 550.

Electrum, or white gold, 366.

Elegy: derivation of that word: its definition, 464.

Eloquence, definition of, 503.

Empedocles, of Agriguntum, Pythagorean philosopher, his opinions concerning the nature of the Divinity, 581.

Enamel, painting in, 392.

Enharmonic, kind of music amongst the ancients, 406.

Ennius, poet, 466. and historian, 436.

Enthusiasm of Lyric poetry, 463.

Ephebus, famous temple built there in honour of Diana, 376.

Epic poem, of all poems the most difficult, 473.

Epicurus, philosopher. His birth, 564. he teaches grammar before he devotes himself to philosophy, 450. he settles at Athens, and opens a school of philosophy, 564. system of atoms placed in reputation by this philosopher, 585. his opinions of the *summum bonum*, or supreme good of man, 570. and of the formation of the world, 582. death of Epicurus, 564.

Epigram, kind of poem, its qualities, 465.

Erasistratus, physician, famous for his address and penetrating in discovering the cause of Antiochus's sickness, 591.

Eratosthenes of Cyrene, keeper of the Alexandrian library, extent of his knowledge and erudition, 449. 453. 601. *ib.*

Esculapius, inventor of medicine, 589. his knowledge occasions his being ranked in the number of the gods, *ib.*

Eubulides, philosopher of the Megarean sect, 545.

Euclid of Megara, founder of the Megarean sect, 548. his ardour to hear Socrates, *ib.*

Eudocia, or Athenais, daughter of the sophist Leontius, is ranked among the poets, 462.

Eudoxus, astronomer, 600.

Euphorion of Chalcis, Greek poet, 461.

Eupolis, comic poet, 462.

Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, Greek grammarian, 451.

Eutropius, Latin historian, 504.

F.

FABRIS PICTOR (Q.), Latin historian, 496.

Fables, author to whom the invention of them is ascribed, 47. use of, in respect to the education of children, *ib.*

Fescennine, satirical verses, 466.

Flaccus (Valerius), Latin poet, 480.

Flaccus (Verrius), Latin grammarian, 451.

Flax, description and use of that plant, 455.

Florus, Latin historian, 505.

Fortifications of the ancients, 439.

Fortunatus, Latin poet, 484.

Fosses, ditches or fortifications, how filled up, 443.

Freemen, their credit under bad emperors, 326.

Frainshemius, obliges the world to him for his supplement of the lost parts of Livy's and Quintus Curtius's histories, 498.

Friendship, fundamental law of, 325.

G.

GALEN, famous physician, his history, 591.

Galileo, modern astronomer, 601.

Gassendi, modern astronomer, 601.

General. Conduct of the ancients in the choice of their generals, 413. preliminary caution of a general, 425. &c. the success of a battle depends principally on the general, 420. attention

of the generals of the ancients in consulting the gods, and haranguing their troops before battles, 431.

Genius, whether the moderns excel the ancients or not in this point, 459.

Geography. The most famous geographers of antiquity, 603. countries known to the ancients, 604. wherein the modern geographers excel the ancients, *ib.*

Geometry. People to whom the invention of that science is attributed, 593. division of geometry into speculative, *ib.* and practical geometry, 593. geometrical sciences of antiquity, *ib.* revolution (almost total), in geometry, 597.

Gesture of the theatre, composed and reduced to notes, 409.

division of gesture (or action) and declamation (or speaking) between two actors, *ib.*

Giotto, mouth of the windpipe that forms tones and sound, 448.

Gniphon, Latin grammarian, 447.

Gold, different manners of finding it, 364. Gold found in rivers, *ib.* gold found in the bowels of the earth, *ib.* gold found in mountains by throwing them down, *ib.* reasons why gold has been preferred to other metals, 365.

Golden house of Nero, description of it, 380.

Good, *summum bonum*: opinions of the ancient philosophers upon the supreme good, 568. opinions of Epicurus, 371. of the stoics, *ib.* of the peripatetics, 373.

Good man: contrast between a good man under a load of evils, and a wicked man in the highest affluence and good fortune, 575.

Gothic order of architecture, 375.

Gracchi, they distinguished themselves by their eloquence, 482.

Grammar, what it is, 447. what gave birth to it, 252. how much in honour amongst the ancients, 461. 553. it turns upon four principles, *ib.* Greeks and Latins famous in this way, 449.

Gratian, gratitude of that emperor to his preceptor Ausonius, 434.

Graving. See Engraving.

Greece, 383. Greeks, *ib.* painting, 389. philosophy, 545. medicine, 589.

Gregory, (St.) of Nazianzum, ranked amongst the Greek poets, 462.

Gryllus, son of Xenophon, dies gloriously in the battle of Mantinea, 547.

Gueric (Oho de), consul of Magdeburg, inventor of the air-pump, 589.

H.

HARANGUE. Custom of the ancients to harangue their troops before battle, 432.

Harvey, English doctor, who first discovered the circulation of the blood, 585.

Hecataeus of Abdera, Greek grammarian, 449.

Heraclitus, philosopher, founder of the sect which bears his name, 562. misanthropy of that philosopher, *ib.*

Hermogenes, Greek rhetorician, 528.

Heraodius, Greek historian, 493.

Heraodius, physician, 590.

Herodotus, Greek historian, his brother, 484. time when he begins to write, *ib.* applause which he received at the Olympic games on reading his history there, *ib.* his retreat to Thurium, where he ends his days, *ib.*

Herophilus, physician, 590.

Hesiod, Greek poet, 460.

Hesychius, Greek grammarian, 451.

Hipparchia, sister of Metrocles the orator, marries Crates the cynic, notwithstanding the opposition of her family, 555.

Hipparchus of Alexandria, astronomer, 601.

Hippocrates, famous physician, his birth, 590. his disinterestedness, *ib.* his veneration for the Divinity, *ib.* his death, *ib.*

Hippocrax, satiric poet, known by his verses against Bupalus and Athenis, 461.

History, advantages to be derived from the study of history, 481.

Homer, famous poet, 460. Quintilian's judgment of Homer, *ib.* Homer may be considered as the most ancient of geographers, 603.

L'Hopital (Marquis de), has done honour to geometry, 597.

Horace, Latin poet, his birth, 473. his extraction, *ib.* his education, *ib.* Maecenas admits him into the number of his friends, 474. death of Horace, 475. his manners, *ib.* character of his works, *ib.*

Hydrostatics, definition of, 599.

Hyperides, Greek orator, 508. he dies in a very tragical manner, *ib.*

I.

IBYCUS, Greek poet, 464.

Infinites—Calculus—Differentials—Arithmetic of infinites or fluxions discovered, 597.

Invalids, royal hospital for invalids at Paris, 438.

Ionic, sect of philosophers called the Ionic sect, 545.

Ionic order of architecture, 374.

Iron metal, 363. in what manner taken from the mines, *ib.*

Isocrates, Greek orator: his birth, 507. his education, *ib.* school of eloquence opened by Isocrates at Athens, *ib.* his wonderful discernment of the genius of his pupils, *ib.* his love of virtue and public good, 520. his death, *ib.* character of his style, 508.

Italic, sect of philosophers so called, 558. division of that sect into four other sects, 562.

Italy, region of Europe: excellence of the wines of Italy, 355. product of the vines of Italy in Columella's time, 356.

Itinerary of Antoninus, 600.

J.

JERUSALEM, city of Palestine, is besieged and taken by Titus Vespasian, 443.

Jew, surprising action of a Jew at the siege of Jotapat, 441.

Josephus, Jew. Greek historian, 491. abridgment of his life, *ib.* character of the history composed by him, *ib.* &c.

Julia, supposed inventor of the science of music, 461.

Julius Pollux, philologist, 457.

Jupiter, on the satellites of, 602.

Jurisprudence, or knowledge of law, in particular of the Roman, or civil law, 576.

Justin, Latin historian, 504.

Justinian, the emperor, reforms the Roman law, 377.

Juvenal, Latin poet, 478.

L.

LABERIUS (Decimus), Roman knight and poet, at Caesar's request, plays a part in one of his own pieces, upon the stage, 471.

- Lælius**, Roman orator, how far he carried his candour and integrity, 511.
Lauprius, Plutarch's uncle, 492. his fine saying of himself, 492.
 Languages, reflections upon the progress and alteration of, 452.
 Law, civil, or Roman law—its beginnings, 576. it receives a new form under the emperor Justinian, 578, &c.
 Layers, shoots of vines—profit made of them in Columella's time, 357.
 Lemery, his knowledge in chemistry, 595.
 Leucippus, philosopher, 556.
 Lever, instrument in mechanics, 598.
 Libanius, sophist, 543.
 Library (royal), founded by Louis XIV., 458.
 Light-house of Alexandria, 378.
 Lines of circumvallation and contravallation amongst the ancients, 441.
 Livy, Titus, Latin historian, 497.
 Longinus, Syracusan, Greek orator, 506.
 Lucan, Latin poet, 478.
 Lucian, philologist, 455. dream which he relates in the beginning of his works, *ib.*
 Lucilius, Roman knight and poet, 469. the invention of satire is ascribed to him, *ib.*
 Lucretius, Latin poet, 470. his opinion concerning religion and providence, *ib.*
 Lucullus, his friendship for Antiochus, philosopher of the ancient academy, 553.
 Lycæum, place of exercise at Athens, 549.
 Lycan, philosopher, 554.
 Lycurgus, Greek orator, 508.
 Lynceus of Samos, Greek grammarian, 449.
 Lyre, musical instrument of the ancients, 406. change of that instrument in respect to the number of its strings, *ib.*
 Lysias of Syracuse, Greek orator, 506. he carries Socrates a discourse for his defence, 507. character of Lysias's style, *ib.*
 Lysippus, famous sculptor, 385.
 Lysistratus, of Sicyon, sculptor to whom the invention of portraits in plaster and wax are ascribed, 382.
- M.**
- MACHINES** of war used by the ancients, 440.
Macrobius, philologist, 457.
Magistrate, duty of a, 579.
Man, Pliny's description of man, 455. men are the same in all ages, 459.
Manlius, L. gains a victory over the Carthaginians near Ecomia in Sicily, 446.
Marius described, 500.
Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, is accused of having sold justice, and even the lives of innocent persons, 516. he is banished, *ib.*
Marot, French poet, 452.
Martial, Latin poet, 480.
Mathematics—extent of that science, 595.
Masolius, king of Caria, honour paid to his memory by Artaxias his wife, 378.
Mecænas, favourite of Augustus, and patron of the learned, 474. character of Mecænas by Paterculus, 501.
Mechanics, definition and utility of mechanics, 598.
Medals, difference between medals and coins, 367.
Medicine, origin and antiquity of medicine, 589. discoveries which have enriched modern physic, 593.
Megarean sect of philosophers, 548.
Meleager, Greek poet, 465.
Memory, examples of persons of extraordinary memories, 552.
Menander, comic poet, 462. change which he introduced in comedy, *ib.*
Meneceates, physician, 591.
Metempsychosis, opinion of the metempsychosis, 560.
Microscope, invention of that instrument, and its utility, 588.
Mimnermus, Greek poet, 464.
Mines of iron, 363. of copper or brass, *ib.* of gold, 364. of silver, 366.
Mimature, kind of painting, 392.
Mithridates, King of Pontus—his description of that prince, 500. he made himself famous for his skill in medicines, 509.
Modestinus (Herenius), ancient civilian, 577.
Moliere, French poet, difference between him and Terence, 478.
Molo of Rhodes, famous rhetorician from whom Cicero received lessons, 530, 513.
Montagne, French author, 452.
Moral philosophy, or Ethics—objects of it, 568. opinions of the ancient philosophers concerning the supreme good, or happiness of man, *ib.*
Mosaic, kind of painting, 392.
Musa (Antonius), physician to the emperor Augustus, 591.
Music, its origin, 401. authors who invented or improved music, 403. different kinds and measures of the ancient music, 405. manner of setting notes to airs or songs, 406. whether the modern music is to be preferred to the ancient, 407. parts of music peculiar to the ancients, 402.
Myron, Athenian sculptor, 385.
- N.**
- Nævius**, Latin poet and historian, 466, 496.
Nature, its effects, 457.
Navigation, its origin, 444.
Navy, naval affairs of the ancients, 444.
Nazarius, Latin orator, 540.
Nemesianus, Latin poet, 481.
Nepos, Cornelius, Latin historian, 497.
Newton (Sir Isaac), English philosopher, 583, 597.
Nicander, Greek poet, 461.
Nobility, fine example proposed to the young nobility in the person of Cesar, 441.
Norbanus, Roman, accused of sedition, whom Antony the orator causes to be absolved by the force of his eloquence, 511.
Novellæ, laws of Justinian, 577.
- O.**
- OBELISKS** of Egypt, their utility, 600.
Observatory built at Paris by order of Louis XIV., 601.
Ode, kind of poem, 463.
Officers, choice of them amongst the ancients, 413.
Onesicritus, philosopher and historian, becomes a disciple of Diogenes, 555.
- Onyx**, a kind of agate, upon which the ancients engraved, 383.
Oppilius (Aurelius), Latin grammarian, 451.
Orator, quality most essential to an orator, 504. Greek orators, 504. Latin orators, 510.
Ornaments, women naturally fond of them, 579.
Orpheus, musician, 403.
Ovid, Latin poet, abridgment of his life, 476. his banishment, *ib.* his death and epitaph, *ib.* character of his poetry, *ib.*
- P.**
- PACUVIUS**, Latin poet, 466.
Pain, opinion of the ancient philosophers concerning pain, 568.
Painting, origin of painting, 389. different parts of painting, *ib.* of the true in painting, 390. different kinds of painting, 391. brief history of the most famous painters of Greece, 393.
Palemon (Rempius), Latin grammarian, 451.
Pamphilus, of Amphipolis, painter, 385.
Panegyric of Trajan, by Pliny the younger, 523. ancient panegyrics, 526.
Paneus, painter, 393.
Pantomimes, art of the pantomimes amongst the ancients, 410.
Papinian, famous civilian, 577. his death, *ib.*
Papirus collects the laws of the kings of Rome, 576.
Pappus, of Alexandria, geometrician, 596.
Parmentides, philosopher, his opinion concerning the nature of the Divinity, 581.
Parthasius, famous painter, 394. he carries the prize of painting against Zeuxis in a public dispute, *ib.*
Parthenon, Greek poet, 461.
Parthenon, temple of Minerva at Athens, 384.
Paterculus, Latin historian, 499. he excelled in descriptions and characters, *ib.*
Paschasius (Saint), bishop of Nola, Latin poet, 482.
Paulus (Julius Paulus), civil lawyer, 577.
Pausias of Sicyon, painter, 399.
Pay of soldiers, among the ancients, 421.
Pearls, kind of precious stone, 365. pearl fishery, *ib.*
Pedestal, term of architecture, 363.
Pedanius (Asconius), philologist, 453.
Pericles, Athenian, care that he takes to cultivate his mind by the study of the sciences, and by exercising himself in eloquence, 506. he adorns Athens with magnificent buildings, 573.
Peripatetics, sect of philosophers, followers of Aristotle, 553. opinion of those philosophers concerning the supreme good, 573.
Persius, Latin poet, 478.
Petroneus, Latin poet, 479.
Phetras, Latin poet, freedman of Augustus, 477.
Pharos, island of Alexandria, 378.
Phidias, famous painter and sculptor, 383.
Philemon, comic poet, preferred by the Greeks to Menander in his own lifetime, 481.
Philetas of Cos, grammarian and poet, 464.
Philip of Thessalonica, poet and author of epigrams, 465.
Philip of Acarnania, physician, known from the salutary draught which he gave Alexander, 591.
Philo, philosopher and rhetorician, 552.
Philo, the Jew, Greek historian, 490.
Philosophers, philosophy: definition of philosophy, 544. it consists of three parts, logic, ethics, and physics, 565. division of philosophy into two sects, the Ionic and Italic, 545. Ionic sect, *ib.* it is divided into several other sects, 547. Cyrenaic sect, *ib.* Megarean sect, 548. Eleatic and Eretrian sect, *ib.* Academic sect, *ib.* the ancient academy, *ib.* the middle academy, 551. and the new academy, *ib.* Peripatetic sect, 553. Cynic sect, 554. Stoic sect, 556. Italic sect, 558. division of this sect into four others, 562. sect of Heraclitus, *ib.* sect of Democritus, *ib.* Septic or Pyrrhonic sect, 563. Epicurean sect, 564. general reflection upon the sects of philosophers, *ib.* opinions of the ancient philosophers upon the Dialectics or Logic, 566. upon morality or the Ethics, 568. upon the supreme good of man, *ib.* upon the virtues and duties of life, 573. upon the Metaphysics, 579. upon the existence of the Divinity, *ib.* upon the nature of the Divinity, 581. upon providence, 583. upon the formation of the world, 584. upon the nature of the soul, 586. upon the Physics, 587.
Philostatus, philologist, 457.
Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Greek historian, 495.
Phrynus, famous musician of antiquity, 404.
Physics of the ancients, 589.
Pikes, offensive arms used by the ancients, 424.
Pindar, Greek Lyric poet, 464. character of his works, *ib.*
Piso Frugi (L. Calpurnius), is ranked among the Latin historians, 496.
Planets, observations upon the, 599.
Plautus, monk of Constantinople, his collection of epigrams, 465.
Plato, philosopher of Athens, his birth, 549. he attaches himself to Socrates, *ib.* he retires to Megara to avoid the rage of the Athenians against him, *ib.* Plato's travels into Egypt, *ib.* Italy, *ib.* his death, *ib.* his system of doctrine, *ib.* what he thought of the nature of the Divinity, 581. Plato's fine thought upon the formation of the world, 585. secret jealousy between Plato and Xenophon, 547. Plato's hatred of Democritus, 563. means which he used to reform his nephew Speusippus, 556. Plato's writings give him a place amongst the grammarians, 449. and rhetoricians, 526.
Plautus, comic poet, 467. character of his poetry and style, *ib.*
Pliny the elder, philologist, 454. abridgment of his life, *ib.* and accident by which he dies, *ib.* his style, 455. his Natural History, *ib.*
Pliny the Younger, Latin orator, 514. his application to study, 517. by what degrees he attains the first offices in the state, 515. occasions upon which he displays the force of his eloquence and indignation against oppressors of the provinces, 516. he is sent proconsul into Pontus and Bithynia, 517. his letter to Trajan concerning the Christians, *ib.* Trajan's answer upon that head, 518. Pliny's return to Rome, *ib.* his death, *ib.* Pliny's esteem for persons of merit and learning, 519. his liberalities, 520. his innocent pleasures, 521. his ardour for reputation and glory, 522. panegyric which he pronounced upon Trajan, 523. Pliny's style, 525.
Plotius Gallus (Lucius), Latin rhetorician, 529.
Plutarch, of Cheronea, Greek historian, 492. abridgment of his life, *ib.* his works, 493.

- Pneumatics.** Origin of the air-pump, 589.
Poetry. Poets. Origin of poetry, 439. Greek poets, who excelled in epic poetry, 440. tragic poets, 462. comic poets, ib. iambic poets, ib. lyric poets, 474. elegiac poets, 464. epigrammatic poets, 465. Latin poets divided into three ages, 466.
Polemon, philosopher of the ancient academy, 551.
Pollux, Latin poet, 471.
Pollux (Julius), Greek grammarian, 451.
Polysius, Greek historian, his birth, 488. his education, ib. principal works composed by Polysius, ib.
Polysius, physician, son-in-law and successor of Hippocrates, 591.
Procleetus, famous statuary, 335.
Polygnotus, famous painter, 393. generous action of his to the Athenians, ib.
Pompey, description of, by Paterculus, 501.
Pomponius Marcellus (Marcus), Latin grammarian, 451.
Pomponius, civilis, 577.
Posidonius, stoic philosopher, 537.
Posidonius, astronomer and geographer, 600.
Praxiteles, famous sculptor of antiquity, 386.
Prayer of a victorious consul on his entering the capitol in triumph, 436. prayer which Epictetus desired to make at his death, 528.
Prisoners, ransom of them amongst the ancients, 434.
Prodicus, famous sophist, 542. his declamation of fifty drachmas, ib.
Prodicus, sophist, to whom the Romans erected a statue, 541.
Properius, Latin poet, 477.
Prosper (St.), Latin poet, 483.
Protagoras of Abdera, sophist, 542. singular lawsuit between Protagoras and one of his disciples, ib. opinion of Protagoras concerning the Divinity, 580. the Athenians expel him their city, and cause his works to be burnt, ib.
Protegenes, famous painter, 398. manner of his first acquaintance with Apelles, 396.
Provisions, of, for any army, 419.
Prudentius, a Christian poet, 481.
Ptolemy, celebrated astronomer and geographer, 601.
Publicus Cirtus, Roman senator, is excluded from the consulship by Pliny's remonstrances, 515.
Punishments, established amongst the troops of the ancients, 434.
Purple, dye much esteemed by the ancients, 369. shell-fish, from which the purple dye was extracted, ib.
Pyrroho, philosopher, chief of the sect which bears his name, 563. his method of philosophizing, ib. his indifference, 564. maxim taught by him, ib.
Pythagoras, philosopher, 558. travels of, ib. he goes to Italy, and settles at Crotona, where he opens a school of philosophy, 559. novice of silence which he made his disciples observe, ib. wonderful change that his doctrine effected in Italy, and especially in Crotona, ib. his death, 561. his opinion concerning the nature of the Divinity, 551. his system of the metempsychosis, and chimeras, which he related of himself on that head, 560. &c. wonders attributed to Pythagoras, 561.
Pythæas, famous astronomer and geographer, 600.

Q.

QUINTILIAN, Latin rhetorician, 534. his birth, ib. means which he uses for acquiring eloquence, ib. he opens a school of eloquence at Rome, 535. and at the same time exercises the function of an advocate, ib. he obtains the emperor's permission for quitting these two employments, ib. he loses one of his sons, ib. he begins his *Institutiones Oratoriae*, ib. Domitian confides the education of the two princes his grand nephews to him, ib. his impious flattery of that emperor, ib. his grief for the loss of his second son, 536. he finishes his work, the *Institutiones Oratoriae*, ib. the time of his death not known, 537. plan and character of Quintilian's rhetoric, ib. method of instructing youth in his rhetoric, 538.
Quintus Curtius, Latin historian, 503.

R.

RAM, description of the battering ram, 440.
Rhetoric inscribed to Horace, 532.
Rhetorician, the meaning of that word, 526. Greek rhetoricians, ib. Latin rhetoricians, 528.
Rhodes, famous courtesan, 463.
Romans, military matters, 433. &c. navy of the Romans, 445. magnificent idea of the grandeur and majesty of the Roman empire, 455. Roman, or civil law, 574. progress of astronomy and geography amongst the Romans, 601.
Rome, celebrated buildings at, 379.
Rusticus Arlenus, stoic philosopher, and Pliny's master, is put to death by Domitian's order, 515.

S.

SABINUS (Fabius), ancient civilian, 577.
Sacrobosco (John), famous astronomer, 601.
Sallust, Latin historian, 496. character of his writings, ib.
Sappho of Mytilene, 463.
Seeva, centurion, extraordinary bravery of that Roman rewarded by Cæsar, 437.
Scaliger, illustrious critic of his time, almost always singular in his judgment, 478. 479. 496.
Seneca, sect of petics, which he called, 456.
Sculpture, different kinds of sculpture, 381.
Sejanus, favourite of Tiberius, 500. double portrait of Sejanus, ib.
Sempronia, Roman lady, description of her by Sallust, 496.
Seneca, the rhetorician, 532. difference between the philosopher Seneca and Cæsar, 514.
Seneca, Latin poet, 478.
Senses, for what use the senses are given us, 569.
Servius (Maurus Honoratus), philologist, 458.
Sextus, Plutarch's nephew, a philosopher of great reputation, 493.
Ship, galley, vessel—ship-building of the ancients, 444. ship of enormous magnitude built by Ptolemy Philopator, 445.
Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, Latin poet, 483.
Sieges, method of forming sieges by the ancients, 439.
Silence, severe notice of silence imposed by Pythagoras upon his scholars, 559.
Silius Italicus, Latin poet, 479.
Silk, stuffs made of it, 370.
Silver, mines of silver, 366.
Simonides, Greek poet, 463. 464.
Sling, instrument of war used by the ancients, 424.
Society, justice, and faith to engagements, public and private, the foundations of, 574.
Socrates applies himself to discredit the sophists in the opinion of the Athenian youth, 549.
Soldiers, pay of soldiers, 419. their pay, 421. employment and exercises of the soldiers in their camp, 429. punishments of soldiers who failed in their duty, 434. rewards granted to those who distinguished themselves in battle, ib.
Solinus (Caius Julius), philologist, 457.
Sophists, Definition of the sophists, 540. extraordinary honours paid them by all Greece, 541. they do not support their reputation long, 542. what finally discredited them, 543.
Sophocles, tragic poet, 462.
Sostratus, architect, builds the tower of Pharos, 378. deceit with he uses for engrossing the whole honour of that work to himself, ib.
Soul, its nature, 586. its immortality, ib.
Speech, one of the greatest advantages of human nature, 447.
Stenoppos, philosopher, Plato's nephew, 549. particular circumstance of his life, 550. his intimacy with Dion, ib. he succeeds his uncle in the school after his death, ib.
Stagira, city of Macedonia, Aristotle's country, destroyed by Philip, and rebuilt by Alexander, 534.
Statics, definition of that science, 521.
Statius, Latin poet, 471.
Stesichorus, Greek poet, 463.
Stobæus (Johannes), philologist, 458.
Stoics (sect of), 556. usual defect in their writings, ib. opinion of the stoics concerning the supreme good, 571. their system concerning the formation of the world, 584. 585.
Strato, philosopher, 554. his thought of the Divinity, 582.
Suetonius, Latin historian, 503.
Suidas, Greek grammarian, 451.
Sulpitia, Roman lady, placed in the number of the Latin poets, 471.
Sulpitius, Latin orator, 512.
Superiors designed for their inferiors, and not their inferiors for them, 574.
Swords, offensive and defensive, 423.
Synæsus, bishop of Ptolemais, ranked among the Greek poets, 462.
Syrus (P.), Latin poet, 471.
Systems of the world, 587.

T.

TACITUS, Latin historian, 501. his works, ib. character of his style, 502.
Telescope, glass for seeing remote objects, invention of the, 568.
Temples, famous ones of Greece, 379.
Terence, Latin poet, abridgment of his life, 468. character of his works, 469. Moliere and Terence compared, 478.
Terpander, poet-musician, 460.
Thales of Miletus, philosopher, founder of the Ionic sect, 545. his travels, ib. his great progress in the sciences causes him to be placed in the number of the seven sages, ib. reasons that prevented him from marrying, ib. discovery of Thales in astronomy, 599. his death, 546. his thoughts concerning the Divinity, 581.
Thales, Lyric poet, 463.
Thargelia of Miletus, courtesan, placed in the number of the sophists, 541.
Theatre, declamation or speaking in the theatre composed and set to notes, 408.
Themison, famous physician of antiquity, 591.
Themistius, famous sophist, 544.
Theodoros, philosopher of the Cyrenaic sect, 548. impious doctrine that he taught, 550.
Theodoros, Athenian, father of Isocrates, 564.
Theology of the ancients, 580.
Theon of Smyrna, famous for his treatises upon arithmetic and algebra, 493.
Theophrastus, philosopher, Aristotle's successor, 554. his dispute with an old woman of Athens in buying something of her, ib. wherein he made true happiness to consist, ib. what he thought of the nature of the Divinity, ib. his death, ib.
Therameas, famous rhetorician, 507.
Thespis, Greek poet, considered as the inventor of tragedy, 462.
Thessalus, physician, one of the sons of Hippocrates, 591.
Thucydides, Greek historian, his birth, 485. his taste for polite learning, ib. he undertakes the history of the Peloponnesian war, wherein he is commanded to go to the aid of Amphipolis, ib. the Athenians make it a crime in him to have suffered that city to be taken, and banish him, ib. after twenty years' banishment he returns to Athens, ib. he works upon his history, ib. his death, ib. Thucydides and Herodotus compared, 486.
Thubius, Latin poet, 477.
Tillage, 354.
Timanthes, famous painter of antiquity, 395. his painting of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, ib.
Timocharis, astronomer of antiquity, 601.
Timotheus, poet-musician, 460.
Timoxena, Plutarch's wife, 493.
Tisias, Greek rhetorician and sophist, 526. 542.
Titus (Vespasian), Roman emperor, besieges and takes Jerusalem, 443.
Tons, city of Europe, upon the coast of the Euxine sea, place to which the city was banished, 476.
Toricelli, mathematician, 588.
Tortoise, machine of war used by the ancients, 440.
Tournetfort, famous botanist, 594.
Towers, moveable, used by the ancients in sieges, 441.
Tragedy, poets that distinguished themselves in, 462.
Triana, decree of that emperor in respect to pleaders, 515. his answer to a letter of Pliny's concerning the Christians, 518.
Trajan's panegyric by Pliny the younger, &c. 523.
Trioban, famous civilian, 577.
Triumph, 434. description of a Roman triumph, 437.
Tropeus Pompeius, Latin historian, 504.
Trophies, erected by the ancients after a victory, 435.
True, in painting, wherein it consists, 390.
Turenne (Marshal), his equity and piety, 493.
Ucan, order of architecture, 375.
Tycho Brahe, famous modern astronomer, 601.
Tyrannion, Greek grammarian, 450. his care in collecting books, ib. Cicero's esteem for him, ib.
Tyrannion, Greek grammarian, disciple of the former, 459.
Tyrtæus, Greek poet, 460. the Athenians give him the Lacedæmonians to command them, ib. character of his poetry, ib.
Tzetzes, Greek grammarian, 451.

- ULPIAN, civilian, 577.
- U.
Universe, what the ancients understood by that word, 584.
- V.
VARRO, (M. Terentius,) philologer, 453.
Vesal, Flemish physician, is the first that set anatomy in a clear light, 363.
Vesputius (Americus,) continues the discoveries of Columbus, and gives his name to the new world, 604.
Vine, cultivation of the, 354. profit made of it in Columella's time, N. ib. 356.
Virgil, Latin poet, his birth, 472. his works, ib. he introduces Horace to Mæcenas, 473. his death, 474. Quintilian's distinction between Virgil and Homer, 460.
Virginus, Rufus, Pliny the younger's guardian, 514.
Virtue, fine maxims of, 575.
Vitruvius, architect, 374.
- W.
WAR, undertaking and declaring of war by the ancients, 412. preparations of war, 419, &c.
Wicked man, contrast between a wicked man in the most splendid condition and a good man, under the greatest misfortunes, 575.
- Wills, custom of the Roman soldiers to mak their wills before a battle, 434.
World, formation of the, 584. system of the stoics and epicureans concerning the formation of the, ib. &c. Plato's thought on the same, 585.
Writing, its utility, 448.
- X.
XENOCRATES, philosopher, 550. his character, ib. his disinterestedness, ib. his poverty, ib. his thoughts concerning the nature of the Divinity, 581. his death, 551.
Xenophanes, philosopher, his thoughts concerning the nature of the Divinity, 581. his astronomical speculations, 569.
Xenophon, historian and philosopher, 487. his birth, ib. he retires to Corinth, 547. he dies there, ib. works of Xenophon, 487. character of his style, ib.
Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople, epitomizer of Dion Cassius, 455.
- Z.
Zeno, philosopher, founder of the stoic sect, 556. his opinions concerning logic, 566. his theology, 556. his death, 581.
Zeuxis, famous painter of antiquity, 394.

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